



The Ancient Khmer Empire

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THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE

LAWRENCE PALMER BRIGGS

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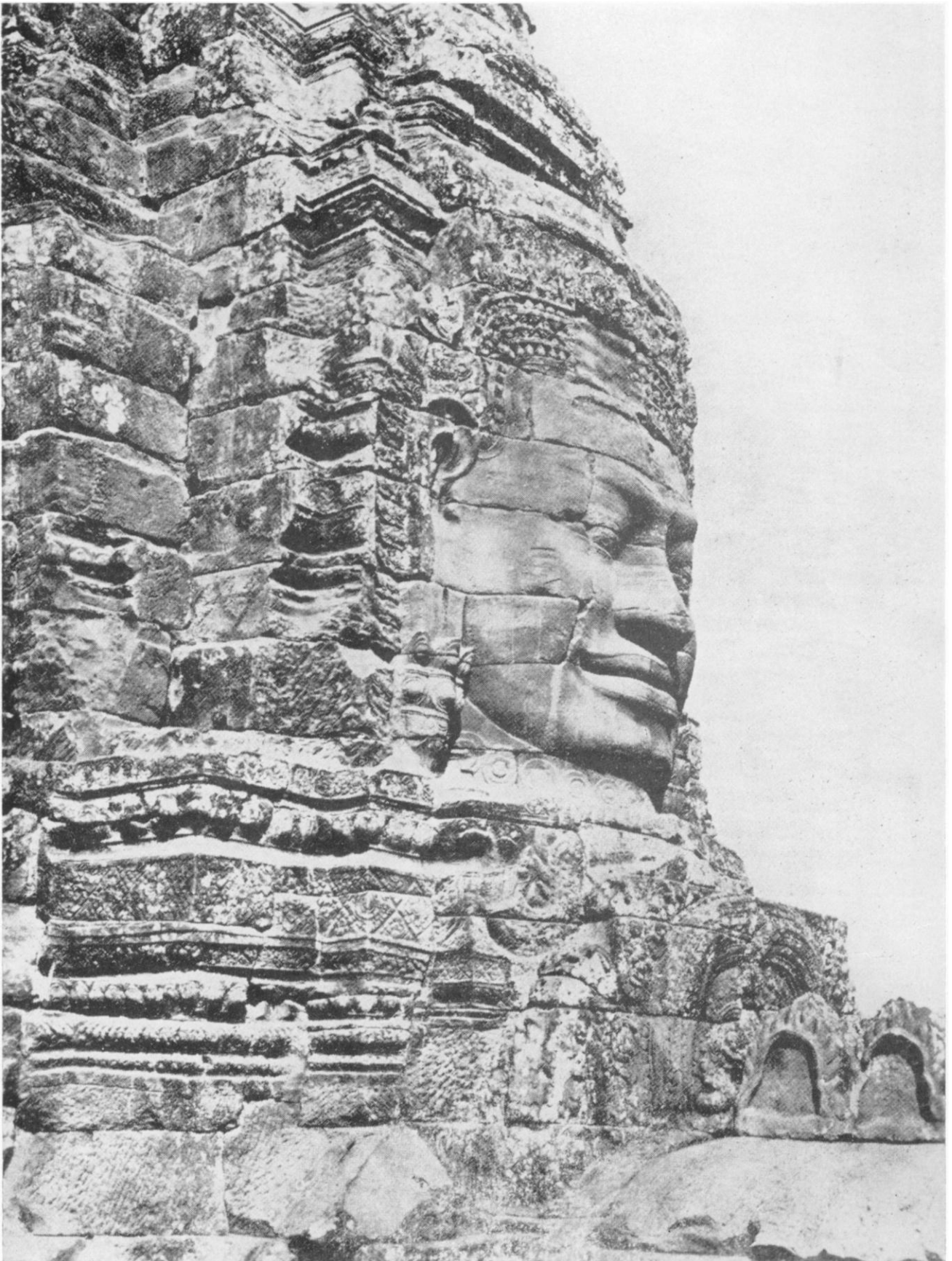


FIG. 1. Lokeśvara of the Bayon.

To that wonderful group of French savants,
particularly those of l'Ecole Française
d'Extrême Orient, whose scholarship
and faithful labors have brought
to light and preserved the won-
ders and the story of the An-
cient Khmer Empire and
have thus made them
known to the world,
this volume is
respectfully
dedicated.

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FOREWORD

The author has been a United States Consul in Indo-China and has visited the historic sites about which he writes. He is already well-known to orientalists by his excellent little book—*A Pilgrimage to Angkor*—and by his articles on Cambodia and on ancient Siam, published in the *Far Eastern Quarterly* and in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

The need for a scholarly and comprehensive history of ancient Cambodia has long been felt. Even the great master in that field, Georges Coedès, who has written innumerable brilliant articles on special subjects of Khmer history, has dealt with that time of the empire as a whole only in his general history of the hinduized kingdoms of Southeast Asia, where the space devoted to Cambodia is necessarily limited.

The history of the people that created the architectural and sculptural marvels of Angkor is in itself a subject of surpassing interest. It is, however, a subject of far wider scope than may at first appear. The important role of Fu-nan, the first empire of the Khmer, has been recognized only recently. As the first great hinduized empire of Southeast Asia, flourishing from at least as early as A.D. 100 to the sixth century, it seems to have struck the key-note, politically and culturally, for the whole region. Even centuries after its fall the dynastic tradition of its kings crops up again and again, not only in Cambodia, but as far away as Sumatra and Java. No less important and, because of the fuller flow of information even more interesting, is that Khmer kingdom of the Kambujas which, rising from the status of a vassal state of Fu-nan, annihilated the suzerain power and became itself one of the great powers of Southeast Asia. To quote just a few high points of Khmer history, I may refer to that king Jayavarman II who, "coming from Java," as one inscription asserts, introduced the mysterious cult of the God-King; or to Suryavarman II who immortalized himself by the erection of Angkor Vat, his own mortuary temple in which he is portrayed in the guise of Viṣṇu; or to the last great king of the Khmer, Jayavarman VII, who built the walls of the city of Angkor and, a fervent Buddhist, covered his kingdom with temples, monasteries, and hospitals. Even after the decline of the empire in the course of the thirteenth century, its influence remained powerful. Cambodia was the classical ideal even in the eyes of its mortal enemies, the Thai. Siamese architecture still reveals its indebtedness to that of the Khmer. It was from the Khmer that the Siamese derived the idea of divine

kingship, and the Siamese institutions of government and administration, with their elaborate hierarchy of officialdom, were largely modelled after those of the Khmer state.

However, an even wider range of Khmer influence is dimly emerging from the pages of unwritten history. The exhibition shown by the American Museum of Natural History on the occasion of the International Congress of Americanists in 1949, opened a completely new chapter by demonstrating the existence of cultural links, surprisingly close in some instances, between the Maya and Mexican area and ancient Cambodia. These contacts seem to have been established at the time of the kingdom of Fu-nan and to have ended only with the political collapse of the Khmer empire shortly after A.D. 1200. They imply the former existence of a powerful Khmer maritime activity, of which we had, so far, only a few vague indications in old Chinese reports.

We should not underestimate the importance of knowing the ancient history of Indo-China in order correctly to understand current events. There is a widespread tendency among the general public and among writers on Far Eastern subjects to judge Asiatic developments merely on the merit of their momentary aspects. But the past is not dead, and even less so in the East. The student familiar with the history of those countries cannot help feeling that under the thin veneer of modern political trends age-old forces are at work which in the long run may prove more powerful than the spectacular but transitory movements which impress the casual observer. Therefore the publication of a history of the ancient Khmer empire is particularly welcome at a time when its direct descendant, the modern kingdom of Cambodia, is faced with urgent problems of political and cultural readjustment.

The fact that this first great history of the Khmer has been written by an American and is being published in the United States will, we may hope, help focus the interest of American scholarship on a subject to which it has, so far, not paid as much attention as it deserves. Mr. Briggs has admirably succeeded in coordinating and interpreting the enormous and widely scattered materials, thus making them available to all those who may be attracted by the story of one of the most brilliant and colorful civilizations of Asia.

ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN

Vienna, May 20, 1950

PREFACE

The Peninsula of Indo-China is the home of several distinct peoples who have or have had distinct, though sometimes related, cultures and civilizations, and histories of sufficient importance to be worth recording separately. Among these peoples may be mentioned Cambodians, Chams, Annamites, Siamese, Laotians, Burmese, and Malays. These peoples and their countries are distant and obscure and the details of their political histories have had only a minor interest for us. Yet hidden away in the jungles of the interior, until recently all unknown to the Western world, are mute witnesses that here man lived and toiled and ruled and wrought his dreams into magnificent stone temples and marvels of sculpture and decoration which nowhere else on earth has he ever been able to match—wonders which, for combined extent, magnitude, and splendor, dwarf and reduce almost to commonplace, the much-heralded wonders of Egypt and Greece and Rome.

If, now, we turn to books to try to learn something of the stories of these various peoples, we find fairly accurate and up-to-date histories of Burma (490),* Siam (730), and Malaya (538; 729) in English, and of Annam (692; 716), Laos (512), and modern Cambodia (514) in French. Even Champa, which disappeared as a country, and almost as a people, several centuries ago, has reliable, up-to-date histories in French (576) and in English (535). It is precisely the Ancient Khmers, whose work has been so wonderful and whose records are so plentiful and so complete, about whom we are so ill-informed, even misinformed. No adequate history of the Ancient Khmers is available, even in French.

The reasons for the absence of reliable historical works on the ancient Khmers are many. The country is distant and its interior has been difficult of access. The Ancient Khmers left no reliable chronicles, as some of their neighbors have done. (The Chronicles of modern Cambodia begin near the beginning of the fifteenth century.) Our first knowledge of the Ancient Khmers and their country was obtained from Chinese dynastic histories (which derived their information chiefly from exchange of envoys), from the accounts of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who travelled to India and the countries of Southeast Asia, but did not visit Cambodia, and from the accounts of Arab and other voyagers who sailed along the coast. All this was second-hand material. From the Chinese envoys in the first part of the third century to those of the very end of the thirteenth century—during the entire period of its glory—we have scarcely a first-hand word about the Ancient Khmers from any foreigner who had ever visited their country.

These scattered and second-hand accounts mentioned

Funan, Chenla, and the Khmers, without any indication that they referred to the same country or people. It was little more than a generation ago that these names were precised, located, and identified as one. When the French acquired an interest in this region, many of their administrators and scholars attempted to weave the material at hand into a connected history. Garnier (1873), Moura (1883), Bergaigne (1884), Aymonier (1900–1904), Georges Maspero (1904), Leclere (1913), all essayed the task. Their data consisted chiefly, in addition to the documents mentioned above, of some legends, apparently of Indian origin, and the first few inscriptions, often imperfectly translated or understood, from which they unfortunately wove a false chronology, which vitiates all their early histories.

Even these early histories, valuable as some of them are in some respects, and these early data mentioned above, in French, do not seem to have been used by American and English writers, who seldom, if ever, mention them. Only one serious attempt, as far as the writer knows, has ever been made to write a scholarly history of the Ancient Khmer Empire in the English language;¹ and, by a curious turn of fortune, other investigators destroyed much of the chronology and other data on which that book was based, before it was even off the press. It was published in India and not extensively advertised in the United States. Few Americans ever heard of it.²

But the excavations and studies of scholars, particularly those of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient during the nearly fifty years of its existence, have accumulated such a mass of historical, epigraphic, iconographic, architectural, and other data on this field that the earlier histories are completely out of date and the sheer mass of the new data has retarded their revision. These studies and the results of these excavations have been published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, *T'oung Pao*, *Journal Asiatique*, and other Oriental magazines and in collections as well as in books, always in French. In the art and archeology, epigraphy and iconography of French Indo-China, the French have the field pretty much to themselves.

In the second part of the author's little book, *A Pilgrimage to Angkor* (100, 66–92), the sources of our information on Ancient Khmer history are summarized under the following heads: (1) Chinese dynastic histories and accounts of Oriental travellers, (2) Sanskrit and Khmer epigraphy, (3) Buddhist and Brahmanic iconography, (4) architecture, (5) art and sculpture,

¹ B. R. Chatterjee, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1928.

² Chatterjee has recently corrected his work by a series of articles. (115).

* Numbers in parentheses, in italics, refer to list of *Works Cited*.

(6) bas-reliefs, (7) exploration and excavation, (8) anthropology and prehistory, and (9) comparative philology. The last two are speculative. The first is an early source, almost the sole source of some of the earliest articles and books. The other six have undergone great recent developments and have contributed greatly to our data on the subject, as shown by the booklet cited above and by a recent article by the author (737). Until very recently, these data had scarcely been touched by previous histories on the subject.

For instance, l'École Française now has a list of more than 900 inscriptions,³ in Sanskrit and Khmer, most of which it has translated into French. More than 300 of these inscriptions—practically all of those which give specific historical information—have been used in writing this book and a special appendix contains a list of about 250 inscriptions which are quoted by name in the text, with about 40 inscriptions from neighboring countries which contain information relating to the Ancient Khmer Empire. This special appendix gives the inventory number of each inscription, its language, its exact or approximate date, the page or pages of the text on which it is quoted, and an indication as to where the French translation may be found. In *Works Cited* are listed about 750 titles, most of which are the decipherment of inscriptions and comments on them or special studies by experts in their various fields, with indications as to their locations, so that whosoever will may find them and read.

The mass of materials collected during the past twenty-five or thirty years, the completion of the chronology of the reigns, the correction of ideas about the sequence of the monuments, the reclassification of the schools of art and other changes in the opinions of savants, make it possible now to write a fairly conclusive history of the Ancient Khmer Empire, which was not possible even twenty-five years ago. The author has read practically all the pertinent material published up to the date of this preface and believes that, with a few possible divergences of opinion (generally indicated), his work represents the latest current facts and opinions of experts in their various fields. But perhaps a discovery has already been made which invalidates some of the theories currently accepted by savants. No history is ever definitive. But the possible scope of such a new discovery is very much restricted. The main outlines of the history of the Ancient Khmer Empire are now fixed.

The favorite fable about the people and monuments of the Ancient Khmer Empire is that they are surrounded in mystery and that we know nothing about them. Whatever mystery once existed has been largely cleared up by French scholars during the past forty or fifty years. The history of Ancient Cambodia is now comparatively well authenticated. The continuity of

history from the earliest times to the present is better established in Cambodia than in Egypt, and there is no more reason to doubt that the modern Cambodian is the true descendant of the ancient Khmer than that the modern inhabitants of Greece and Italy are descended, at least in part, from the ancient Greeks and Romans. As far as chronology is concerned, the author knows of no country whose history can be so completely and so accurately written from the inscriptions. From the beginning of the ninth to nearly the middle of the fourteenth century—the period in which all the great monuments were built—the inscriptions furnish an unbroken line of kings, with the approximate, when not the exact, dates of their reigns and generally their relationship to their predecessors. Chinese writers supplement these inscriptions with sometimes more detailed information, more or less regularly from the first part of the third to early in the fourteenth century.

An attempt is made here to write a book (1) that will satisfy the demands of critical scholarship and (2) that will be as readable and interesting as possible under these conditions.

(1) In the interest of scholarship, an attempt has been made to write from the sources or as near the sources as possible. This has meant the searching through many scattered journals and collections, generally in a foreign tongue, for the transcriptions of hundreds of inscriptions and for the notes and comments of the epigraphist (sometimes as valuable as the inscription itself), the selecting of this material and arranging it in sequence, the use of more than 300 of these inscriptions in the text and the preparation of a list of over 250 inscriptions, as mentioned above; the study of the religions, literature, mythology, iconography, architecture, sculpture, and other arts of India and other countries which form the sources and background of Khmer civilization and history; the searching of the relations, chronicles, inscriptions, and other documents of the Chinese and other neighboring countries which mention the Ancient Khmers; the perusal of the reports of commissions and other studies of experts in their various fields. The author has made very little use of published histories in any modern language.

An attempt has been made to write a completely documented book, to fix as exactly as possible every date or other important fact of the history of the Ancient Khmer Empire and to support it by a reference to the sources. For this purpose, a list of *Works Cited*, of about 750 titles, is given, and the works on this list are cited by number and page in the text. This list is not in any sense a bibliography of the subject. Every book, article or document in the list has contributed something to the book. The author believes that, with very few exceptions, every important statement of fact or theory made in the book, unless it is stated as the author's opinion, or unless it is axiomatic or otherwise universally accepted, is supported by a definite, authoritative reference of high character,

³ In the *Liste Générale des Inscriptions* kept by l'École. See p. 274.

which may easily be found, so that the reader can determine the value of the statement. This documentation, the author believes, is an indispensable "hallmark" of scholarship in this field.

Such a work, in a comparatively new field, based almost completely on sources which have been used very little or not at all in histories or historical articles, necessarily entails some differences in method from a work which differs only in point of view or in some details or incident, in a well-cultivated field whose main dates and facts are already fixed and which has a background of historical or journalistic literature in which mooted points have been aired and discussed. Sometimes some discussion of uncertain points must take place in the text with a statement of the opinions on all sides, and the final opinion of the author, if pertinent. In keeping close to the sources, it is often of importance to quote the exact language of, say, the relation of a Chinese visitor, an inscription or the epigrapher's comment or the opinion of an artist or an architect, in a field where the historian is not high authority.

(2) In the interest of readability, several devices have been employed. References to authorities, instead of being put in footnotes to encumber the pages and bewilder the reader, are made by number and page to the list of books and articles in *Works Cited*. Footnotes are briefly explanatory of the text and as few as possible. The topic-system, with head-lines, is intended to give greater clarity. Cross-references—to other parts of the book—are intended to serve the same purpose. The frequent repetitions, which to some readers may seem superfluous, are not wholly unintentional. Summaries of the evolution of architecture and art for instance, of which the chapter on Angkor Wat (Part III, Chapter 12) gives many examples, are frequent. It is believed that the value of these repetitions and summaries is obvious.

The subject-matter of a history of the Ancient Khmer Empire differs from that of most countries. Wars form a small part of it. The inscriptions often contain statements about wars, but they are nearly always indefinite. The inscriptions and bas-reliefs tell us something about the daily life of the people and Chinese embassies and visitors give us a great deal of definite information on this subject. The development of various religious movements runs like a thread throughout all the history of these people. But the most important and interesting fact in the history of the ancient Khmers is the development of their architecture and art. This is probably more true of ancient Cambodia than of any other country that ever existed. This was the ancient Khmer's contribution to civilization; the development of that architecture and art is, to a large degree, the history of the Ancient Khmer Empire.

Because the story of the development of the architecture and art lends itself to illustrations, which appeal to the eye, a hasty observer may gain the impression that this work is primarily a history of architecture and

art. This is not the case. The author is a student of history. Aside from the marvelous appeal of the Khmer monuments, he is interested in the architecture and art of these monuments, as he is in the development of religions (735) and other activities of the Khmers, chiefly as a part of that history. If the work has an unusual merit, the author thinks it lies in the completeness and quality of its documentation as history. The purpose of the illustrations is not to embellish the book, but almost solely to illustrate the text. They do not purport to represent the principal works of Khmer architecture, sculpture, and decoration, or even a well-balanced typical collection, but chiefly those works which represent the development exposed in the text. If the author has performed this task well enough to meet the approval of experts and to be of interest to students in those fields, he will be content. But that is not his primary motive.

An attempt has been made to deal with all the facts of history chronologically because that is the way things happen. Time is the thread on which historical events are strung. An accession, a war, a movement in religion, the erection of a temple, all are woven into a continuous narrative, because all are, or may be, related, and when each topic is finished, the reader should have a cross-section of the entire subject-matter up to that date. Following this chronological plan, the division into chapters has been almost entirely by reigns. This grouping by reigns, however, may be only tentative.

The first draft of this manuscript was prepared in 1943, but its publication was delayed. In the meantime, many important data—pent up during the war and immediate post-war period—were brought to light. They include a new volume of inscriptions of Cambodia, two volumes on the history of Southeast Asia, and one relating to the monuments of Angkor, by George Coedès, leading research scholar in these fields; a couple of volumes in the same field by the eminent Indian historian, R. C. Majumdar; the scholarly studies of Coedès, Pierre Dupont, and R. A. Stein, and the published results of the excavations and studies of Louis Malleret. These studies, which are listed in *Works Cited*, under the names of the authors, brought to light so much new information that it was necessary to rewrite many pages of the manuscript to incorporate or consider properly the pertinent new data.

The three volumes of Coedès and one by Majumdar were reviewed by the author in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, as indicated in *Works Cited*. Majumdar's most recent volume—*Kambujadesa*—as it was not so reviewed, deserves some attention here. Published in 1943, it consists of six lectures delivered at the University of Madras in 1942–1943, covering the history of ancient Cambodia from the beginning of Funan to the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII. It consists of 142 pages of text, a list of inscriptions and an index—165 pages in all. Its chief novel feature is a list of inscriptions, the first such list published in English. It men-

tions by name 187 inscriptions. Many of them have not been edited, and as he does not edit the new ones, nor say much about their contents, little new historical data are brought to light. However, the author has found this list useful in checking the list given at the end of this volume.

Another book, which appeared in 1940, caused some modifications in the rewriting of the text. This was *L'Art Khmer* by Madame Gilberte de Coral Rémusat (301), brilliant associate of Philippe Stern in the Indo-Chinese section of the Musée Guimet, Paris. This beautiful volume consummated the task of rearranging the styles of Khmer art and of dating the monuments, whose chronology had been upset by Stern's epoch-making volume in 1937 (698) and had been remade by the studies of Marchal, Coedès, Goloubew, and especially Dupont, Stern and Madame de Coral Rémusat herself.

In gathering the information for this book, the author received valuable assistance from two sources. One of these was l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient and particularly its then Director, George Coedès. An examination of the list of *Works Cited* will show the author's obligation to this group of great scholars who have written on nearly every subject of interest to the history of Cambodia. Of the 750-odd works cited, Coedès is author or joint-author of more than 160. He has been very helpful in obtaining for the author books and documents not otherwise obtainable, of which he was the author of some, including a couple of manuscript copies of articles which had not yet appeared in print. Besides his assistance in providing illustrations (which is acknowledged elsewhere in this preface), he has been kind enough to read and make helpful suggestions on two chapters of the book—the chapters on Jayavarman VII. It is not too much to say that this book would not have been worth reading—or writing—if it had not been for the herculean labors of l'École Française, and it would have been a much different book without the scholarly work and helpful assistance of Professor Coedès.

Another source of great assistance to the writer, in preparing this work, has been the Library of the University of California and, through it, many other libraries of the United States. The author began collecting data on this subject many years ago, when he was American Consul at Saigon (1914–1917) and Rangoon (1917–1920). While serving in various parts of the world during the next few years, he collected a considerable library on the subject. A few years ago, he retired to devote all his attention to this and other volumes on Indo-China. After his retirement, he used the facilities of the University of California for nearly ten years. This Library, which has one of the best collections on Indo-China to be found in the United States, has been kind enough to purchase books at the author's request, if they could be bought and if not has borrowed them from other libraries of the United States. As a

consequence, the author does not know of any book, article or document, which would have been of much value to him in this work, which has not been made available to him. The first draft of the manuscript was completely written at that Library.

In the revision and rewriting of the manuscript during the past three years, the author is indebted to the Library of Congress, whose facilities he has enjoyed during that time. Special mention should be made of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, Chief of Division Orientalia, for helpful assistance and advice. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Audrey A. Cook for her work in re-typing the manuscript and for valuable assistance in preparing the lists and the genealogical and other tables.

In attempting to secure a publisher for this complicated and expensive work, the author's thanks are due to several people. First of all should be mentioned Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, research associate of the American Museum of Natural History and leading authority on the prehistory of Southeast Asia, who was the first to recognize and to proclaim the merits of the work, and who has always been ready to review it for, and recommend it to, prospective publishers. Among those whose reviews or recommendations have been of great service in this respect are Dr. Earl H. Pritchard, Professor of Far Eastern History, University of Chicago; Ardelia R. Hall, Arts and Monuments Officer, Department of State, authority on Far Eastern art, and my preparatory school classmate and life-long friend, the late Dr. Isaiah Bowman, once President of Johns Hopkins University. Finally, special thanks are due to the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, whose generosity made possible the publication of such a work.

The illustrations used in this work have been drawn from several sources. Some photographs have been furnished by l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, through the courtesy of its then Director, George Coedès, and some from Musée Guimet, through the courtesy of Philippe Stern. Others have been taken from books and journals. The following are the numbers of the illustrations and their sources, for which the author takes occasion here to express his grateful thanks:

École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, and its publications: figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 48, 49, 51, 58; plans 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 21.

Musée Guimet, Paris: figs. 14, 31, 40, 45, 46, 53, 54, 55, 59.

Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, Paris: figs. 5, 6, 13, 24, 28, 30, 42, 43, 50-a, -b, -c, and -e; plan 200.

Office de Tourisme, Saigon: figs. 25, 27, 50-d.

Les Editions G. Van Oest, Paris: figs. 32, 33, 34, 41, 47, 50-f, 50-g, 52.

Imprimerie Nationale, Phnom Penh: figs. 56, 57.

E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden: fig. 7.

College Art Association, New York: figs. 22, 38, 50-g.

The matter of the spelling of names and some other words has raised many problems, chiefly because the sources are in Chinese, Sanskrit, Pāli, and Khmer and the author has used them in French translations. This is especially disconcerting, because the author pretends to make some attempt to standardize the transliteration of these words. For Chinese words, he leans toward the Wade-Giles system and for Sanskrit words, toward the Monier-Williams system and that being adopted by the Library of Congress. The author has made it a rule to mark Sanskrit words, even though they have also been adopted into English, and to italicize them unless they are proper nouns. Names of kings and other persons are generally found in the inscriptions and are generally in Sanskrit. But place names and names of sanctuaries are generally local and modern. Many of these names and other words have been borrowed from Sanskrit or Pāli and corrupted into modern Khmer or Tai, sometimes retaining certain

Sanskrit marks. Among these are many words containing *ṇ* or *ṇi*, such as *kurunṇ*, *kamratenṇ an*, *Aṅkor Thomṇ*. In these words, the *ṇ* becomes *ng* to continue the sound and the other marks are omitted; e.g., *kurung*, *kamrateng an*, *Angkor Thom*. However, as Khmer words, they are italicized, unless proper nouns. There are a few exceptions to these rules and a few cases where the author has had to make a choice between conflicting rules. In transcribing Chinese names, the author has received valuable assistance from Dr. K. T. Wu, and in Sanskrit from Dr. Horace Poleman and Mr. Walter H. Maurer, all of the Division Orientalia, Library of Congress. But in all cases, the final decision has been made by the author and he alone is responsible for any errors or eccentricities in the spelling or marking of such words.

L. P. B.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 29, 1949.

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THE ANCIENT KHMER EMPIRE

LAWRENCE PALMER BRIGGS

INTRODUCTION

PERIODS OF CAMBODIAN HISTORY

In the inscriptions, the inhabitants of Cambodia are called Kambuja, "descendants of Kambu," the legendary founder of their race. Their country is called Kambujadesa, "land of the Kambuja," and sometimes simply Kambuja. But these names were probably given to them by the Indian hierarchy who wrote the inscriptions. In their legends they called the country Kok Thlok, or "land of the thlok (tree)," and later srok Khmer, "country of the Khmers" (514, 19). Cham inscriptions called them first Kambuja, or Kamvuja (535, 3, 144, 146, 149), later Kvir, or Khmer (*ibid.*, 155, 224). Arab travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries called them Kamār, Kimēr, Komār, and Kumār (340, 1: 63, 69; 2: 464) and Khmer (344, 59). Chinese writers called the country Chenla, which, if it is not a transliteration of Kambuja, was used by the Chinese in that sense. The term Khmer, practically synonymous with Kambuja, is the adjective generally used with Empire, and this history aims to cover more than Kambujadesa proper.

(1) We do not know what the people of the earliest kingdom of the Mekong delta called themselves; but the Chinese called their country *Funan*. A vassal kingdom of Funan, just above it on the Mekong, was called Chenla by the Chinese. About the middle of the sixth century, Chenla, which had apparently become independent, reduced Funan to vassalage and later annexed it. As the people of the two countries were practically the same, and as the transformation took place without more trouble than often accompanies a change of dynasty, this earliest, or formative, period of Cambodian history may be spoken of, not too improperly, as the *Funan Period*.

(2) Chenla seems to have been the Chinese equivalent of Kambuja or Kambujadesa. But in this period the people rarely, if ever, called their country Kambuja, at least in the inscriptions. They designated their country by the name of the capital city, whatever it might

be, and this in turn was often called after the monarch; e.g., Īsānapura, "city (or country) of Īsānavarman." After the founding of the Khmer kingdom by Jayavarman II on Mount Mahendra in 802, the inscriptions use the terms Kambuja and Kambujadesa; consequently, this date will be taken as the end of what we will call the *Chenla Period*, although the Chinese continued for many centuries to use the term Chenla to designate Cambodia.

(3) *The Kambuja, or Angkor, Period* extended from 802 to the capture of Angkor by the Siamese in 1431 and the definitive removal of the capital to the southeastern part of the kingdom in 1432. During all this period, the capital was at, or near, Angkor. This was the Classical Period of Cambodian history—the period of the far-flung empire, of the marvelous works of architecture and art, of the wonderful Sanskrit inscriptions.

(4) The country maintained a more or less independent existence for more than five centuries, with its capital in the vicinity of modern Phnom Penh and with constantly-diminishing boundaries. In art, religion, and everything that goes to make up a culture, the transformation was great. Europeans began to frequent southeastern Asia, and Kambuja became Camboxa, Camboja, Camboya, Camboie, Kamboie (Portuguese and Spanish), Cambodge (French), and Cambodia (English). We will call this the *Cambodia Period*.

(5) Finally, in 1864, France established a protectorate over the country, restored its historic boundaries, and tried to awaken in its inhabitants the spirit of their former greatness. The latter period will be called the *French Protectorate*.

This book covers the first three periods.

The author is aware that the above division of the subject is open to criticism, but he believes the objections are outweighed by the advantages.

I. THE FUNAN PERIOD

First Century A.D. to ca. 550

1. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

FUNAN AN ANCIENT STATE

Of the many Indianized¹ kingdoms of Indo-China, Funan is probably the most ancient. From the reports of Chinese envoys who visited it early in the third century, Paul Pelliot has placed the foundation of the kingdom not later than the first century A.D. Chinese dynastic histories record that early in the third century a Chinese official was sent there to spread civilization and that an embassy from Funan subsequently appeared at the court of China. Chinese historians and travellers mention the country frequently until the early part of the seventh century, when they say it was conquered by its former vassal, Chenla.

Even after this disaster, the Chinese record that Funan continued to send embassies to the Imperial Court until the middle of the seventh century; however, the Chinese may have continued to use the name Funan to designate Chenla, or part of it, through ignorance or force of habit, after Funan had ceased to exist, or the embassies may have been sent by the deposed dynasty. The celebrated Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I-ching,² spoke of "Poh-nan formerly called Funan" (711, 12); but I-ching spoke only from hearsay, and his information was probably out of date when he received it. As a political entity, Funan seems to have expired sometime during the reign of Īśānavarman, King of Chenla, probably about A.D. 627, or not too long afterward.

DISAPPEARANCE OF FUNAN FROM THE MAP

The word Funan and any reference to the ancient kingdom under any other name disappeared during the seventh century without leaving any trace. After a few centuries the Chinese themselves did not know where to place the country their ancient historical documents called Funan. Chau Ju-quā, writing early in the thirteenth century, described Chenla, which he identified with Kambuja; but he did not identify Funan (495). Ma Tuan-lin, writing later in that century, thought Funan was an island, 3,000 *li*³ southeast of Lin-yi (584, 436). When, in the nineteenth century, European orientalists began reading about Funan in Chinese historical documents, their speculations located it all along the coast from Tonkin to Burma. Of the

wisest sinologues, at the beginning of that century, one, Abel-Rémusat, writing in 1825, thought Funan was Tonkin (677, 77 note 1); another, J. H. Klaproth, in 1826 put it on his map between Pegu and Bengal (506, map 8). W. P. Groeneveldt (1887) was so certain Funan occupied the Menam valley that he translated it as Siam (463, 239). Leon de Rosny (1889) thought its center was in the region of Chieng Mai and that it extended from Siam to Tonkin (680, 191–192). Sylvain Levi, writing in 1896, considered it equivalent to Pegu-Siam (521, 176). Auguste Barth, who translated some of the earliest inscriptions, placed it at Tenasserim (34, 274–275; 35, 438). Etienne Aymonier, one of the first French Residents of Cambodia, linguist, epigraphist and historian, at first (1900) expressed the opinion that Funan extended from Tonkin to Siam (6, 1, 133–134), but later (1918) came to identify it with Chenla (9, 6–7).⁴

It was Paul Pelliot, French sinologist connected with l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, who collected and reviewed all the known references to Funan in the Chinese historical and travel documents and definitely located it in the delta of the Mekong—the region now occupied by Cochinchina and part of Cambodia; although, as we shall see, its Empire probably once covered part of what later became Champa, and it is quite certain that its authority once extended to the Gulf of Martaban on the West and far down into the Malay Peninsula. Little has been added to our knowledge of Funan since publication of Pelliot's article in 1903 (660).⁵

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME

Our knowledge of Funan is obtained almost exclusively from the Chinese. The name is apparently a Chinese transcription of a Khmer original. What the original was, has been the subject of some speculation. Aymonier thought Funan was a purely Chinese name which meant "Protected South" (8, 109). Col. G. E. Gerini, Italian scholar who spent many years in the service of the King of Siam, insisted that Funan was a Chinese transcription of the Khmer *banam* (*phnom*), which means "mountain" (425, 207). The late Louis Finot, French epigraphist and scholar, founder and sev-

¹ The word "Indianized" is used in preference to "Hinduized," because, to the author at least, the latter has a particular religious significance.

² Called also I-tsing, Yi-tsing, etc.

³ Pelliot thinks a *li* was about a quarter of a mile.

⁴ These early beliefs are mentioned to give an account of the progress of our knowledge of the subject and to warn the reader against them.

⁵ Even after the publication of Pelliot's article, Hirth and Rockhill, in their translation of Chau Ju-quā's *Chu-fan-chi*, in 1911, considered Funan as equivalent to Siam (495, 6, 50, n. 8).

eral times Director of l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient, maintained that it was a Chinese transcription of a local name (368, 29-30). He suggested that *nagar bhnam*, "city of the capital (or of the Kingdom)" might be transcribed into Chinese as *Fu-nan-kuo*; later, he suggested *kuin-kuo*, "Kingdom of the mountain" (414, 75).

George Coedès, French epigraphist and savant and present (1943) Director of l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient, identifies the Mount Motan of Nāgasena (p. 28) with the present Ba Phnom and places the ancient capital—the Vyādhapura of the inscriptions—at its base (140, 127-131).⁶ If, as seems probable, Funan derives its name from the mount of Ba Phnom, Vyādhapura would seem to have been the capital from the beginning, as the country was called Funan by the Chinese envoys early in the third century (p. 21). An inscription of the tenth century shows that Ba Phnom was still considered a holy mountain (140, 128; see also 139).

PRIMITIVE LOCATION

According to the earliest Chinese account,⁷ Funan was more than 3,000 *li* west of Lin-yi (Champa⁸) in a great bay of the sea. Its territory was more than 3,000 *li* in width. A great river, which came from the west or northwest,⁹ ran through it and emptied into the sea (660, 254, 256, 263). The delta probably did not extend quite so far out to sea as it does today and the lower part of it was doubtless more marshy. Groslier thinks the coast at that time extended in a nearly straight line from the site of the present Kampot to that of Saigon (470, 383). The map prepared in 1916 by Henri Parmentier, then Chief of the Archeological Service of Indo-China, shows that no inscription of date earlier than 802 had been found as far south as the present city of Rachgia, in about 11 North latitude (616). Even at the end of its history, the chief centers of population of Funan were along the Mekong River between the present cities of Chaudoc and Phnom Penh and along the Mekong and the Tonle Sap, a little above Phnom Penh. Early Chinese dynastic histories¹⁰ tell us that the capital was 500 *li* from the sea (660, 263), which would bring it in the vicinity of Ba Phnom or Angkor Borei, both of which have been hypothetically identified as Vyādhapura, the ancient capital of Funan according to later inscriptions. Then, as now, the whole region was intersected with innumerable channels. I-ching says that Chinese pilgrims sailed across Funan

to reach Lang-chia and that it contained the "port of a thousand rivers"¹¹ (116, 5, 57).

SETTLEMENTS FOLLOWED THE WATER-COURSES

Funan proper seems to have occupied the delta, probably somewhat more restricted than today, and the V between the lower Mekong and the Tonle Sap. It does not seem at first to have extended as far as the Great Lake, for the Chinese make no reference to it. The Chams seem to have held the Mekong from the mouth of the Khong at Stung Treng up to near the mouth of the Mun river, until the coming of the Khmers (p. 38). On the other hand, the coast from the delta to the Bay of Camranh seems to have been settled by a people similar to the Funanese and to have been governed by Funan.¹²

Then, as now—or at least until recently—transportation was almost entirely by water. All the early settlements were along navigable water-courses. It is possible that the Khmers came from the upper Menam valley down the Mun; but once they reached that river, they followed it to the Mekong and made their settlements along its banks.

CLIMATE AND VEGETATION

The rainfall of the delta region is great, especially during the period of the Southwest monsoon, which lasts from May to October. The annual rainfall in the delta is more than 100 inches. The heat is intense and unrelenting. The mean annual temperature is above 80° Fahrenheit, and the moist atmosphere during the rainy season makes it oppressive.¹³ "The South encloses great marshes, with a climate so hot that one never sees white snow nor ice. The soil there engenders pestilential exhalations and swarms of venomous insects" (584, 481).

The Chinese were surprised to see that the grass did not wither with the excessive heat. The vegetation was such as is generally found in a tropical delta. Bamboos, and palms of several varieties—arica, coconut, nipa, and others—lined the banks, while everywhere mangroves extended into the water. Rushes and reeds filled the marshes. On drier ground, bananas, oranges, pomegranates, and other tropical fruits grew; and sandalwood, aloes, storax, circuma, and other kinds of scented woods and perfumes flourished.

Among cultivated plants, rice and several kinds of millet are mentioned. Sugar-cane was cultivated and

⁶ In his recent book, Coedès says, "This name is the modern mandarin pronunciation of two characters formerly pronounced *b'iu-nam*, which are the transcription of the old Khmer word *bnam*, now, *phnom*, "mountain" (274, 43-44).

⁷ *Chin-shu*, or the History of the Chin dynasty, (A.D. 265-419).

⁸ The distance given is probably meant to be from capital to capital.

⁹ The Anterior Fork of the Mekong flows from the northwest at Ba Phnom.

¹⁰ History of the Liang dynasty A.D. 502-556.

¹¹ Recent excavations by L. Malleret at Go Oc Eo, just north of Rachgia, show the existence there of what may have been the principal port of Funan, dated as early as the first century A.D. (275; 108, 374).

¹² Coedès thinks the inscription of Vo-Canh was Funanese and not Cham and identifies Śrī Mara with Fan Shih-man (274, 48).

¹³ The mean annual temperature at Saigon is 27.6° C. = 81.7° F. (499, 12).

used for food. Then, as now, rice was the principal crop. "They plant one year and crop three," the Chinese tell us (660, 254). When the people began to use clothing, they wove a kind of cotton, which is native in Indo-China, and was known to the ancient Khmers.

MAMMALS AND BIRDS

Elephants were common and were killed for their tusks or domesticated and used as pack animals and in warfare. Tigers lurked in the jungle grass. Rhinoceroses are mentioned, and the horn was reputed by the Chinese to have remarkable medicinal and magic qualities. The last embassy from independent Funan to the Chinese court (A.D. 539) carried a live rhinoceros as tribute. Otherwise, the mammals and birds are said to have resembled those of southern China. The hog, which might be called the national beast of China, was present, and the Chinese rated hog-fights as one of the principal amusements of Funan. Among the birds mentioned by the Chinese were peacocks, fisher-martins, and perroquets of five colors. Cock-fighting was a favorite sport, and eggs were used in the trial by ordeal; so, doubtless, the natives had even then domesticated the jungle fowl, the ancestor of our various breeds of hens, the fowl which, both wild and domesticated, is so common in Cambodia today.

CROCODILES, TURTLES, FISH

Crocodiles infested the waters of the delta and sunned themselves along the banks of the rivers and lakes. They were kept in the moats to guard the royal palaces and fortified cities and were feasted on the unfortunate defendants who failed in the ordeals (pp. 22, 29). Turtles abounded in the waters of the sea and delta. Shellfish of various kinds existed in sufficient abundance to have maintained the prehistoric population of a few centuries earlier. But the great animal food-product of the country was the bountiful supply of fish which were imprisoned in the bayous of the Tonle Sap and the many lakelets and pools of the delta caused by the receding waters at the close of the annual flood. This abundant supply of easy food made of this region a fisherman's paradise and doubtless accounted for such a comparatively large population in a region in many ways so inhospitable.

SNAKES, COBRA, NĀGA

Snakes of all kinds, including several poisonous varieties, crept through the grass or sunned themselves on the banks. The king of all snakes was the hooded cobra, whose legendary chief, or *Nāgarāja*, was the fabled proprietor of the land and which has woven itself so curiously into Cambodian legend and art.

Cobra is the Portuguese word for snake, and the name *cobra capella* was probably given to the hooded cobra by the first Portuguese to come in contact with

them. In Sanskrit, the language of the brahmanic upper classes, the word for snake is *nāga*. The *nāga*, which forms such a striking and characteristic feature of classic Cambodian art, is the hooded cobra with fan deployed.

The *nāga* is interwoven with the legend of the Buddha and is mentioned as an object of worship in the classic Indian epics and even in the later Vedas, and the royal-cult of the *Nāgarāja* can be traced back to the court of the Pallavas, and even further (p. 27). The brahmins lost no time in introducing it into Cambodia and attaching it to the hooded cobra. Cambodian legends and legendary genealogies agree in having their kings descend from the union of a fabled ancestor (an Indian, of course, as the brahmins were from India) with a *nāgī*, daughter of the *Nāgarāja*, owner of the soil. As late as the end of the thirteenth century, a Chinese visitor to Cambodia relates that every night the King of Cambodia went high up into the tower of the royal temple of the Phimeanakas at Angkor, to spend the first watch with the *nāga* princess, daughter of the *Nāgarāja*, and that on this union depended the welfare, even the existence, of the Kingdom. So, at least, believed the people of Cambodia. This story will give some idea of the respect in which this king of serpents was held by the early inhabitants of Funan.

This *nāga* legend, which had Chinese, as well as Indian, affiliations, seems to have been common to all Southeast Asia and to have been connected with agricultural rites assuring an abundant supply of rain. In a trip through Java in 1928, Paul Mus tells of finding a tower in Solo, in whose forbidden upper story a similar ceremony is said to be performed (327, 1928, 647).

MINERALS AND PRECIOUS OBJECTS

Among the minerals and precious objects mentioned by the Chinese were gold, silver, copper, tin, pearls, coral, ivory, and glass. Gold and silver were used in making vessels and ornaments and for paying imposts. "The impost is paid in gold, silver or even in pearls or perfumes." They made bronze images of their gods. Pearls and objects of coral, ivory, and glass were offered in tribute. Among the minerals mentioned was

a kind of diamond which resembles smoked crystal and which is produced at the bottom of the sea, on rocky banks, at 100 brasses of depth, as a sort of coagulated lacteous transudation. Divers collect this substance; it hardens in a single day, to the point of breaking the iron hammer with which one tries vainly to break it. However, if one strike it with the horn of a rhinoceros,¹⁴ the stone breaks into particles like a piece of ice (584, 438).

¹⁴ This is one of the many properties ascribed by the Chinese to the rhinoceros-horn. The stone referred to is probably jet, found in the islands of the eastern part of the Gulf of Siam. Groslier believed it referred to black diamonds, found on the banks of the streams of Laos (464, 22).

THE PEOPLE: FUNANESE, CHAMS, KHMERS

When history dawned upon this region (a little after the beginning of the Christian era), the stratification of peoples along the lower Mekong seems to have been as follows:

The Funanese occupied the delta and the river to the mouth of the Tonle Sap (later, at least, apparently including the region of the prehistoric station of Samrong Sen, on a north tributary of the Tonle Sap, a few hundred kilometers above the place where the kingdom of Funan was founded in the first century A.D. and probably active up to that time, if not later), and the coast to the eastward and northward as far at least as Camranh Bay¹⁵ (660, 302–303).

Above the Funanese at this time, the Chams seem to have occupied the Mekong valley from a point below the present Stung Treng to near the mouth of the Mun river. Khmer legends say they conquered the land from the Chams (600, 2: 8–9; 514, 33; 368, 31) and the earliest known Khmer temple of Cambodia—that of Vat Phu, in this vicinity—is dedicated to Bhadrēvara, the patron-saint of the Chams. On an eastern tributary are the ruins of *Kompong Cham Kau*, “old Cham citadel,” with a puzzling architecture and sculpture which Parmentier thought might be Cham (630, 1, 230 and note; 619, 48–49; 6, 2, 164–165) and the region around the mouth of the Mun is still called Champasak. Chams seem to have occupied the coast opposite this region from Camranh Bay to the Col des Nuages and to this day the connecting passes of the southern part of the Annamite chain are held by their cognates, Jarai and Radé.

Pressing down upon the Chams from the north were the Khmers. If the Khmers ever had common ancestry with the Mons—as the name Mon-Khmer implies—they must have come into this region via the Mun valley or have been connected with the Mon settlements of the Menam via that valley (map 1).

LANGUAGE OF THE FUNANESE

The Funanese seem to have spoken a pre-Khmer Austro-Asiatic language, such as Pater Schmidt believes was spoken in most of Indo-China¹⁶ (689, 1907, 227–228; 690, 149; 580). The testimony of the inscriptions, in so far as it is useful in this study, seems to favor Khmer or a closely related language. Three inscriptions have been attributed to the Funan period; but they are all in Sanskrit.¹⁷ The earliest dated inscriptions of the Khmer language found in the old Funan

¹⁵ There are no traces of Chams in that region and architecture of the kind ascribed by Parmentier to Funan reaches that far to the north (632). See map 1.

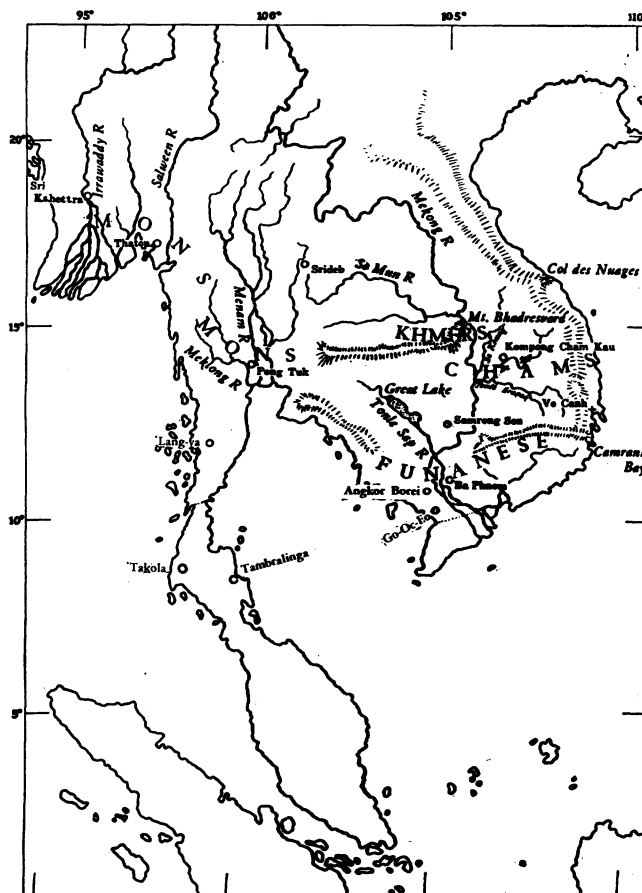
¹⁶ On the present status of Schmidt's Austro-Asiatic theory in Indo-China, see 101, 57–59.

¹⁷ Coedès now believes that the inscription of Vo-canb emanated from a king of Funan (pp. 19, 20), but it also is in Sanskrit.

region are dated 628–629,¹⁸ about the time of the annexation of Funan to Chenla. So it would seem that, at the close of the Funan Period at any rate, the Funanese must have spoken Khmer or a language closely related to Khmer.

SAMRONG SEN AND DONGSONIAN CULTURES

The Austrian prehistorian, Oswald Menghin, called the cultures of Indo-China during the late Neolithic, Old Samrong Sen and Late Samrong Sen (595, 81–82).



MAP 1. Probable stratification of the peoples of south-eastern Indo-China at the dawn of history there.

The former is said to have lasted from about 2500 to 1500 B.C., the latter from 1500 to 500 B.C. Menghin characterizes these two cultures respectively by mat-ceramics (the “cord-marked” pottery of British scholars) and mat-and-spiral ceramics. Heine-Geldern says the Samrong Sen Culture was the culture of the Shouldered Axe (or Celt), which he considers the principal characteristic of Austro-Asiatic culture; and he seems to consider Late Samrong Sen as character-

¹⁸ An inscription, in Khmer, has recently been found at Angkor Borei dated 611, and another, probably dated 609, at Ak Yom (p. 46).

ized by the mixture of the Shouldered Axe Culture of the Austro-Asiatics and the Rectangular Axe Culture of the Austronesians.¹⁹ (493, 561–566); but the studies made by French scholars do not indicate the presence of Mongoloids in Funan in any great degree (718). Bone arrow and spear points found at Samrong Sen indicate the methods of warfare used. The cultivation of plants seems to be indicated and a pig tooth may indicate the domestication of the pig. Mansuy thinks the few bronze objects found there are insignificant and of doubtful origin²⁰ (542).

Samrong Sen culture was succeeded by Dongsonian, so called from a little village in northern Annam, where a rich deposit was found. It had a wider extension than the Samrong Sen culture. Goloubew thinks it may have lasted from about 500 B.C. to about A.D. 300, but that its fixed dates corresponded with those of the Han dynasty in China (442). Karlgren dates the earliest Dongsonian Culture in the fourth-third century B.C. and thinks it was pre-Han (747, 25). Heine-Geldern thinks Goloubew's dates are a little low, especially for Funan. Jansé thinks Dongsonian Culture was Indonesian, contemporary with the earlier Han (746, XVIII–XX). The Stone Age and the Age of Metals overlapped in Indo-China, but as far as a real Bronze Age can be said to have existed there, it seems to have been the Dongsonian (442).

THE FUNANESE AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

Chinese historical documents speak thus of the Funanese, before their contact with the outside world: "The men are all ugly and black. Their hair is curly. They go naked and barefoot"²¹ (660, 254). "The custom of Funan was primitively to go with the body naked and tattooed, to wear the hair on the back and to know neither upper nor lower dress"²² (*ibid.*, 265). Some of these statements are probably characteristic Chinese exaggeration of people who differed from them; but the statement about curly hair may indicate a negrito element (488, 15, 17).

The Funanese lived in houses of woven bamboo or nipa palm, on piles, like the neighboring mountain-tribes today. There is no reason to think they had at this time reached a higher state of political development than the tribal system of the Bahnars, Sedangs, or other closely-related hill-tribes of the southern end of the Annamitic Chain (581; 44; 45; 85). As trading-vessels of foreign countries began to creep along the coast and to cross the delta, the natives along the rivers seem to have collected at the little settlements established by traders.

¹⁹ Heine-Geldern's Ur-Austronesians seem to be identical with the people called Southern Mongoloid by Haddon (488, 34–35).

²⁰ Dr. Jansé found a few bronzes at Samrong Sen in 1934–1935 (746, 1, v).

²¹ The History of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265–419).

²² The History of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–556).

EARLY CHINESE TRADE AND EXPANSION

Meantime, both China and India were approaching Indo-China. From very early times, western China carried on a trade with the nations of central Asia and, through them with western Asia. But this route was constantly being cut off by nomadic tribes. In the second century B.C. one Chang Ch'ien, on a mission in Bactria, heard much of a rich country called Chen-tu (India) and conceived the idea of opening a route from China to India by the South and thus of avoiding the perils and uncertainties of the northern route. As a result of his report, an expedition was sent to conquer the Kingdom of Tien in Yunnan, and to explore the route through northern Burma and Assam. In 111 B.C. another expedition was sent to conquer the Hundred Yuëh of southeastern China, to establish the commandery of Jih-nan on the coast of the present Annam and a maritime port of what is now the Gulf of Tonkin, from which communications could be made by sea. Maritime commercial trading began and kingdoms from beyond the seas soon came to offer homage. Still, trade and communications between China and India continued to be carried on chiefly by Central Asia until the second and third centuries A.D.²³

EARLY INDIAN TRADE AND EXPANSION

From some time about the beginning of the Christian era, the Tenasserim coast and the Malay Peninsula were known in India as the "country of gold." Jātaka tales and other religious writings refer to voyages made there for the precious metal. In Sanskrit literature, this region was called Suvarṇabhūmi, "Land of Gold" and Suvarṇadvīpa, "Island (or Peninsula) of Gold." Shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, Greek geographers began to designate the coast as "Chryse the Golden" (the "Golden Chersonese," or Peninsula). Mining camps grew up there and around them small agricultural settlements. One of the earliest settlements—perhaps the earliest—was the present village of Takua Pa, just south of the isthmus of Kra. This is said to have been the finest harbor on the west coast of the Peninsula. The mart of Takola, which Ptolemy located on this coast about the middle of the second century A.D. has been quite definitely identified with Takua Pa (722). A depression leads across the Peninsula to the Bay of Bandon, said to be the best harbor on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, where facilities were better for an agricultural settlement, and doubtless there was some early transportation of goods and people here. Tun-hsün (Tenasserim), which was probably

²³ "In the time of the Han dynasty, especially under Emperor Ho (A.D. 89–105), many embassies from India came by Central Asia. Then they recommenced under Huang-ti (A.D. 147–167) by the seas of the South. . . . At the time of the Wei (A.D. 220–264) and the Wu (A.D. 222–280) all relations ceased"—*Liang-shu* (660, 271).

identical, or nearly so, with the earlier and later Lang-ya-hsiu, was founded, according to the Chinese in the first century A.D. It was also an early port of transportation (734, 257–262). Tāmbralinga—just south of the Bay of Bandon—existed as early as the second century (524, 26–27). Thus, at an early date, permanent settlements were formed here on both sides of the Peninsula,

which could serve as alternative routes, in some cases, to the long trip around the southern tip of the Peninsula, spring-boards so to speak, for the penetration of the valleys of the Menam and the Mekong.

Such were conditions in Indo-China when the brusque, but effective, wooing of Hun-t'ien won him a wife and the throne of Funan.

2. THE FIRST KAUNḌIṆYA DYNASTY AND THE "FAN" RULERS

THE LEGEND OF HUN-T'IENT AND LIU-YEH

The legend of the founding of the Kingdom of Funan, probably in the latter part of the first century A.D., comes to us from Chinese sources.

At the beginning, Funan had for a sovereign a woman named Liu-yeh. There was a man from the country of Mo-fu, called Hun-t'ien, who loved to render a cult to a genie, with unrelaxing ardor. The genie was touched by his extreme piety. At night, (Hun-t'ien) dreamed that a man [genie?]* gave him a divine bow and ordered him to go on board a great merchant junk and go to sea. In the morning Hun-t'ien entered the temple, and, at the foot of the tree of the genie, he found a bow. He then boarded a great ship and went to sea. The genie directed the wind in order to make (the ship) arrive at Funan. Liu-yeh wished to pillage (the ship) and take possession of it. Hun-t'ien raised the divine bow and fired. (The arrow) pierced the bark (of Liu-yeh) from side to side. Liu-yeh, frightened, submitted, and thus Hun-t'ien became King of Funan (666, 245–246).

According to Chinese accounts, the young queen, Liu-yeh, was "celebrated for her virile force and her exploits" (584, 436). Hun-t'ien married her and became king. Not content with seeing her go naked, as was then the custom of both men and women in Funan, he dressed her in a fold of cloth, with a hole through which she passed her head, and made her do her hair up in a knot. This was the beginning of women's clothing and styles in Funan.

No fixed amount or type of raiment, it appears, was demanded by the tribunal of Fame, and Liu-yeh (or Willow Leaf, as the name indicates) had become queen of her little riverain kingdom and was to go down to posterity "clad only in tropical sunbeams." This did not, however, please the educated taste of her newly-acquired husband, and he became the initiator of the first styles of women's costumes in Funan; which styles, moreover, have changed little in the nineteen centuries which have elapsed since the coming of Hun-t'ien to that remote and peaceful little kingdom in the delta jungle beside the turbulent Mekong. If, however, the dress demanded by Hun-t'ien was designed to cover the breast, it soon descended to a lower level; for, to this day, in the region where once lived the primitive Funanese,

their Cambodian descendants, male and female, often go naked above the waist.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS LEGEND

More than twenty years after he had published his famous article on Funan (660), Pelliot published some notes on Indo-China, from which the above account was taken. He thinks the Mo-fu of the account and the Chi, Chiao, and Wu-wen of other Chinese accounts refer to the same place, and he suggests that it was located on the Malay Peninsula, inasmuch as Hun-t'ien seems to have made a continuous voyage (666, 248–249). He thinks Hun-t'ien and other variants are exact Chinese transcriptions of Kaunḍiṇya, who in Indian legend was a great brahman and received his spear from Aśvatthāman, son of Drona. He thinks the name Liu-yeh, "Willow Leaf," may be a graphic alteration of Ye-ye, "Coconut Leaf," as the willow is unknown to Funan, and he cites an analogous case of such an error (666, 245, n. 2).

Finot thinks the story of Hun-t'ien and Liu-yeh is a local adaptation of the Indian legend of the brahman Kaunḍiṇya and the *Nāgī* Somā, daughter of Soma, King of the Nāgas¹ (368, 30–37). Aymonier adds that Kaunḍiṇya probably gave his wife the mythological name of Somā, as he had taken that of Kaunḍiṇya (9, 8).

a. THE FIRST KAUNḌIṆYA (HUN) DYNASTY

KAUNḌIṆYA AND HIS DESCENDANTS

According to Pelliot,² the conquest of Liu-yeh by Hun-t'ien (Kaunḍiṇya) must have taken place in the latter part of the first century A.D. They had a son who succeeded to the throne, and thus was founded the Hun, or First Kaunḍiṇya, dynasty, which ruled Funan for more than one hundred and fifty years. The kingdom seems to have consisted at first of settlements, or "cities," chiefly along the Mekong, between the present sites of Chaudoc and Phnom Penh, each under its local chief. Chinese accounts relate that Kaunḍiṇya gave seven of these "cities" to his son as a royal fief, thus apparently introducing a sort of feudalism into Funan. The rest of the country seems to have been under the direct rule of the King (660, 290).

¹ For later developments of this legend, see pp. 26–27.

² Pelliot's article is followed when not otherwise stated.

* In quotations, comments by the present writer are inserted in brackets. Material in parentheses is either a literal translation of the original source or indicates what was implied by the original author.

How long Kaundinya and his son ruled, is not known. One of his successors, Hun P'an-h'uang, seems to have enjoyed a long reign, which apparently extended through the whole of the second half of the second, and perhaps into the third, century. The feudal chiefs becoming troublesome, he sowed dissensions among them, attacked them, and conquered them. Then he sent his sons and grandsons to govern separately each of the cities. They were called "little kings." P'an-h'uang died, at more than ninety years of age, near the beginning of the third century.

(Hun) P'an-p'an, second son of P'an-h'uang, succeeded his father. P'an-p'an does not seem to have had a taste for the cares of government and left the direction of affairs to his great general, Fan-man, or Fan Shih-man. After reigning three years, P'an-p'an died. The people of the kingdom chose Fan Shih-man king. This must have taken place very early in the third century.

Thus ended the Hun, or First Kaundinya, dynasty; but later rulers must have established a real or fictitious descent from this dynasty. All the kings of the Chenla and Kambuja periods claimed descent from the Lunar dynasty of Kaundinya and Somā. This, however, may have been the result of a later fiction borrowed from the Pallavas.

Our knowledge of the reign of nearly two centuries of Kaundinya and his descendants is limited to these few facts, which some years ago were collected from Chinese documents and published by Pelliot (660).

India was divided into many kingdoms, none of which kept any record of its subjects who settled and conquered kingdoms in foreign countries. The Chinese say the Funanese had books of history and even written documents to form libraries (660, 254); but none of these records have come down to us. For our knowledge of this kingdom at this period, we are entirely dependent on Chinese dynastic histories and the accounts of Chinese travellers and embassies.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

During this period, Funan was, fortunately, located on the great maritime highway between India and China. Merchant vessels, not daring to strike out across the sea, crept along both shores of the Malay Peninsula, across the delta of the Mekong and along the coast of Champa (now Annam) to Chiao-chih (now Tonkin), where most of the passengers and commerce disembarked and took the inland water-routes to the capital of China, which, during most of this period, was located at Lo-yang.

The search for a southern route, begun by the Earlier Han, became less important when the Later Han conquered Central Asia and opened a northern route, through which a continual stream of products from Western Asia and Ta-ch'in (Persia, the Eastern Roman Empire) and Buddhist priests from Northern India

were passing into China. The southern routes, however, were not neglected. Merchants and missionaries passed over the Burma-Yunnan route to and from China. The sea route also was beginning to be used. Pelliot says,

Tonkin, after many vicissitudes, became part of the Empire. In the midst of the troubles which led to the fall of the Later Han, Tonkin was, in the second half of the Second Century, an asylum of peace. At the same time, the trade-route between Asia Minor and the Far East came to end there. It is there that the embassy of Marcus Aurelius disembarked in 166 of our era. The connection, at the same time put China into relations with a whole series of states which scale the route from Tonkin to the Eastern Empire. Among them, and beyond Lin-yi [Champa], which occupied the eastern coast of Annam, there is none which, during the first centuries of our era, played for the Chinese a greater role than Fou-Nan. From the third to the seventh century, Chinese texts talk frequently of this Hinduized state, which seems to have been an almost obligatory stop between India and China (660, 248).

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

Although no hint of it is given by the Chinese, this must have been a period of great internal development in Funan. We will soon learn that Fan Shih-man, who had been trained by the Kaundinya line, and was practically regent during the last few years of its rule, extended his boundaries to Tonkin on the East, to the Indian Ocean on the West and far down into the Malay Peninsula. From a little river-settlement governed by a naked girl, to an empire more than a thousand miles in extent, with boundaries perhaps as wide as those of which the proudest Khmer Emperor could later boast, in less than two centuries, is no small achievement for any people in any period.

Nor is the credit entirely due to the genius of Fan Shih-man. There must have been a gradual extension and consolidation of the government of the valley, a remarkable development of the civilization of the people, and a great gain in material wealth. No small part of this development was probably due to the immigration of educated leaders from India. There were flourishing Indian or Indianized settlements at Śrīkshetra (Prome), Suddhamapura (Thatōn), and Tun-hsün³ (Tenasserim), in what is now Burma, and the Mons occupied the lower Meklong valley in the present Siam. Takola (Takua Pa) in the Bandon region, was a flourishing mining and trading settlement, and the existence of Indian settlements in Tāmbralinga, to the south in the Malay Peninsula, is attested from the second century. Following Kaundinya, Indians were apparently slowly filtering into Funan. The very name, or title, *Fan*, which was coming to be applied to the king of Funan, is thought by some to have been a Chinese transliteration of the suffix *-varman* (576, 53-54, n. 7),⁴

³ Tun-hsün evidently corresponded to, or included, the later Lang-chia.

⁴ R. A. Stein, who has made a recent study of the antecedents

which was coming to be used by sovereigns and important personages in Southern India. Nor were Indian immigrants the only ones to contribute to the development of the Funanese. The visits, and perhaps residence there, of Chinese traders doubtless taught them much in the way of trade and daily life, thrift and organization.

Georges Maspero thought an alphabet and system of writing were introduced from India about this time (575, 237-238). He thought the characters were probably of the same type as those used in the inscription of Vo-Canh, apparently in the second or third century (535, 3, 1-3). This inscription was written in the Sanskrit language and, according to Majumdar (539), in the Kushan character of Northern India.⁵ The earliest account of Funan in the Chinese dynastic histories, probably derived from the accounts of K'ang-t'ai and Chu Ying, before the middle of the third century, relates that Funan had libraries and books written in a language which resembled that of India (660, 254).

b. THE "FAN" RULERS

THE REIGNS OF FAN SHIH-MAN AND HIS SON

The first king of any country of Indo-China to bear the title of *Fan* seems to have been Fan Shih-man, who came to the throne about the beginning of the third century and became its greatest ruler. Chinese dynastic history⁶ relates that Fan Shih-man

attacked and conquered the neighboring kingdoms. All recognized themselves his vassals. He took the title of Great King of Funan. Then he had great ships built and crossing the immense sea he attacked more than ten kingdoms, including . . . Tun-hsün. He extended his territory 5,000 or 6,000 *li*.⁷ Then he wished to subdue the country of Chin-lin⁸ (Golden Frontier). But he fell ill (660, 265-266).

There is some uncertainty about some of the countries conquered by Fan Shih-man. First, he reduced his neighbors to vassal states. This probably included the lower valleys of the Mekong and Tonle Sap and even parts of the delta. Perhaps he reduced Champa temporarily. Georges Maspero quoted "Chinese authors" that Champa was a dependency of Funan in early days and thought it must have been before the reign of Bhadravarman I of Champa (575, 24, n. 7); but, as we shall see, Fan Shih-man probably reduced and organized the coastal strip from the Mekong-Donnai delta to Camranh Bay. He seems to have reduced the Malay peninsula to, and perhaps including, the Bandon region. The boundary generally

of Champa thinks there is no relation between *Fan* and *Varman* (see pp. 24-25).

⁵ This, however, is disputed by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who thinks the origin of the Vo-canv alphabet is to be found in the alphabet of Central India of the third or fourth century (683).

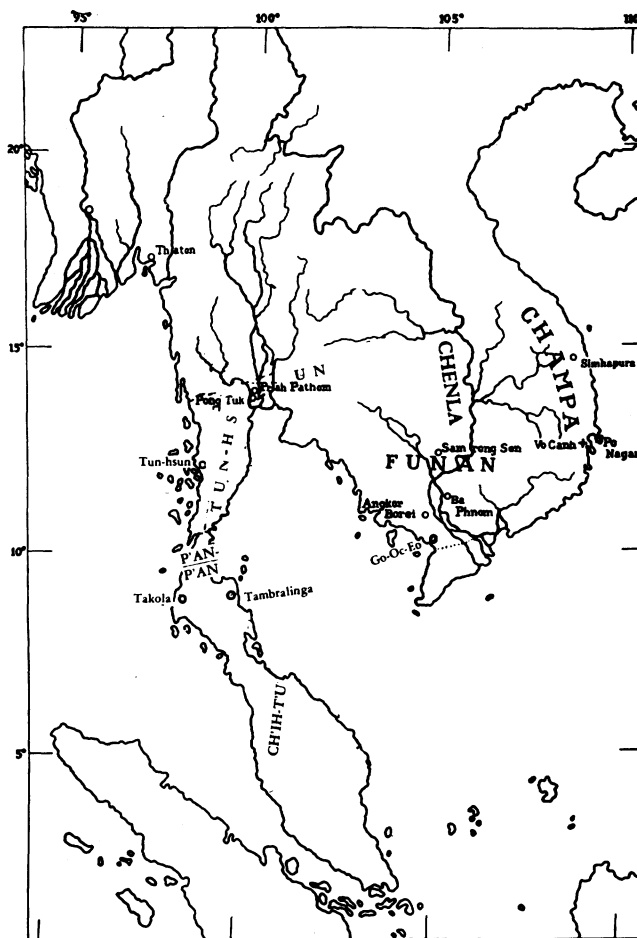
⁶ The *Liang-shu*.

⁷ 1,250 or 1,500 miles.

⁸ Believed to be the Suvannabhūmi of Pāli writers, the Thatōn-Martaban region (660, 266, no. 5; 527, 147-154).

given to Tun-hsün (and later to Lang-chia) is P'an-p'an. The *Liang-shu* says Tun-hsün had five kings, all dependent on Funan. Although it is not specifically mentioned, his conquest seems to have included P'an-p'an, probably including Takola (734) (map 2).

When Fan Shih-man fell ill, he chose his son (Fan) Chin-shêng to succeed him. Chan, son of Fan Shih-man's sister, was chief of two thousand men. Thanks to them, he usurped power and proclaimed himself King. He sent some soldiers to trap Chin-shêng and put him to death.



MAP 2. The Funanese Empire under Fan Shih-man.

THE RISE OF LIN-YI

In the meantime, a powerful neighbor had been growing up on Funan's northeast frontier. When the Chinese conquered the southeast coast of what is now China, including the Red river delta of Tonkin (221 B.C.), they organized several commanderies. The most southerly commandery—that of Hsiang—seems to have included the delta and to have extended along the coast to Col des Nuages,⁹ possibly to Cape Varella, just north

⁹ Stein thinks it extended to the Col des Nuages (697, 77; 108, 375).

of the present Nhatrang (I, 24). In 111 B.C., the new Han Emperor organized the former commandery of Hsiang into the department (chou) of Chiao (Ann., Giao-Chau) and divided it into three commanderies: (1) Chiao-chih (Ann. Giao-Chi), the delta region; (2) Chuen-Chen (Ann. Cuu-Chen), the present provinces of Thanh-hoa, Nghean, and Hatinh; and (3) Jih-nan (Ann. Nhut-Nam), extending from the Porte d'Annam probably to the southern boundary. Its southernmost prefecture, Hsiang-lin, according to Stein, corresponded with the present province of Thua-thien in Annam. Lin-yi was a sub-prefecture of Hsiang-lin, near the present Hué¹⁰ (697).

The northern part of the narrow coastal strip from the Porte d'Annam to the Col des Nuages seems to have been inhabited by wild tribes in a low stage of civilization (578), called Indonesian by French writers. South of the Col des Nuages, to about the Bay of Camranh was an Indonesian people with, some writers think, a Caucasoid element. As already seen, this people seems to have settled also in the Mekong valley and in the Se-san and Song-ba valleys and the neighboring hills where their cognates—the Jarai, Radé, and others—live at the present day. These were the ancestors of the Chams. They probably also held, at this early period, the western slopes of the adjacent Annamitic Chain, to and including the valley of the Mekong from Stung Treng to the Mun (see p. 15).

About the beginning of the first century A.D., the Indonesians around the Bay of Nhatrang were penetrated with Indian civilization. The first Indian temple in western Indo-China was probably erected there and the earliest inscription in Indo-China or Indonesia was carved there. In 137 a band of Ch'u-lien, as what appears to be the leading clan was called by the Chinese, came from beyond the border and sacked the sub-prefecture of Hsiang-lin.¹¹ In 192 one Ch'u-lien, of this sub-prefecture, killed the sub-prefect and proclaimed himself King of Lin-yi. The above-mentioned inscription at Vo-can, near Nhatrang, dated in the second or third century, says that one Śrī-Māra (of which Ch'u-lien is said to be a transcription—576, 51) founded a dynasty.¹²

This vigorous young dynasty had, by the beginning of the third century, extended its boundaries to the north of Hsi-chüan (Hué) and had even pillaged the commanderies of Chuen-chen and Chiao-chou (modern Thanh-hoa and Hanoi) (576, 53).

THE EARLY STATUS OF THE HUAN WANG REGION

It is believed that the early inhabitants of the coast from the Donnai delta to the Bay of Camranh were

¹⁰ Stein's map 5 locates Lin-yi on the site of the modern Van-xa, a little to the north and west of Hué.

¹¹ Tra-kieu, according to Aourousseau; Thua-thien, according to Stein.

¹² See, however, Coedès (274, 51–52).

related to the Funanese rather than to the Chams. This belief is supported by the geographical unity of the country and by what we know of the stratigraphy of the peoples of southeastern Indo-China. The region south of the plateau that forms the northern watershed of the Donnai to the Bay of Camranh has a certain geographical unity distinct from the region occupied by the Chams. We have seen that Austric-speaking Indonesians, like the Funanese, preceded the Chams and that the Chams probably connected with the coast via the Sre-pok and the Se-san valleys. In spite of the recent advent of the Annamites and the final retreat of the Chams to this region (576, 240), the prevailing language today of the hinterland and much of the coast, according to the linguistic map of M. Henri Maspero (577), is related to Khmer rather than to Cham.

This region may already have been crystallized into one or more little principalities before the reign of Fan Shih-man. It may have been the T'ang-ming to which the Governor of Chiao-chou sent *song-che* shortly after his coming to power in 222, along with those sent to Funan and Lin-yi (p. 27). The Governor's interest naturally would have had only a local radius and the other two countries were adjacent to Chiao-chou. (It may even have been already called Huan Wang.)¹³

Fan Shih-man seems to have annexed this region during the latter part of his reign, and Funan seems to have held it until that Kingdom was annexed by Chenla early in the seventh century or possibly until a local (Huan Wang) dynasty became supreme in Champa in the latter part of the eighth century. This belief seems to find support in the language of the Chinese documents and in the architecture and art of this region.

A close examination of the language of the Chinese texts, as exposed by Pelliot, seems to indicate that Funan, from Fan Shih-man until its annexation by Chenla, extended to Camranh Bay. On several occasions Chinese dynastic histories locate the territory of Funan at the south of Lin-yi or Jih-nan (660, 255, 256, 263, 282). Only when they seem to mean the capital do they locate it to the west or the southwest (*ibid.*, 254, 263, 281–282). The Shui-ching-chu (fifth-sixth century), speaking of Hsiang-lin, the most southern prefecture of Jih-nan, which may have extended to Cape Varella, says that it touches Funan on the south (*ibid.*, 282). T'ao Huang, Governor of Chiao-

¹³ The Chinese simply say that "in 756–757, the name of the (Cham) Kingdom was changed to Huan Wang and that of Lin-yi was no longer used" (576, 95, n. 1), without telling us anything more about the name Huan Wang, except that no good Cham equivalent had been found for it. However, the Hsin T'ang-shu (A.D. 618–906), in describing Funan, says: "The land is low, like Huan Wang." If Huan Wang and Funan were ever contemporary terms, the former must have been in use before 627. Chia Tan mentions Huan Wang, which Pelliot identified with Champa (663, 185, 200), and says it was 200 *li* west of Culao Cham (*ibid.*, 216). The description as "low" does not apply well to Champa.

chou, who should have known what he was talking about, said in 280: "Lin-yi touches Funan on the south. . . . Their friendly bands loan each other mutual aid. Profiting by their broken region, they do not submit to China" (*ibid.*, 255). Pelliot quotes this statement to show that this coast belonged to Champa at that time (*ibid.*, 285). It seems to prove the contrary. The region in question is south of Champa; the Donnai delta is not south, but rather west or southwest of this region. Is it probable that "friendly bands" from the Donnai delta loaned "mutual aid" in fighting, none of which took place as far as we know south of the Bay of Nhatrang? It was after Funan proper had been annexed by Chenla that I-ch'ing wrote: "(On leaving Champa), going a month to the southwest, one reaches Pa-nan, formerly called Fou-nan" (*ibid.*, 284).

Parmentier (327, 1924, 312) thinks the early architecture and art of this coast region is Khmer rather than Cham. Finot adds:

We have ourselves hazarded the conjecture that the state of Pāṇḍuraṅga, which occupied lower Annam to the South of Cape Varella, did not originally make part of the kingdom of Champa. If the hypothesis of M. Parmentier is verified, it would become highly probable that this principality, before being absorbed by Champa, was in the sphere of Fou-nan (406, 52).

FAN CHAN AND THE MISSION TO INDIA

It was during the reign of Fan Chan that Funan first came into known direct official relations with India. A Chinese text quoted by Pelliot tells us that at this time a man named Chia-hsiang-li, from a country west of India called T'an-yang, reached India and, finally, came to Funan on business. Seduced by his praises of India, Fan Chan sent a relative named Su-Wu on an embassy there.

Su-Wu embarked at T'ou-kou-li (Takola?), which had probably been annexed by Fan Shih-man, followed a large bay and at the end of more than a year reached the mouth of the Ganges, which he ascended 7,000 *li* to the capital of a Prince who may have belonged to the dynasty of the Muruṇḍa (660, 276, n. 2). The Indian Prince was surprised at the visit from so distant a country and sent an envoy, Ch'en-sung, back with Su-Wu, with a present of four horses from the Indo-Scythian country. It was four years from the date of his departure when Su-Wu returned to Funan (660, 271, 277-278, 292).

In the meantime, a new king had ascended the throne of Funan. When Fan Shih-man died, he had left an infant son, Fan Ch'ang, who was reared among the people. When he reached the age of twenty, he collected some warriors and attacked and killed Fan Chan. His reign was very brief; for he was assassinated, in his turn, by Fan Chan's great general, Fan Hsün, who proclaimed himself king. This probably took place about A.D. 240.

FAN HSÜN AND THE MISSION OF K'ANG-T'AI AND CHU YING

China, also was manifesting an interest in the countries toward the south, and while the Indian envoy, Ch'en Sung, was at the court of Fan Hsün, he met there the two Chinese envoys, K'ang-t'ai and Chu Ying. When the Han Emperor abdicated in 220, China was divided into three dynasties. Southeastern China, including Tonkin, followed the Wu dynasty. Its first Emperor, Sun Ch'uan (222-252 A.D.) sent Lu-tai as Governor to Chiao-chih (Tonkin) at which post he remained until 231.

This Governor immediately began to show an interest in his neighbors to the south. He opened negotiations with the new kingdom of Lin-yi (576, 53, n. 1 and 2). The biographer of Lu-tai says: "He sent *song-che* to spread to the South the civilization of the Kingdom and the Kings from beyond the frontiers—Fou-nan, Lin-yi and T'ang Ming¹⁴—each sent an embassy to offer tribute" (660, 251). As these embassies are not mentioned in the Chinese dynastic histories, they were probably sent by Lu-tai at Tonkin. Some time during the reign of Sun Ch'uan, Chu Ying and K'ang-t'ai were sent to gather information about the countries of Southeast Asia. As one of these envoys bore the title of *song-che* (envoy who spreads civilization) this embassy may have been sent at this early date (i.e. A.D. 222-231); but, for reasons which will appear, it was probably a little later.

Chu Ying and K'ang-t'ai reached the court of Funan during the early days of the reign of Fan Hsün (probably a little after 240). There they met Ch'en-sung, envoy of the Muruṇḍa King, and K'ang-t'ai asked him many questions about India. On his return to China, K'ang-t'ai published a book containing information on more than a hundred kingdoms of which he had heard,¹⁵ while his companion, Chu Ying, published a work on Funan.¹⁶ These books have, unfortunately, been lost, but they were quoted by nearly all Chinese dynastic histories after their dates.

K'ang-t'ai seems to have been responsible for the introduction into Funan of the custom of clothing for men. We have seen that Kaundinya was responsible for dressing the women. It was on K'ang-t'ai's recommendation that Fan Hsün issued a decree forbidding the men to go naked. The clothing adopted was a piece of cloth wrapped around the waist, probably similar to the Cambodian sampot or the Malay sarong. These garments were of cotton and were woven by hand. Men and women continued to go naked above the waist, as they do to this day.

¹⁴ Not yet identified. See p. 20.

¹⁵ K'ang-t'ai's work is generally spoken of as *Fu-nan tu su-chuan* or *K'ang T'ai wai kuo chuan* (660, 275).

¹⁶ Chu Ying's work is generally cited as *Fu-nan ye wu-che* (660, 276).

THE FIRST EMBASSY FROM FUNAN TO CHINA, 243

After the return of Chu Ying and K'ang-t'ai to China, the King of Funan sent an envoy to the Emperor offering as a present some musicians and products of the country. The envoy arrived at the Chinese court in 243. This is the first embassy from Funan to China mentioned in Chinese dynastic history (660, 303).

It is interesting to note that the first embassy from Funan to China offered musicians as a present. The Chinese were fond of foreign music, and among the seven great orchestras of the Imperial Court in the seventh century one was Indian. The Funanese musical instruments were too crude to be used in the orchestra, and their airs at first were adapted to Indian musical instruments (309, 222, 224). Majumdar says that musicians from Funan captured at the Cham capital in 605 (p. 46), carried to the Imperial Court the musical arts of India (535, 1, 38); but this statement seems to lack sufficient verification. In the eighth century, music called Cham, but probably Funanese, was introduced into Japan from China. It seems to have consisted chiefly of Buddhist funeral and other religious marches.

FUNAN IN THE THIRD CENTURY

Chinese dynastic histories, copied from the writings of these two envoys, inform us about the government of Fan Hsün:

He built belvederes and pavilions, where he was accustomed to take a walk. Morning and noon, he gave three or four audiences. Foreigners and subjects offered him presents of bananas, sugar cane, turtles, and birds.

The law of the country is not to have prisons. The accused fasts and practices abstinence for three days. Then an axe is heated red and he is forced to carry it seven steps; or a gold ring or some eggs are thrown in boiling water and he must take them out. If he is guilty, the hand is burnt; if he is innocent, it is not. Also crocodiles are kept in the moats of the walls; and, outside of the gates, there are wild beasts in an enclosure. The accused are thrown to the wild beasts or to the crocodiles. If the wild beasts or the crocodiles do not eat them, they are considered innocent; at the end of three days, they are released (660, 268).

K'ang-t'ai's work gives some interesting data on the trade of the Indian Ocean during the third century. He discusses the trade route to Ta-ch'in and the Eastern Mediterranean and states that horses were brought from the Yue Che country (Central Asia) by sea to the Malay Peninsula and Funan. He describes boat-building in Funan; but Funanese boats were, it seems, only long river-boats propelled by oars.¹⁷ Pelliot quotes a Chinese author of the third century that vessels with four to seven sails, large enough to carry 600 or 700 men and 1,000 metric tons of cargo were engaged in

¹⁷ However, Pelliot mentions the "big ships" of Fan Shih-man, which "ran through all the immense sea" (660, 266). See also p. 19.

commerce in the Indian Ocean at that time. These ships were Persian, Indian, and Chinese (666).

FAN HSÜN'S ALLIANCE WITH LIN-YI

Fan Hsün appears to have reigned a long time. He made an alliance with Lin-yi. If the latter country was ever a vassal of Funan (p. 19), the relationship seems now to have been one of equal allies. The relations between Funan and Lin-yi at this early period are not well understood.

In A.D. 270 a new and vigorous ruler, Fan Hsiung, came to the throne of Lin-yi. He made an alliance with Fan Hsün and together they made incessant raids on the territories of Chuen-chen and Chiao-chih. The Wu Emperor sent a general, Tao Hoang, as Governor of Chiao-chih (Tonkin), and he waged war against them for ten years, to the end of that Emperor's reign, but without decisive result (576, 54-55).

When the Chin dynasty came to the throne in China (A.D. 280), the new Emperor wished to reduce military expenses. Tao Hoang addressed him a memorial, begging him not to reduce the garrison of that commandery, already greatly weakened by fever and fighting. He pointed out the danger of incessant raids by Champa, aided by Funan. "Lin-yi touches Fou-nan on the south."¹⁸ . . . Their friendly bands loan each other mutual aid."

DISORDER: THE USURPATION OF CHANDANA

Fan Hsün reigned several years after his alliance with Lin-yi. According to the Chin dynastic history, he sent an embassy to carry tribute to the court of China in 268 and repeated in 285, 286, and 287 (660, 251-252). He founded a new dynasty (*ibid.* 255).

This dynasty seems to have ended, about seventy years later, in a period of unrest—apparently the fermentation which is often the precursor of progress. Funan was absorbing its Indian culture. There seems to have been a slow infiltration of religious and other leaders from India. They seem to have come mainly from the region between the Kistna and Godaverī rivers—then occupied by the Pallavas—and to have come by sea, as the sculptures of this period, found scattered all over Indo-China and Indonesia, as far as Celebes, are of the Amarāvati style then prevalent in that part of India (10). The sculptures and inscriptions¹⁹ of this period seem to indicate that they were mostly of the Southern, or Hinayānist, School (520, 34) of Buddhism. I-ching says Hinayānism was predominant in all Southeast Asia except in Malāyu (i.e., Śrīvijaya) (711, 10-11, 12, 14).

The only surely-dated fact we have of the history of Funan during this period is the statement in the history

¹⁸ He probably meant the Huan Wang region, then probably subject to Funan (pp. 19-20).

¹⁹ The inscriptions were in Champa, Java, Borneo and probably Thap-muoi of Funan.

of the Chin dynasty that, in 357, one Chu Chan-t'an "calling himself King," sent an embassy to the Chinese court, offering a tribute of trained elephants. The Emperor, considering foreign animals as a source of danger to the people, ordered them returned. The name Chu indicates that he was an Indian—his name is transcribed in Sanskrit as Chandana, and the record indicates that he usurped power (660, 255, 293). Coedès, following Sylvain Levi, thinks Chandan was a royal title among the Indo-Scythians, particularly of Muruṇḍa dynasty of the Kushāns. He thinks also that the arrival of this new king was a consequence of Fan Chan's mission to India and that a branch of the Kushāns, probably expelled from the Ganges valley by Chandragupta, decided to try its fate in Funan. He supports his thesis by several arguments drawn from artistic and cultural finds in the delta region (278, 82–83).

CHANGE OF TRADE ROUTES

Trade between India and China and the intervening countries was increasing at a rapid rate. As has been seen, large ships with many sails, capable of carrying immense cargoes and many passengers were sailing on these routes. Fa-hien related that the vessel on which he sailed from Java to China in 412 carried 200 Indian merchants (427, 77). An Arab colony existed at Canton in the fourth century (687, 255). Inscriptions at Kedah and Wellesley Province in the Malay Peninsula (118, 17–20; 114, 2, 6–7), at Tārumā in West Java (118, 30–31; 114, 2, 8–19), at Koetei, in East Borneo (118, 37–41, 76; 114, 2, 20–27), at Thap Muoi (then probably near the sea) in Funan (118, 51–53; 144), and at Chodinh and Mi-sön in Champa (118, 43–50; 535, 3, 3–8) show that Indian colonies were flourishing along these routes at this time.

But about the beginning of the fifth century these trade-routes became very dangerous because the Malay settlements on the coast of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula near the Straits began to show a tendency to piracy. Fa-hien speaks of this danger at the time of his voyage through those waters (427, 77). Later, these routes were practically closed. The trade, much diminished, passed through Sunda Strait and along the western coast of Sumatra (344, 211). The settlements in Java and Sumatra declined. Those of Champa and Cambodia continued to flourish, because of land routes across the Isthmus and of cultural relays.

CULTURAL RELAYS: P'AN-P'AN

We have seen (p. 16) that, in very early times, Indian traders had come to the Malay Peninsula for gold and tin and had formed agricultural settlements there to support the mining settlements. Trading marts naturally grew up. One of these, Takua Pa, on the western side of the Peninsula, has been identified as the Takola of Ptolemy's maps of the second century A.D. Fan

Shih-man, who ruled Funan about 205–225, is thought to have conquered that region,²⁰ and it is believed to have remained a vassal of Funan (725, 85). Su-Wu probably sailed from this port on his mission to the Muruṇḍa Prince. From this region, sometimes as an intermediate stopping-place, Indian immigrants, chiefly traders and religious teachers, were probably beginning to spread over the coasts of Indo-China and Indonesia.

The new danger from pirates around the Straits must have given considerable impetus to the settlements around the Bay of Bandon. The more spacious eastern side of the Peninsula began to develop, and Vieng Sa succeeded Takuapa as the chief center of the trans-peninsular region, which the Chinese were beginning to call P'an-p'an (663, 229). It is not probable that any great amount of cargo was transhipped at this point; but here, in this dependency of Funan, Indian traders and priests continued to arrive, with the latest ideas of Indian culture and thought; and, probably in some cases after a local development, the colony in its turn sent to Funan new leaders with a modified Indian culture. Quaritch Wales and other leaders of the Greater India Society are inclined to make much of this intermediate process. Wales offers it as an explanation why, while the earliest sculptures of Indo-China and Indonesia were purely Indian, of Indian manufacture, later sculptures while showing great Indian influence, show also a considerable influence which Wales thinks is neither Indian, Indo-Chinese, nor Indonesian. He also gives it as an explanation why later Khmer brick and stone architecture, although bearing strong resemblance to that of India, does not seem to be directly derived from it (722; 725, 68–71). As will be seen, French scholars disagree with some of Wales's conclusions.

CULTURAL RELAYS: TUN-HSÜN-DVĀRAVATĪ

Another, and perhaps older, trans-peninsular route, was up the Tenasserim river and across to the Gulf of Siam. According to the *Liang-shu*, Tun-hsün must have been a country of some importance. It extended across the peninsula. Its capital, which must have been in the vicinity of the present Mergui, was said to be 10 *li* from the sea. If Tun-hsün was the Lang-chia of later writers, as seems evident, it was founded as early as the beginning of the second century and was one of the oldest and most important trans-peninsular routes. The *Liang-shu* says it was the meeting-place of the east and the west and that 10,000 people were seen there daily engaged in commerce. It was the most northerly of the trans-peninsular routes and thus had the advantage of shortening the sea-voyage more than any other route (660, 263; 527, 148–149).

As far as known, this region had been Mon since before the dawn of history and Tun-hsün must have

²⁰ Luce thinks Fan Shih-man conquered P'an-p'an and named it after his predecessor (527, 169, n. 1).

included the lower part of the Meklong and probably of the Menam delta; for the *Liang-shu* says it *makes a turn* and extends 1000 *li* into the sea (734). All this region is known to have been settled at an early date. The Mon settlements in the Meklong delta, known to the Chinese as Po-li-lo-cha and To-lo-po-ti, and later known as the kingdom of Dvāravātī, may have been one of the five vassal kingdoms of Tun-hsün or one of the more than ten kingdoms subdued by Fan Shih-man. Recent excavations show an early settlement in the lower part of this valley. The objects found there are probably the oldest yet found in what is now Siam. A Roman lamp is attributed to the first or second century and some skeletons found there are believed to be of the first century. The finds include several bronzes of the Gupta period (320–600) and one probably of the earlier Amarāvātī school (177, 179, 723, 102). These settlements communicated with the Mon settle-

ments of the Sittang-Irrawaddy delta by two other routes: (1) across Three Pagodas Pass from the upper Meklong and down the Ataran river to Martaban, and (2) across the mountains at "Three Chedis" pass between Muang Sing and Tavoy (102, 99). It was probably over one of these three routes that the famous Roman embassy of 166 passed and it almost certainly was one of these routes that was taken by the band of Roman and Greek acrobats and musicians which the history of the Han dynasty says were sent across from Burma to China by sea in 120 (179; 734, 266–269).

The resemblance between the later Buddhas and mitred Vishṇus of this region and those of Cambodia and Champa, as will be seen, supports the belief that the Tu-hsün-Dvāravātī region, like P'an-p'an, served as a cultural relay and perhaps as a point of development in the passage of Indian art to the countries of Indo-China (324).

3. THE INDIANIZATION OF FUNAN

THE COMING OF THE SECOND KAUNḌĪNYA

About the beginning of the fifth century or a little later an Indian brahman from P'an-p'an (p. 19), who was either named Kaunḍīnya or assumed the name of the earlier Indian conqueror, became King of Funan. The Chinese¹ relate the story as follows:

One of his [Chandana's] successors, Chiao Chen-ju (= Kaunḍīnya) was originally a brahman of India. A supernatural voice said to him: "You must go and reign in Funan." Kaunḍīnya rejoiced in his heart. He reached P'an-p'an at the South. The people of Funan heard of him. The whole Kingdom rose with joy. They came to him and chose him King. He changed all the rules according to the customs of India (660, 269).

Kaunḍīnya was probably a wise brahman who had spent some time in the Funanese dependency of P'an-p'an and whose fame had already reached the capital on the Mekong. The way was doubtless prepared for his coming; and, in the disturbed condition of the kingdom, it was probably not difficult for him to make himself King. Either he or one of his successors must have connected him in some way with the first Kaunḍīnya dynasty; for the later kings of the Chenla and Kambuja periods, as well as those of Funan, claim descent, through this second Kaunḍīnya line, from the brahman Kaunḍīnya and Somā the *nāgī*, of the Lunar dynasty, who, as we have seen, have been identified with the earlier Kaunḍīnya and Liu-yeh.

THE INDIANIZATION OF FUNAN: CHAM PARALLEL

It will probably help to understand the Indianization of Funan at this time if we note what was going on in the neighboring and related kingdom of Champa where

our information is more exact and the dates more precise.

Some time in the fourth century there came to the throne of Champa a King called Bhadravarman by the inscriptions,² who seems to have been a great scholar and builder. He is said, by the steles he erected, to have been versed in the four Vedas. (There was apparently in Champa also a certain influx of Indian brahmans at this time.) Bhadravarman erected (probably in wood) the great national temple of Champa, the beginning of the holy city of Mi-sön, on the fictitious Mount Vugvan and established there the great national god of the Chams, a Śivalinga under the vocable of *Bhadreśvara*, thus beginning the Cham custom of forming the name of the national tutelary deity by combining the name of the founder or reigning king with *-eśvara* (= Śiva), a custom which does not seem to have taken root in Cambodia until several centuries later.

Bhadravarman was the author of several inscriptions in Sanskrit. The characters are not of the Kushān type of the Vo-can inscription. The script is said to be of a Central Indian type, not Pallava, but possessing many common characters with Pallava (539, 139).

This was the first king in Indo-China, as far as known, who used the suffix *-varman* to form his name. In the inscription of Cho-dinh and in other inscriptions, he is called Bhadravarman (535, 3, 3–4, 7, 8, 9). Maspero believed there was a connection between this suffix and the title *Fan*, which the Chinese began to apply to the rulers of Indo-China more than a century earlier (576, 53).³ It will be noted that the first reference to

² Coedès now thinks that the Bhadravarman I who carved the inscriptions and built the temple was Fan-Fo who reigned from 349 to 380 (274, 57–58).

³ R. A. Stein rejects the equivalence of *Fan* and *-varman* and

¹ *Liang-shu*.

the Pallava legend of the *nāgī* Somā comes from an inscription of Champa.

THE INDIANIZATION OF FUNAN: PALLAVA INFLUENCE

The coming of the second Kaunḍīnya and of the Indian brahmins who doubtless accompanied him is thought to have had a profound influence on the future of Funan. Kaunḍīnya is said to have thoroughly Indianized the country. Some of the changes which appear to have taken place about this time were: (1) the systematization and extension of the worship of the Indian deities, probably introduced by the first Kaunḍīnya, especially the state-worship of the Śiva-linga under the vocable of Maheśvara; (2) the introduction of a Central Indian alphabet; (3) the introduction of the *Śāka* era; (4) the use of the honorific title *varman*; and (5) the introduction of the story of the *nāga* princess Somā and the Lunar dynasty and modifications of the legend of Kaunḍīnya.

The point of departure of the Indian immigrants who came to Funan about this time is thought by Jouveau-Dubreuil to have been near the mouth of the Godaverī River, in the Telugu country, just north of the Pallava domains (502, 88). The Pallavas were people of India who seem to have exerted the greatest influence on the Indianized colonies of Indonesia and Indo-China. Their origin is uncertain. Early in the third century (A.D. 225–235) they conquered the Telugu kingdom of Andhra (485, 1, 108–109). About that time they established their capital at Kāñcīpura (now Conjeeveeram, near Madras), in the Tamil region. Their domain was partly in the Tamil and partly in the Telugu country. But they were apparently not Dravidian; for their records were in Indo-Aryan languages, up to that time chiefly in Prakrit. The Pallavas were not known to history until about a century ago. At first, because they appeared foreign and because of the similarity of names, they were thought to be an offshoot of the Pahlavas, or Persians of Northwestern India; but this opinion has been abandoned, perhaps prematurely. At the beginning of the fifth century, their institutions, like those of the other states of Southern India, were in the formative stage. The temporary conquest of the region by Samudragupta about 530 A.D. and the disorder which probably followed may have given the impetus to the first wave of colonists from this region to Indo-China (485, 1, 91; 463, 44–47).

ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE CULT

The establishment of the worship of the Śiva-linga as the central cult of the State seems to have taken place about this time in Funan, as it did in Champa. Śiva, originally a Vedic god of the air (Rudra the Terrible), later popularly known as Śiva the destroyer

thinks *Fan* is a clan name denoting the native element in royal families (278, 71, n. 1).

in the Brahmanic Trimūrti (Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu), came to be worshipped in Southern India and in Indo-China and Indonesia as the god of change and therefore of reproduction. He was generally represented in the temples under the form of the linga, or phallic emblem, the male symbol of generation, which in Indo-China soon came to be stylized as a vertical cylinder, with a square base, an octagonal upright column and an oblong dome (100, 74, 77). The royal linga, under the vocable of Maheśvara (=the great *Īśvara*=Śiva), was placed in a temple on the hill which formed the center of every capital of Indianized Indo-China and became identified with the welfare of the state.

This worship of the Śiva-linga seems, from the first, to have been recognized as the state cult in Funan. It did not interfere with the worship of other gods. As will be seen, Viṣṇuism and Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished under the immediate successors of Kaunḍīnya. In fact, the syncretism of the worships of the Śivaic Maheśvara and the Mahāyānist Bodhiśattva Lokeśvara, which forms such an interesting chapter in the later history of Indian religions in Indo-China seems to be in its early stages during this period (735).

All through the history of Cambodia, until the simple worship of Singhalese Hinayānism was introduced through Louvo, kings who were fervent Viṣṇuists and Mahāyānists carefully observed all the rites connected with the state-worship of Maheśvara. Even today, in Hinayānist Cambodia, the Bakō to whom is entrusted the care of the Sacred Sword—the Preah Khan, palladium of the Kingdom—who help to choose a king in case of a disputed succession (p. 81), and who have charge of certain rites and ceremonies, are brahmins, whose hereditary functions in connection with an extinct state-cult are still respected.

INTRODUCTION OF SOUTH INDIAN ALPHABET AND THE ŚĀKA ERA

A new alphabet seems to have been introduced into Funan at this time. The previous alphabet, apparently brought in about the second or third century, was probably a Kushān alphabet of Northern India, like that of the inscription of Vo-Canh.

According to Fossey (417, introduction), all alphabets derive from the Phoenician. All the early local writings of India and Tibet belonged to the Brāhmī, or Magadha, family. They go from left to right. Brāhmī appeared for the first time in the inscriptions of Aśoka. This system of writing gradually developed into the Devanāgarī of Northern India. The writings of Southern India derived from the Brāhmī.

The alphabet introduced into Funan at this time seems to have been an archaic Pallava or pre-Pallava, an early development common to the alphabets of all Southern India, called Vengi by Dr. Kern and others, from an old capital between the Kistna and Godaverī

rivers (114, 2, 13). It was like that of the inscriptions of Bhadravarman at Champa and those of East Borneo and West Java. The dates of these inscriptions are believed to be between 350 and 450. Finot thought the order was: Bhadravarman,⁴ Mūlavarman,⁵ Pūrnavarman (376). It is also thought to be like that of the Inscription of Buddhagupta, near Kedah, placed by Dr. Kern at about 400 (114, 2, 6; 117, 20) and that of the inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng, in Funan, placed toward the end of the fifth century (118, 52–53). Its prototype seems to be the Pallava copper charter plates, in Prakrit, assigned to the third and fourth centuries (462, 32–35).

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra believes it is proper to call the script of this period a Pallava script. He says (118, 56):

It is a very remarkable fact that the earliest known inscriptions found in those countries of the Far East are all composed in Sanskrit, all belonging approximately to the same period, the fifth century, and are written in a script which in every respect is identical with the Grantha character used at the time on the coast of Coromandel. . . . Even more significant is the phenomenon that for several centuries the Pallava Grantha remained the only script in vogue in Further India and in Indonesia (if at least we are to judge from the evidence of the inscriptions) and that during this period it exhibits a development running parallel with that which we notice in the contemporaneous records of Coromandel.

The Śāka era seems to have been introduced into Indo-China about this time.⁶ It came from Northwest India, but was in common use on the southeast coast. Strangely enough the Pallavas seem never to have used it.

THE USE OF VARMAN AS AN HONORARY SUFFIX

The suffix *-varman*, attached to a name having a religious or political significance to form the name of a king or person of high rank appeared in Funan about this time. *Varman* in Sanskrit means "armor," and used in the sense indicated above can probably be translated as "protector," and apparently "protégé." Thus, Jayavarman, from Jaya, "victory," and *-varman* means "protégé of Victory." The title was in common use among the Pallavas and other peoples of Central and Southern India at this time.⁷ As we have seen, it was introduced into Champa about this time or a little earlier with other elements of Indian culture. If *varman*

is equivalent to *Fan*, as G. Maspero and Finot thought, it appeared in Funan early in the third century and in Champa a little later.

According to Chhabra (118, 58, n. 2), *varman* was originally a ritual suffix of the kshatriya caste. The corresponding terms for the other castes were: brahman—*śarman*; vaishya—*gupta*; sudra—*dāsa*. Later *varman* came to designate simply the ruling class, regardless of caste. The Pallavas were brahmins of the Bhadadvāja gotra.

Kauṇḍīya himself apparently took the name of Jayavarman. If he did not, his immediate successors did.

THE NĀGA LEGEND AND THE LUNAR DYNASTY

With Kauṇḍīya and the wave of Indian immigrants who came in about this time appears to have come the story, familiar at the Pallava court, of the marriage of the great brahman Kauṇḍīya (the prototype of the two brahmins of that name who figure in the history of Funan) with the *nāgīnī* somā, daughter of the Nāgarāja Soma, founder of the Lunar line of kings of Indian legend.

According to the Indian legend, which appeared in a Cham inscription of the middle of the seventh century (Mi-sōn (II) 535, 3, 23), Kauṇḍīya, landed in Funan, drove his *spear*, which he had obtained from Drona's son Aśvatthāman (best of the brahmins) into the ground and married Somā, daughter of the serpent king (Nāgarāja). (In the earlier Chinese account, Hun-t'ien (Kauṇḍīya) shot an *arrow* from his bow, frightened the sylvan queen and married her. According to Cambodian legend (368, 31), Preah Thong, son of a king in India, chased from his home, went to Kok Thlok (Cambodia), where a Cham King was reigning, seized the throne and married a *nāga* princess, whose father, the Nāgarāja, helped him conquer his kingdom, and changed its name to Kambuja.

The grain of historical truth in these accounts seems to be that an Indian brahman, who took the name of Kauṇḍīya, whom the Chinese call Hun-t'ien, married a Khmer or native princess and became king. This must have been the earlier Kauṇḍīya, for the Chinese account dates long before the coming of the second brahman of that name. The second brahman probably assumed the name of the first, as the first had apparently assumed that of the great brahman who had married the *nāgī* Somā, later probably connecting her with Liu-yeh. This story seems to have been brought across at this time or a little later and the spear substituted for the bow and arrow of the legend. Nearly all subsequent kings of Funan, Chenla, and Kambuja trace their genealogies back to the Lunar dynasty of Kauṇḍīya and Somā, which must have referred to the first Kauṇḍīya and Liu-yeh, as no legend or account has joined the second Kauṇḍīya in marriage with a *nāga* princess.

⁴ The date of Bhadravarman's reign has been put in doubt. Coedès now identifies him with Fan Fo (A.D. 349–380). See p. 24, n. 2.

⁵ Chatterjee (114, 1, 1) dates this inscription in the fourth century and says it is the first inscription in the early Pallava character.

⁶ Dates in the Christian era are generally obtained by adding 78 (sometimes 79, as the beginning of the years did not correspond exactly) to the dates of the Śāka era.

⁷ The genealogy of the Pallavas, as given by Jouveau-Dubreuil (502, 70), shows two Pallava kings of the third century whose names end in *-varman*.

The *nāga* played a prominent part in Khmer art and decoration, and the story of the nightly union of the King and the *nāga* princess in the tower of the Phimeanakas was told by the Chinese envoy, Chou Ta-kuan, as late as the end of the thirteenth century. Aymonier tells us that even today the royal couple of the ancient legend preside over the marriage ceremony in certain villages.

While the parents of the young couple circulate little metal disks in which the sacred fire of the candle burns, the music invariably plays the ancient and national air of the Divin Thong and the Dame Nāg⁸; this air whose melancholy notes are listened to religiously and provoke a tender feeling, an emotion often translated into tears. (9, 8-9).

THE ORIGIN OF THE NĀGA LEGEND

In 1911 Finot published an article (368) in which he identified the story of Kaunḍīnya and Somā of the Cham inscription and that of the Cambodian annals with that of the first Kaunḍīnya as taken by Chinese dynastic histories from the story of Káng-t'ai of the third century. This became the Funanese (later also Kambuja) legend of the origin of their dynasty, their right to the soil and the founding of their first capital by the planting of the spear or the use of the bow, symbols of authority.

In the same year, Coedès (120) took this legend back to the court of the Pallavas. He cited two Pallava copperplate characters, one of which gives Drona and Aśvatthāman among the legendary ancestors of the Pallava kings and says the latter married a *nāga*, who gave him a son who was the founder of the Pallava dynasty. The second agrees, but has a later king marry the *nagī* and thereby obtain the "insignia of royalty" and become the founder of the dynasty. Coedès cited also several works in Tamil, in which a king of the Cholas marries a daughter of the king of the *nāgas* and the son becomes a Tondaimān, or Pallava of Kāñcī. Thus, this seems to be the accepted legend of the foundation of the dynasty of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. In two of the Tamil poems the Chola ventured into a cavern to meet the *nāga* princess.

Several years later (1924), Victor Goloubew, mem-

⁸ Preah Thong and the *nāga* princess.

ber of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, pushed further the work of Finot and Coedès. He suggested that these legends may be the distant recollection of a very ancient totemic organization whose origin may extend beyond India, and he refers to serpent clans in the ancient myths of Persia, Asia Minor, South Russia, the Himālayan region, and the region to the north of it. He recites a legend told by Herodotus (Book 4) of the origin of the Scythians (or Šākas), in which Heracles, traveling in Scythia, ventured into a cave in search of his lost mares and there found Echidna, half-woman, half-serpent, with whom he had tree sons. Departing, he left a bow and a belt, with the instruction that he who, on becoming of age, could draw his bow and girdle himself with his belt should govern the region. One of the sons, Scythes, succeeded in this test and thus became ruler of the territory governed by his mother and the eponymous ancestor of a nation.

Goloubew drew several parallels between this legend and that of Kaunḍīnya-Somā in Funan: (1) the dynasty resulted from the union of a mythical hero and a woman-serpent; (2) the kingdom was transmitted from mother to son, but the dynastic succession was patronymic; (3) the bow seems to have been the symbol of the powers of sovereignty.

This legend seems to strengthen the proposed connection between the peoples of Northwestern India and those of the Coromandel coast, particularly the Pallavas. This connection was first suggested by the similarity of names. It is strengthened by the use of the Śāka era in the Pallava region (although this seems never to have been used by the Pallavas themselves), their use of Indo-Aryan Prākṛit and Sanskrit, instead of Dravidian languages, in their early copperplate grants, and by the apparent Persian influence in the Pallava art of Amarāvati and Māvallipuram (434; 88, 24-34; 485, 1, 90-91, n. 3). A Pallava inscription attests the presence of a Pallava minister at the court of the satraps reigning at Aparānta (434). The Telugu kingdom of Andhra, formerly a part of the Maurya Empire and in close touch with the western satrapies of the Kushān (Indo-Scythian) Emperors, was conquered by the Pallavas of Kāñcī, about A.D. 225-235 (485, 1, 66-68).⁹

⁹ The *nāga* story passed from Cambodia to Siam and Laos (368, 31, n. 1).

4. THE SECOND KAUNḌĪNYA DYNASTY

RELATIONS WITH CHAMPA AND CHINA

We do not know the exact date of Kaunḍīnya's accession to the throne of Funan nor that of his death; but his descendants seem to have occupied the throne until Funan was absorbed by Chenla in the sixth or seventh century.

Kaunḍīnya must have died before 434; for Pelliot, quoting Chinese dynastic history,¹ says that a successor

¹ The History of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1279).

of Kaunḍīnya, called *Che-li-pa-mo*, or *Che-li-t'o-pa-mo*, sent embassies to the Imperial Court in A.D. 434-435 and 438 (660, 255, 269). The same document says that, in A.D. 431-432, King Fan Yang Mai II of Champa, who was engaged in a war with the Chinese Governor of Chiao-chou (Tonkin), asked aid of the King of Funan and was refused.² This was probably the king who sent the embassy two or three years later. But they

² Maspero called this King Jayavarman (278, 97).

may have been different kings; for the document quoted above says the king who sent the embassy of 434 was a successor of Kaundīnya.³

If the name of this king, or one of these kings, can be translated into *-varman*, it is the first known use of this title in Funan. It certainly could not have been the (Kaundīnya) Jayavarman who was reigning in 484 and who died in 514. There was at least one king—and perhaps more—between the Kaundīnya who founded the dynasty and may also have been called Jayavarman, and the (Kaundīnya) Jayavarman who was ruling at the end of the fifth century.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF KAUNḌIṆYA JAYAVARMAN

All we know of the immediate successors of Kaundīnya is related above. Chinese dynastic histories⁴ tell us, however, that a Jayavarman of the Kaundīnya dynasty was reigning in 478 and that he reigned until 514 (660, 257, 270). Two inscriptions which appear to date from his reign seem to indicate that he may have been on the throne before 478.

A Sanskrit inscription from the ruins of the monument of *Prasat Pram Loveng*, at Thap Muoi, in the Plains of the Junks, in the Mekong delta, which Coedès dates on epigraphical grounds near the middle of the fifth century, commemorates the consecration of an image of the feet of Viṣṇu. This inscription is ascribed to a young prince called Gunavarman, son of a king called “the moon of the family of Kaundīnya,” who is placed by his father at the head of a domain “conquered in the mud,” i.e., apparently recovered by drainage from the alluvia of the Mekong. A fragment of the inscription mentions a “King Ja . . .,” to whom it seems to ascribe the draining of the domain. It seems to mention a battle with a King Vīra (varman?) (144).

Another Sanskrit inscription, recently found at *Neak Ta Dambang Dek*, in the Province of Treang in Southern Cambodia, of approximately the same date as that of Prasat Pram Loveng, relates the foundation of a hermitage with a tank, by Queen Kulaprabhāvatī, the principal wife of a king Jayavarman. Like the preceding inscription, it seems to be of Viṣṇuite character⁵ (201).

NĀGASENA'S REPORT TO THE EMPEROR ABOUT FUNAN

Not all of Jayavarman's sons were as trustworthy as young Gunavarman, it seems. Chinese dynastic histories tell us that, some time before 478, Fan Tang, son of Jayavarman Kaundīnya, fled from Funan after

a revolt there and seized the throne of Lin-yi. Jayavarman had sent some merchants to Canton on business. On their return, the celebrated Indian monk, Nāgasena, accompanied them to go back to his country. They were shipwrecked on the coast of Lin-yi where they were robbed of all their possessions. With difficulty Nāgasena reached the court of Funan where he reported the matter to Jayavarman. Among other things, he told the king at great length that an emperor favorable to Buddhism was seated on the throne of China.

Jayavarman sent Nāgasena to the emperor (Wu-Ti) with a long supplication and a request that Fan Tang be driven from the throne of Champa and punished.⁶ The presents included a golden image of the serpent-king (*Nāgarāja*), an elephant of white santalwood, two ivory stupas, two pieces of cotton, two glass vases, and a shell arica plate. The emperor made a polite reply and sent the king five pieces of silk, with garnet and green background and yellow, blue, and green designs. The matter was referred to a tribunal, where it died a natural death. Fan Tang remained on the throne. The emperor even recognized him in 491 and granted him the title of “General Pacifier of the South, Commander-in-Chief of the Military affairs of the seashore, King of Lin-yi.” But, before the envoy reached home, Fan Tang had been driven from the throne of Lin-yi. Whereupon, the emperor granted the titles to his successor (576, 77, 78).

Nāgasena made a report, partly verbal, partly written, to the emperor regarding Funan, which is very curious from the point of view of religious conditions. He told the emperor that it was the custom of Funan to render a cult to the god Maheśvara and that the god makes supernatural power descend constantly on Mount Motan. He wrote:

He spreads goodness in the world and his beneficent influence acts on the living. All the Kings receive his benefits and the entire people are calm. It is because this benefit descends on all that his subjects have submissive sentiments.

From this eulogy of Maheśvara, he turns brusquely to the praise of Buddhism.

The Bodhisattva practices mercy. Originally, he was of humble origin; but since he manifests a heart worth of the bodhi, he has arrived where the two vehicles cannot attain . . . The reforming influence of the Buddha extends over the ten regions. There is no one who does not receive his aid (660, 260).

What Nāgasena says about Mount Motan may give us a clue to the location of the capital of Funan at this time. We have noted the great importance of central temples on mountains in the capitals of all the Indianized states of Indo-China. Coedès thinks the Vyād-

³ Coedès thinks these two events refer to the same king but transliterates his name as Śrī Indravarman or Śreshthavarman.

⁴ The History of the Southern Chi and that of Liang.

⁵ Coedès, who edited both inscriptions, thinks they are of the second half of the fifth century and that of Gunavarman is the earlier (274, 72).

⁶ In his supplication, Jayavarman called Fan Tang his “subject.” In the paragraph on Lin-yi, the History of the Southern Chi calls him a “barbarian.” The History of the Liang dynasty says he was a son of the King of Funan (660, 258, n. 2).

hapura mentioned in later inscriptions as the capital of Funan, was located at the foot of Ba Phnom and he identifies Mount Motan with Ba Phnom, which was still called "Holy Mountain" in inscriptions of the tenth century, and which may be the mountain from which Funan derives its name (140, 128).

It was probably in a temple on this mountain that the second Kaundīnya established the Siva-linga, under the name of Maheśvara, possibly under the vocable of Giriśa, "The god of the peak" (p. 41).

THE CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE OF FUNAN

The History of the Southern C'hi dynasty (479–501), which contains the account of Nāgasena's mission to the Imperial Court, goes on to give more information about the people of Funan and their customs:

The people of Funan are malicious and cunning. They take by force the inhabitants of the neighboring cities who do not render them homage, and make them slaves. As merchandise, they have gold, silver, silks. The sons of the well-to-do families wear sarongs of brocade. The poor wear a piece of cloth. The women pull a piece of cloth over the head. The people of Funan make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver. They cut down trees to build their houses. The King lives in a storied pavilion. They make their enclosures of wooden palisades. At the seashore grows a great bamboo, whose leaves are eight or nine feet long. The leaves are tressed to cover the houses. The people also live in houses raised from the ground. They make boats 8 or 9 chang (80 or 90 feet) long and 6 or 7 feet wide. The bow and stern are like the head and tail of a fish. When the King goes out, he rides on elephant-back. The women can also ride elephants. For amusements, the people have cock-fights and hog-fights.

They have no prisons. In case of dispute, they throw rings or eggs into boiling water. They must take them out. Or a red hot chain must be carried in the hand for seven steps. The hands of the guilty are burned; those of the innocent are not. Or they are thrown into the water. He who is innocent, floats; he who is guilty, sinks.

They have sugar cane, pomegranates, oranges and much arica nuts. The birds and mammals are the same as in China. The character of the inhabitants is good. They do not like to fight. They are ceaselessly invaded by Lin-yi and have not entered into relations with Giao-Chau (Tonkin). That is why their embassies so seldom come (660, 267).

The history of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–556), which followed the Southern Chi in China, adds:

Actually, the men of this country are ugly and black, with curly hair. Where they live, they do not dig wells. By tens of families, they have a basin in common where they get water. The custom is to adore the spirits of the sky. Of these spirits, they make images in bronze; those which have two faces, have four arms; those which have four faces, have eight arms. Each hand holds something—a child, a bird, or quadruped, the sun, the moon. The King, when he travels rides an elephant. So do his concubines, the people of the palace. When the King sits down, he squats on one side, raising the right knee, letting the left knee touch the earth. A piece of cotton is spread before him, on which are deposited the gold vases and incense burners.

In the case of mourning, the custom is to shave the beard and the hair. For the dead, there are four kinds of disposal:

burial by water, which consists in throwing the body into the water; burial by earth, which consists of interring it in a grave; burial by the birds, which consists of abandoning it in the fields; burial by fire, which consists in reducing it to ashes. The people are of a covetous nature. They have neither rites nor propriety. Boys and girls follow their penchants without restraint (660, 269–270).

The contradictory statements regarding the character of the people, even in the same paragraph, show the custom of the Chinese dynastic historian of copying information from earlier sources without trying to reconcile it with later data. Some of the data given above, however, are timely and are sometimes cited to show how complete was the Indianization of Funan at the end of the later Kaundīnya dynasty. While it is true that the divinities and the religious practices, as well as the storied house of the king, the custom of the king in riding and sitting, show Indian influence, other characteristics, such as houses on piles, long boats, amusements, and freedom of the sexes are native or Monogoloid rather than Indian.

FUNANESE BUDDHISTS AT THE COURT OF CHINA

In spite of the royal cult of Maheśvara and the dedications to Vishnuism, Funan seems to have been a strong center of Buddhism during the reign of Jayavarman who ruled from 478 or earlier to 514. It was during this period that two monks from Funan went to China to translate Buddhist documents. Their translations are said to be still found in the Chinese tripitaka. One, called Sanghapāla, or Sanghavarman, was born in 460 and, having heard of the Ch'i dynasty, went to China on a junk. As he knew many languages, Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty ordered him to translate holy books, and during sixteen years, 506–522, he was engaged in this work in five places, one of which was aptly called the Funan Office. He died there in 524. The other Funanese monk who went to China at this time to translate Buddhist texts was named Mandra, or Mandrasena. He arrived at the capital in 503. Later, Emperor Wu ordered him to work with Sanghapāla; but he could never acquire a good knowledge of the Chinese language. Several other Buddhist monks went from Funan to China (660, 284–285).

DEATH OF JAYAVARMAN: SUCCESSION OF RUDRAVARMAN, 514

When the Liang dynasty began to rule in China (A.D. 502), Jayavarman sent an embassy to offer as tribute a coral image of the Buddha and products of the country. He received the title, "General of the Pacified South, King of Funan" (A.D. 503), a title similar to that which Fan Tang, usurper of the throne of Champa, probably his renegade son, had received twelve years earlier. In 511 and 514 Jayavarman sent embassies to the Imperial Court, with products of the country as tribute. He died in 514.

The History of the Liang dynasty tells us that, on

the death of Jayavarman, Rudravarman, son of a concubine, killed his younger brother, the son of the legitimate queen, and made himself king. The names of the queen and the legitimate heir are not given; but the inscription of Neak Ta Dambeng Dēk (p. 28) states that Kulaprābhavati was the legitimate queen of a king Jayavarman, who was reigning when that inscription was made, perhaps in the later years of the sixth century, Coedès wonders if the Gunavarman of the inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng (p. 28) might not be the legitimate son who was disposed by Rudravarman. It seems possible; but dates of 450 for the inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng, when Gunavarman was old enough to receive a fief and indite an inscription, and 560, for the death of an elder brother are mutually irreconcilable.⁷

Rudravarman came to the throne in 514. This date is attested by Chinese dynastic history. He must have been well advanced in years at this time. His father had reigned some forty years or more, and he was older than the legitimate claimant.

Rudravarman sent embassies to the Court of China in 517, 519, 520, 530, 535, and 539. The embassy of 519 carried as tribute a good-luck image in Indian santalwood, leaves of the p'o tree, pearls, circuma, storax, and other perfumes. The embassy of 539 offered in homage a live rhinoceros and told the Emperor that in Funan there was a hair of the Buddha twelve feet long. The Emperor issued an imperial order to go and fetch it. This seems to have been the last embassy sent by Funan as an independent state and the last certain date of the reign of Rudravarman (660, 262–263, 370–371).

THE PROBLEM OF ŚRĪDEB

At Śrīdeb, on the Nam Sak, or Pasak, an east fork of the Menam, above Pechabun, in what is now central Siam, have been found the remains of an ancient city, containing some ruins of towers, several statutes, chiefly images of Vishnu, and a Sanskrit inscription believed by Wales, who explored the site in 1935–1936, to date at the latest from the first quarter of the sixth century.⁸

Wales thinks Śrī Deva, as he calls the ancient settlement, was an advance post of Funan, governed "no doubt . . . by a princely scion of the royal family of Funan," that it was connected with Funan, by "a great imperial inland route westward from the Mekong, up the valley of the Mun river," and that its brick sanctuary held in itself the spark which "was to produce all the architectural wonders of the Khmers." This ruined temple and sculpture, says Wales, "are at the base of the whole Khmer and Cham evolutions . . . at the

very base of all that was to come in Indo-Chinese and even Indonesian art."

In spite of Wales's assurances, there seems to be little, except the period, to connect this settlement and its architecture and art with those of Funan. There is no evidence that Funan ever conquered or held any part of the Mun valley.⁹ We know from inscriptions that Śītrasena of Chenla conquered the lower part of that valley and Īśānavarman the upper part. Even Wales mentions no trace of a "great imperial inland route" during this early period.¹⁰ The architecture and art are admitted by Wales to be purely Indian, without any resemblance to either Primitive or Classical Khmer Art.

There seems to have been no direct connection between this region and Funan. Funan was a maritime empire. It was held together by the "great ships" of Fan Shih-man (p. 19) and his successors. All its vassal states of which we have any certain knowledge were connected with it by sea, except Chenla, which was above it on the Mekong. Śrīdeb's connections with the lower Mekong valley, if any, must have been with Chenla. The stratification of people (p. 15) shows that the Khmers were found above the Funanese and the Chams and must have come later than they and from the North or down the Mun. If the inhabitants of the Nam Sak valley had any highway or other connection down the Mun at any time, it would have been with Chenla, whose early capital was near the mouth of that river, and not with Funan. Ma Tuan-lin says that Chu-chiang, the "Red River country," lay West of Chenla, i.e., apparently in the Mun valley, and that T'san-p'an, apparently the region south and west of the Great Lake, was to the southwest, and Chenla (not Funan) maintained good relations with these two states (584, 479).

Le May (520, 55–56) thinks Śrīdeb may have been Ch'ih-t'u because of its red soil; but this valley does not satisfy the geographical conditions of the Chinese description of Ch'ih-t'u, and the latter has been pretty satisfactorily located in the Patani-Kedah region (pp. 48–49). But there seems to be no great obstacle to the hypothesis that Chu-chiang and Śrīdeb were identical or that the former included the latter. Both lay in the possible path of the Khmer migration and the somewhat common Indian civilization may have arisen from their being a rear-guard of this migration, if the Khmers had not been subject to Indian influences before the migration. The difference in religion, like the Mons' conversion to Buddhism, may have occurred after the separation of the Khmers and the Mons. The author has elsewhere advanced the hypothesis (p. 15) that the Kambuja may have been converted to Śivaism by the

⁷ The former date should probably be lowered to about 480 and the latter placed at about 550.

⁸ Called Śrī Thep or Śrī T'ep, by Claeys (119, 402); also called Muang Sila and (wrongly) Muong Si That. Claeys dates the principal temple about the fifth century.

⁹ Wales's map (725, 163) showing Funan north of Chenla pictures a condition that never existed.

¹⁰ Later, in the eleventh or twelfth century the Khmers conquered the Nam Sak valley, built a highway to it and erected some buildings there (532, 248; 630, 1, 240; 186).

Chams at Vat Phu, where was established, before the dawn of history in this region, a sanctuary to Bhadrēvara, patron deity of the Cham nation.

The connection of Śrīdeb with the Mon settlements then growing up in the delta of the Meklong-Menam (p. 24) is another problem that has not yet been worked out. In spite of their differences in religion—Śrīdeb was Vishnuite, while Dvāravātī was Buddhist—they seem to have existed in close contact with each other (323, 233). The solution of the problem of the position of Śrīdeb in the history of Indo-China must, it seems, await further evidence; but nothing, so far, seems to connect it with Funan.

INSCRIPTION OF TA PROHM OF BATI; RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Rudravarman does not seem to have reigned long after the embassy of 539—probably not longer than about 540. A longer reign would be acceptable in the light of what follows, but seems to be precluded by what precedes.

A Sanskrit inscription at *Ta Prohm of Bati*, Province of Takeo, in southern Cambodia, begins with a pean of praise to the Buddha and mentions both Jayavarman and Rudravarman as Kings, the latter of whom seems to have been reigning at the time the inscription was made. The inscription is not dated, but, on paleological grounds, it seems to belong a little before the middle of the sixth century (144).

Although Rudravarman appears to have been a Buddhist, he was careful to maintain the state-worship of Śiva. On the central mount, Ba Phnom, near his capital, Vyādhapura, he maintained a Śiva-linga, possibly under the vocable of Giriśa. It was he who first engaged the services, as court physicians, of the brothers Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha, of the famous family of Ādhyapura, about eleven kilometers south of Ba Phnom, a family which furnished ministers to four succeeding kings (25).

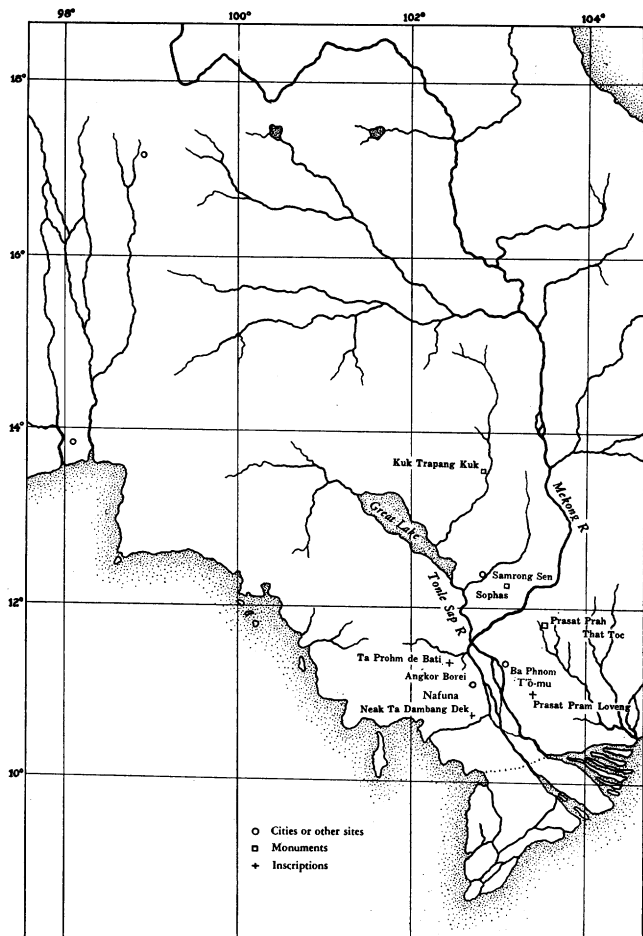
DEATH OF RUDRAVARMAN; END OF THE FUNANESE EMPIRE

Rudravarman's death may have been the occasion of some disorder. He was a usurper, and there were probably legitimate claimants. At any rate, we are told that Bhavavarman, who had become King of Chenla, a vassal state to the north of Funan, seized the throne by force and made Funan, in its turn, the vassal of Chenla (map 3).

Funan as has been seen, was a maritime empire. Some of its vassal states, as well as the mother country, seem to have paid tribute to China. The conquest of Funan by Chenla seems to have resulted in the independence of these vassal states. But this result did not immediately appear. As long as Funan existed, most of its vassals seem to have remained loyal (734, 263–264). It

was not until the reign of Īśānavarman that these states, former vassals of Funan, began to send embassies to the Imperial Court.

Funan seems to have lasted awhile as a vassal of Chenla, with its capital at Vyādhapura, probably under the descendants of its old line of kings. The Chinese tell us that the new King of Funan fled to the South and established his kingdom at Nafuna, but this may not have been immediately after the overthrow of the kingdom by Śītrasena. Pelliot suggests that a Sanskrit transcription of Nafuna may be Navanakar and that



MAP 3. Funan under Rudravarman.

it may have been in the region of Kampot (660, 274, 295). As will be seen later (p. 48), there are reasons for thinking that the definitive annexation of Funan did not take place until the reign of Īśānavarman.

The disappearance of Funan, even as a vassal state, seems to have taken place soon after 627. After its absorption, the deposed kings may have sent missions of protest to the Imperial Court. Other mentions were probably due to out-of-date information. In a few years the name disappeared and was forgotten. When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, European

sinologists began to encounter this name in Chinese documents, it took a long study, as we have seen, to locate it on the map.

Following a suggestion of Finot (358, 57), Coedès has advanced the hypothesis (190) that the survivors

of the Lunar dynasty of Funan, the "kings of the mountain," may have gone to Java, or to Jaiya, on the Bay of Bandon, where they vegetated awhile and later appeared as the dynasty of the Śailendra, the "Kings of the Mountain," of whom we shall soon read (733, 83).

5. ARCHITECTURE AND ART OF FUNAN

HOUSES

Of the architecture and art of Funan, little can be said with certainty. The Chinese tell us (A.D. 479–501) that the people cut down trees to make their houses, that they built them on piles and covered them with tressed palm-leaves, that they had fortified cities, with wooden palisades, that the king lived in a storied pavilion, and that the people ornamented and carved their houses (660, 261; 584, 437). On the walls of later brick monuments were carved figures of little "flying palaces" which can only have represented earlier edifices in wood (630, 1, 357).

Parmentier has described the architecture as follows:

The wooden buildings of Funan, according to the picture which has come down to us, had a single elevated story, ornamented at the corners and surmounted by a vaulted roof with a gable at each end. The plan was like an elongated cross, the side wings being similar and of the same length. The doorway, which was simple and had no lintel, was placed at the shorter end of the cross under a light porch covered by an arch supported by slender columns. Often a decorative motif crowned this arch. A terrace, of symmetrical section, formed the base of the building. The walls were ornamented by plain pilasters, and were pierced at top and bottom by continuous balustered openings, which often provided the only means of lighting and ventilation. Sometimes, however, a whole wall panel was cut into a trellis. The eaves of the various gables terminated in *makaras*¹, with a decoration of human figures on the tympanum. (631, 143).

RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

From the remains and traces, it seems that their religious edifices were also mostly of wood, with brick foundation and *mandapa* (p. 33), and with stone slabs sometimes used for frames of doors and windows; although, as will be seen, in the latter part of this period, brick edifices were not uncommon and even stone structures were probably not unknown.

Even to the end of its architectural greatness, except for walls, gates, towers, etc., Cambodia used stone and brick for religious constructions only. This was because their architects did not know the principle of the true arch and used the "false arch," also known as overlapping or corbelling: i.e., from opposite sides, each succeeding pair of bricks or stones projected over the opening to be vaulted until the gap was small enough to be closed by a single brick or stone. The corbelled

arch requires heavy walls and can vault only narrow spaces. It could not be used for large palaces, assembly or audience-halls, which, to the end, were made of wood.

Another point to be borne in mind in the study of these early sanctuaries is that the sanctuary was exclusively the dwelling-place of the god. The multitude remained outside, probably in open courts or covered wooden pavilions. These early one-cell brick temples contained only one opening, with no provision for ventilation nor for extra lighting except sometimes niches in the walls for candles or torches. The early Buddhists probably built pagodas. At least, they made images of them in ivory. But no traces of the pagodas have come down to us.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF FUNAN

In a long study of Primitive Khmer Art, Henri Parmentier, for many years Chief of the Archeological Service of French Indo-China, recognized two distinct arts, one older and quite distinct from the other, which, for the most part, soon disappeared. This older and simpler art, found mostly near the known centers of ancient Funan, Parmentier predicated as the architecture and art of Funan, and this presumption, except for the remarks already quoted from the Chinese, is the basis of about all our knowledge of the subject (632).

According to Parmentier (632; 634, 100), the buildings of this early architecture, as far as can be determined by the remains and traces of them, offered a very simple square or rectangular plan, with plain walls without false doors or "flying palaces," striped only by pilasters and preceded by a vestibule. The roof of the main body, which was the principal feature of the monument, consisted of many small storeys, often reduced to a simple vertical face, which carried a "terrasson in cyma," ornamented with little niches with heads, like those of the Pallava *kūdu* (fig. 9). This may be seen in the "reductions of edifice," or "flying palaces," raised sculptures of buildings in miniature mounted on flying monsters, carved on the interpilasters of later edifices. These flying palaces give us the primitive aspect of the constructions whose final evolution was translated in the seventh century into our brick sanctuaries (630, 1, 357). The door colonettes are always circular, and the few lintels which have been pre-

¹ The *makara* is a fabulous sea monster with a head similar to that of an elephant.

served are of type I with *makara* (530, 1, lxxix-lxxx) (see p. 73).

A test, albeit precarious, which has been applied to the so-called Art of Funan, is: (1) simple forms, resembling Indian types, and (2) a tendency to disappear from Classical Khmer Art. Applying this test, Parmentier finds the architectural elements more common to the early art to be: (1) the multiple roof, (2) the *kūdu*, (3) the *somasūtra* with exterior gargoyle, usually in the form of a *makara*, and (4) the *mandapa*. The *kūdu* is a niche, generally containing a head, decorating the terrassons of the temples of South India and sometimes Indo-China (see fig. 9). The *somasūtra* is the pipe, or channel, through which the lustral waters used to wash the idol were drained outside of the temple. It was especially used in the case of the *linga*. The *mandapa* was a pavilion, in brick or stone, sheltering an idol and usually within a temple or shelter (see fig. 8) (616, 100; 632; 634).

NUMBER AND LOCATION OF MONUMENTS

No inscription has dated any existing monument in the Funan period; consequently, any assignment of any such monument to that period is gratuitous. Nevertheless, Parmentier enumerates nine brick monuments which he believes to belong there and seven (one in stone) which he thinks belong to a period intermediate between Funan and Chenla. These monuments are located in the lower valleys of the Mekong and the Tonle Sap and the V between these two rivers (map 2).

Descriptions of a few of these monuments will suffice to show the character of this architecture.

PRASAT PREAH THEAT TOC

The most complete group of ruins probably of the Funan Period is the Prasat Preah Theat Toc (fig. 2), in what afterward became the citadel of Banteay Prei Nokor, or Banteay Prei Angkor, in the Residence of Kompong Cham, about seventy kilometers north-northeast of Banam, its point of access, on the east side of the Mekong. This citadel is surrounded by a wall about two and a half kilometers square and encloses several groups of temples.² Parmentier wonders whether it was not an ancient capital of Funan (632, 186); Coedès thinks it may have been Indrapura, the first capital of Jayavarman II (139, 118). Madrolle places Bhavapura, capital of Bhavavarman I there (534, xviii).

The Prasat Preah Toc group (called Preah Theat Toch by Lunet de Lajonquière) consisted of three temples, aligned east-west and oriented to the north (530, 1, 290) (plan 1). The east sanctuary is the best preserved. It is a square brick edifice, without vestibule, measuring about 3.30 metres on each outside. The door, very low, is made of schist and is without ornament. The other three walls are divided by pilasters

into three undecorated panels. Four superposed terraces, ornamented by antefixes, are distinguished. The coronation stone is lacking. The total height did not exceed six meters. No trace of decorative lintel has been found in any of these temples. Lunet de Lajonquière thinks these monuments contained inscriptions dating from the sixth century (530, 1, 137; 630, 1, 207).

KUK TRAPEANG KUK

Kuk Trapeang Kuk, on the Stung Sen, above Kompong Thom, is a square cell of sandstone, very primitive in form, surrounded by a little wall of upright

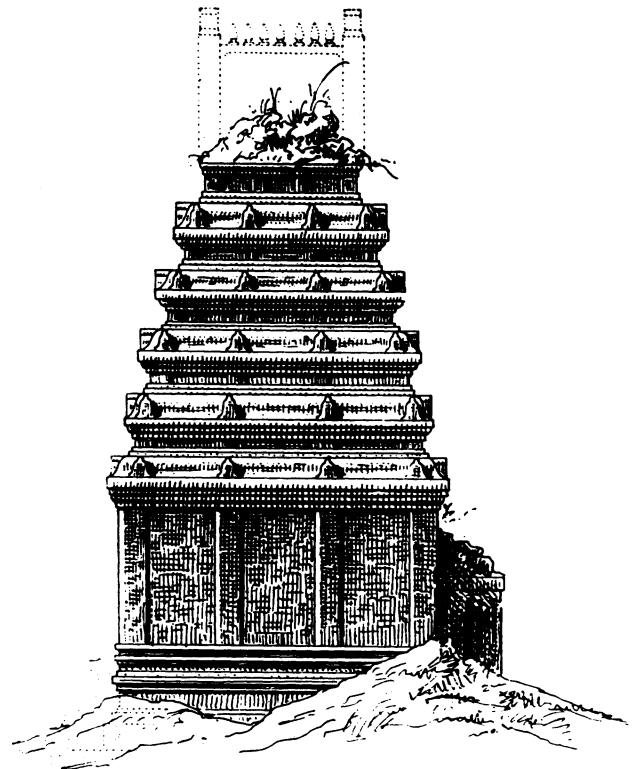


FIG. 2. Banteay Prei Nokor: Prasat Preah Theat Toc.

stones, opening toward the East, 20 degrees North. The cell is about 2.30×2.30 meters on each side and a little less than 2 meters high. Each side was composed of two slabs, with the cracks closed by pilasters, delicately chiseled. The slabs on the sides are grooved into a flat stone at the bottom and into a monolithic slab at the top, which contains the plinth of a little disappeared storey. The corner pilasters have a decoration of scroll in foliage, with beads and rosaces. The faces and ceiling are ornamented with scroll and rosace motifs, now almost obliterated. Parmentier has pieced together a little vestibule, with a light arch of four segments and three medallions with personages. The little tympan is occupied by an image of Vishnu sleeping on the *nāga*. In this arch and its tympan, Parmentier sees *the origin of the Khmer lintel*. This cell appears to be only the

² The wall and other groups of temples were later. See p. 56.

mandapa of an enclosing temple. Statues of *Ganeśa*³ and of Vishṇu standing on the shoulders of *Garuda*⁴ have been found in the vicinity (530, 1, 343–344; 630, 1, 161–167).

EDIFICE B, SOPHAS

As Sophas, a little north and west of Kompong Cham, in the Residence of Kratié, vestiges of four ancient sanctuaries are grouped without order around the vihara of a modern pagoda. Edifice B is attributed to the Funan period. It is well-preserved, lacking only the crown of the fifth terrace. It is a square brick edifice, open to the east. Its low façades give it a squatty aspect. The door-frames and its little vestibules are crude slabs of sandstone. The other faces are divided into two panels by pilasters in the center and corners, without any ornamentation.

The pyramidal part is formed of five terraces, each one meter high and 0.30 to 0.40 meters of retreat. Their ridges are provided on each face by three antefixes, probably destined to receive ornamentation. Among the debris found nearby were two lintels of type I with *makara* and central medallion, Indra coiffed with the cylindrical mitre. On a sandstone slab was an inscription in Khmer, thought to date from the sixth or seventh century (530, 1, 176–179; 630, 1, 200).

INTERMEDIATE MONUMENTS

Parmentier assigned several sanctuaries, including Asram Maharosei, Prasat Preah Theat, and Edifice N 19 of Sambor Prei Kuk, to an intermediate period. Henri Mauger, then Conservator of the Angkor group of monuments, who made a recent study of these sanctuaries, while admitting they were probably built during the Funan period, believes they were Khmer monuments built within the dependent kingdom of Chenla. Consequently, they will be treated under Chenla, although some of them may be of earlier date than some of those we have assigned to Funan (632; 586).

ABSENCE OF MONUMENTS IN THE DELTA

It may be noted that all the monuments mentioned above, even in the true Funan period, are above and near Phnom Penh. The absence of important ruins in the delta region, where the earliest settlements of Funan seem to have been located, has been attributed to several causes: (1) the use of perishable material during the earliest days; (2) destruction by the Anamites, who later occupied most of the delta and employed the material to build their own sanctuaries; (3) burial of the deposits by the delta. Even the Asram Maharosei, ascribed by Parmentier to the intermediate period, is, as we shall see later, believed by Mauger to have been originally built near Kratié, on the Mekong, at a very early period and to have been moved to the

vicinity of Angkor Borei, in the delta region, during the middle Chenla period, when for a time, that city seems to have been the capital.

SCULPTURE: CHARACTERISTICS

It is even more difficult to assign any type of sculpture to Funan, because nothing certainly of this period has been found *in situ*. Parmentier thinks we are probably safe in assigning in Funan (1) the pedestal with throat, (2) the linga with realistic form, notably in ovoid bulb, (3) the linga in triple section, with little head of Śiva ascetic (with mustache) at the base of the file (100, 77), (4) the cylindrical mitre, and (5) possibly the earliest figures of Harihara (Śiva and Vishṇu combined). As ritual furniture, he ascribes to this period the *pesanī*, or table used with roller, and the grindstone with santal rasp (632; 636, 100).

SCULPTURE AND ARTS: CHINESE STATEMENTS

As we have seen, the early Chinese accounts of Funan show that the people were skilled in working gold, silver, bronze, ivory, coral, and wood. *The San-kouo-shih* (A.D. 220–280) written at the end of the third century, probably from data obtained by the mission of K'ang-t'ai and Chu Ying, says: "They love to carve ornaments and to chisel" (660, 254). The monk Nāgasena, sent on an embassy to the Imperial Court, 484, said, in his memorial to the Emperor: "They make rings and bracelets of gold and vessels of silver." Nāgasena's presents to the emperor included a golden image of the *Nāgarāja*, a santalwood elephant and two ivory stupas. In 502, Jayavarman sent the emperor a coral image of the Buddha. Rudravarman sent an image in Indian santalwood. The History of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–556) quotes an Imperial order, in reply to Jayavarman's embassy of 503, as follows: "Their custom is to adore the genii of the skies. They make bronze images of them. Those which have two faces, have four arms. Those which have four faces, have eight arms. Each hand holds something, perhaps a child, perhaps a bird or a quadruped, or the sun or the moon" (660, 269).

STATUES OF HARIHARA AND VISHṆU

The above quotation is subject to interpretation. It is generally granted that the genii of the skies refer to the Brahmanical deities. The statues with four faces and eight arms holding the attributes mentioned may be Brahmā or Śiva (603, 106; 618, 46, 51–52). The two-faced god, with four arms is not so easy to place as no such statues have been found in Indo-China. Paul Mus, who has made a careful study of the religions of Southeast Asia, thinks it refers to Harihara, with his half-Śiva, half-Vishṇu face (603, 105–106). Still, in spite of this statement of the Chinese and of

³ *Ganeśa* is a god with elephant head, the son of Śiva.

⁴ *Garuda* is a fantastic bird, the mount of Vishṇu.

Parmentier's belief that the earliest figures of Harihara probably belong to the Funan period, it would be risky to assign any statue of Harihara we have found to that period.

Most of the inscriptions of Funan are Vishṇuite and statues of Vishṇu, with cylindrical coiffure of the Gupta period (A.D. 320–600) are found all over Indo-China (323); still, no particular statue of this character is generally mentioned as characteristic of the period.

EARLY BUDDHIST STATUES

The earliest group of statues found in Funan is believed by some to be the Buddhist statues of the so-called Angkor-Borei group. In 1923 some native artisans under the supervision of George Groslier, Director of Cambodian Arts, collected several figures of the Buddha standing in different poses and one seated, at Vat Romlok and Basrē, near Angkor Borei. Groslier thinks they are Indo-Greek statues of the schools of Magadha or Mathurā or Ajaṇṭā, free of all Gandharian influence; i.e., "there is no fold of the mantle, no *ūrnā*,⁵ no halo; the *ushnisha*⁶ is treated as a protuberance, not as a chignon; the hair is curly, not wavy nor stylized; the face is of different contour; the forms are elegant and elongated (fig. 3)." He thinks the figures were made on the ground by native workmen under Indian teachers and inspiration (474, 1, 309, 311–312).

Groslier dates these Buddhas of Vat Romlok in the fifth or sixth century, when he thinks Angkor Borei was the flourishing capital of Funan, and even pushes the four-armed woman of Phnom Da back to the beginning of our era (474, 1, 310–311). While his argument may be based on a false premise, his conclusion as far as the Buddhas are concerned may not be far from correct. Parmentier, however, contents himself with assigning these Buddhist statues to Primitive Khmer Art without specifying whether they are of the Funan or Chenla period (630, 1, 118–119).

But the Indian art critic, Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, attributes these statues unreservedly to the Art of Funan. "The contemporary sculptures of deities form a group of great importance, not merely for the history of local stylistic development, but for the general history of the art; more than one is at least as fine as anything to be seen in India proper at any period. A standing female figure from Phnom Da, with some others, may date from the fourth century.

Most surely of fifth and sixth century date are the characteristic standing Buddha figures from Romlok; in the simplicity of the form, the haunched (*ābhanga*) stance and the complete transparency of the drapery, they are very closely related to the rock-cut Buddhas in the precinct of Cave XIX at Ajaṇṭā, and to some Gupta types from Sārnāth. From the same site is a very fine Buddha head of Indian character of Chinese affinities; not that it shows Chinese influences, but that it may be taken as an indication

⁵ *Ūrnā* is a mark between the eyebrows of the Buddha.

⁶ *Ushnisha* is a cranial protuberance of the Buddha.

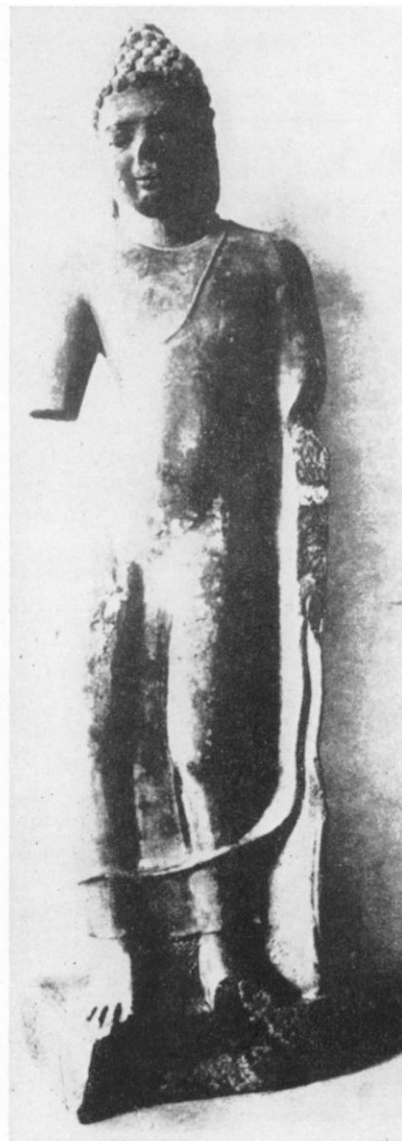


FIG. 3. Buddhas of Romlok.

of the kind of Buddhist art that reached South China in the time of the Six Dynasties. (285, 182-183).

Coomaraswamy continues:

A beautiful and well-preserved standing figure of Lokeśvara⁷ from Rachgia, now in private possession in Saigon, is probably of sixth or seventh century date (100, 80). A superb Lokeśvara now in the Stocklet Collection, Brussels;

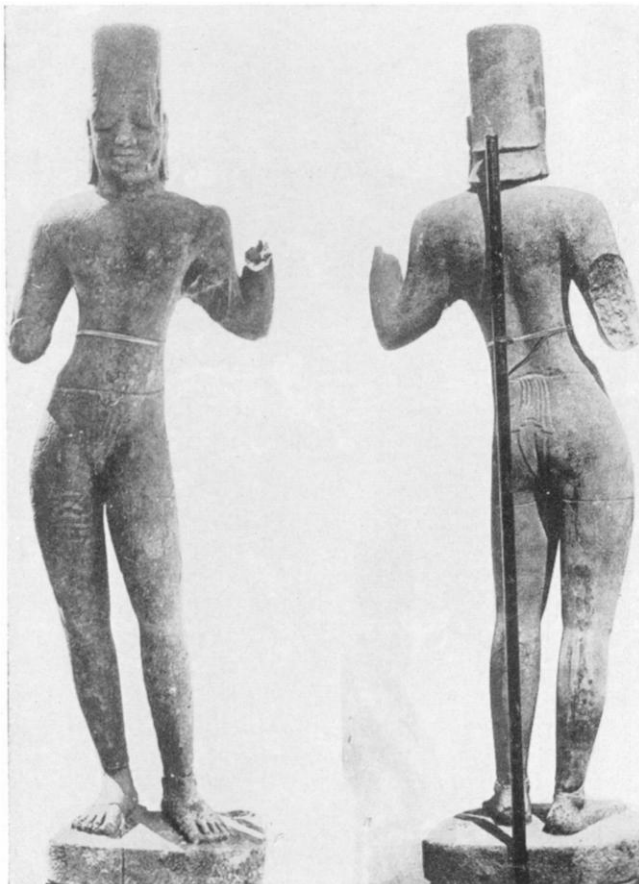


FIG. 4. Vishnu of Śrīdeb.

exhibits the Indianesque school of Funan at its highest level of achievement. (285, 183).⁸

This does not necessarily mean that these statues were carved before 550. Funan as a dependency of Chenla continued until after 627 (p. 48) and its artistic influence probably lasted a little longer.

⁷ This Lokeśvara is treated in the Chenla period.

⁸ The Stocklet man is now believed to be not a Lokeśvara (441, 415).

As we shall see, Lokeśvara was not mentioned in a dated inscription in Cambodia until A.D. 791 (p. 80), and did not figure prominently in Cambodia until some time later. But the worship of the Bodhisattva is believed to have been mentioned by Nāgasena in 484 (p. 28); the cult was flourishing at this period in some of the surrounding countries and may have had a following at Funan during the Buddhist period.

SEQUENCE OF SCULPTURES

Coedès's opinions of the sequence of sculptures in Indo-China may be gained from the following quotations:

If the sculptures of Śrīdeb (p. 30) are contemporaries of the Sanskrit inscriptions found at the same place and whose writing according to M. Finot, "is clearly of the fourth-fifth century," they are doubtless the most ancient which have been discovered in Siam,⁹ and belong perhaps to the Art of Funan. (177, 24).

In aiding ourselves to form an idea of what the statuary of Funan might have been which, except perhaps the Buddhas of Angkor Borei, have been submerged by Khmer statuary, they (the statues of Śrīdeb) furnish us the missing link between the latter and the Indian sculptures of the Gupta epoch.

If one examines successively the statues of Śrīdeb (fig. 4) the torso of the woman found at Sambor (fig. 14) the haunched Buddhas of Angkor Borei (474, pl. 28) (fig. 3), the Harihara of Sambor, that of Prasat Andet (482, pl. 23), that of Asram Maharosei (474, 289 and pl. 26) (fig. 15), and finally the whole series of Vishnu with cylindrical coiffure of Cambodia and Siam (177, pl. IX) (fig. 17), one sees the movement, typically Indian, which softens the body of the first images, lose little by little its amplitude, reduce itself to a slight hesitation and finally stop, at the same time the statues fix themselves in this rigid and perfectly symmetrical attitude which is nearly the only one known by Indian sculpture in Indo-China after the eighth century (186).

All these statues seem to have been inspired by the Gupta School (A.D. 320-600). The sequence in Funan and Śrīdeb seems to have been (1) the crude sculptures of Śrīdeb, (2) the Sambor woman, (3) the Buddhas of Angkor Borei (contemporary with, or a little later than, those of Dvāravatī), (4) the early statues of Harihara, (5) the Vishnu, with cylindrical coiffure. The latter part of this period encroaches on the Chenla period, in time if not in style. Coedès does not mention the woman of Phnom Da, which Groslier and Coomaraswamy seem to place first of all.

⁹ This was written before the excavations at Phong Tūk (p. 24) had been made.

II. THE CHENLA PERIOD

(Ca. A.D. 550–802)

1. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

THE APPEARANCE OF CHENLA IN HISTORY

The name Chenla first appeared in history when, according to the *Sui-shu* (A.D. 589–618), that country sent an embassy to China in 616 or 617. Īśānavarman I was ruling in Chenla at that time. The paragraph on Chenla says: "It was originally a vassal of Funan. . . . Śītrasena attacked Funan and subdued it." Pelliot adds that Chenla was Cambodia (660, 272).

At the time of the embassy mentioned above, Chenla already had a history perhaps two centuries old. Its original dynasty had disappeared, and Īśānavarman was the third king of a new and apparently foreign dynasty.¹

PRIMITIVE LOCATION; GREATEST EXTENT

The primitive site of Chenla seems to have been in the region of Basak, on the Mekong, in what is now southeastern Laos, just below the mouth of the Mun river (131). The early kings increased the territory toward the south. As we shall see, Bhavavarman and Śītrasena added Funan (without its dependencies), the lower Mun valley, and part of the region south of the Great Lake. Īśānasena added the region north of the Great Lake and apparently all of what is now eastern Siam.

Hsüan-chuang (46, 2, 200) says that in the middle of the seventh century, Īśānapura (Chenla) occupied the region between Dvāravatī (the lower Menam valley) and Mahāchampa. At the time of the division into two parts—Maritime and Upper Chenla—at the beginning of the eighth century, Chenla bordered Annam (present Tonkin) on the northeast and the Tai Kingdom of Nan Chao, in what is now the Chinese province of Yunnan, on the north. It does not seem to have inherited the vassal states of Funan.

PHYSICAL DIVISIONS

Chenla, at its greatest extent, consisted of two natural physical divisions—a northern or upland region, extending from the southern slope of the Dangrek mountains to the border of Nanchao, and a southern or low region, consisting of the basins of the lower Mekong and the Tonle Sap. The northern division was composed of mountains and valleys. The southern division was low. It was cut up by rivers and dotted with lakes, partly subject to annual inundations and daily tides.

¹ Dupont seems to think that Bhavavarman I followed immediately after Śreshṭhavarman (325, 2).

About 220 miles above the present mouth of the Mekong, at the site of the present capital of Phnom Penh, the river divides into two great forks—the Anterior (eastern) and the Posterior (western). This is considered the head of the delta, and from here these two forks divide and subdivide into countless branches and channels, which form the network of waterways of the delta. The Mekong, one of the world's great rivers, as long as the Mississippi² and carrying a great volume of water, rises, where all good Asiatic rivers rise, in the snow-capped plateau of Tibet, and flows into the forks from the northeast. The Tonle Sap, which drains the central basin of Cambodia, flows in from the northwest to complete the X, the *Caturmukha* (Four Faces), present site of the capital.

THE GREAT LAKE

The Great Lake, located in the central basin of Cambodia and drained by the Tonle Sap, is one of the world's marvels. In normal times it is a shallow, muddy pool, or collection of pools, thirty or forty miles long, and four or five miles wide, navigable only for shallow boats poled by hand. But, during the flooded season, which lasts from July to January, the Mekong, swollen by the rains, hits the delta with such a tremendous impact of water that the course of the Tonle Sap is reversed and the central basin is filled until it becomes a great lake, eighty to one hundred miles long, fifteen to thirty miles wide, and in places forty to fifty feet deep (658, 164).

Late in October the water begins to recede and, by the time it has reached its normal limits in February, millions of fish are left imprisoned in the many muddy pools and bayous formed by the retreating water. These fish, which today rank second to rice among the products of Indo-China, no doubt attracted early settlers to this region. The discoveries made at the pre-historic station of Samrong Sen, on a branch of the Tonle Sap, show that this region was at least partly occupied by a people similar to the ancestors of the Funanese, only a few centuries before the Kingdom of Funan was established in the delta.

CLIMATE, VEGETATION

All this region, on the western slope of the Annamite Cordilleras, is subject to the southwest monsoons from the Gulf of Siam and has an annual rainfall varying

² From Lake Itasca to the mouth of the Mississippi, not including the Missouri.

from forty to one hundred inches. The rainy season lasts from April to October in the North and from April to November in the South. The temperature is tropical in the plains of the South, but temperate in the uplands of the North (499, 12-14).

The vegetation covers a greater variety than in the delta. Among forest products, the Chinese mention cardamoms, lac, gum, benjamin (gambodge), pepper, betel, ginseng, litchis, palms, bamboos, rattan, ebony, and lotus. Chou Ta-kuan says cotton (probably kapok) trees grow higher than the houses (658, 169).

As in the delta, rice was the principal food product. Cane, betel, and arica nuts were cultivated here as elsewhere in Indo-China, and palm-sugar was a product special to Cambodia. Other edible cultivated plants were taros, onions, eggplant, melons, gourds, and mustard. Fruits included bananas, guavas, litchis, oranges, pears, pomegranates, and pineapples. Vegetable oils included peanut, sesame, cottonseed, and coconut. Cotton and a kind of hemp were used for textiles³ (499, 210-211).

MAMMALS, BIRDS

Elephants, rhinoceroses, and tigers were more common than in the delta. Elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns became important objects of commerce. Other wild animals were wild horses, wild cattle, water buffaloes, panthers, bears, boars, deer of several kinds, foxes, goats, gibbons and many kinds of monkeys, rats as large as cats and others whose head resembled that of a young dog (658, 169). Domestic animals included elephants, horses, cattle, buffaloes, sheep, and hogs. Cattle were ridden, but were not used as draft animals, and their flesh was not eaten.

The principal wild birds were peacocks, fishermartens—which were trapped for their plumes—and perroquets in many colors. Others mentioned are falcons, crows, aigrettes, swans, cranes, ducks, canaries, and sparrows. Seabirds, such as gulls, cormorants, and pelicans, frequented the Great Lake. The hen and the duck were domesticated.

REPTILES, AMPHIBIANS, FISHES

The cobra and other serpents were found in Chenla. Chou Ta-kuan says the crocodiles were as large as boats, compares them with dragons, and says the belly was delicious. Turtles and iguanas were of enormous size and were used as food. Crabs were not eaten; but the shrimp of Ch'a-nan (Kompong Chnang) were eaten and were said to weigh a pound. Frogs swarmed in the moats and in pools by the roadside. They were not eaten and, then as now, their raucous music sometimes filled the air, by day as well as by night.

Shellfish of various kinds existed in sufficient abun-

dance to maintain a prehistoric population a few centuries earlier. But the great animal food-product of the country was the bountiful supply of fish which were imprisoned in the Great Lake by the receding waters at the close of the annual floods.

MINERALS

The mountains contained many minerals, but few were exploited. Some iron was found in the mountains of Cambodia and some gold in the rivers of what is now southern Laos. Chou Ta-kuan said the country produced neither gold nor silver. The products he thought China could export to that country included gold, silver, tin, mercury, sulphur, saltpetre, iron pots, and copper plates. Salt was obtained along the coast by the evaporation of sea-water and in the lower Mun valley (281, 2, 193).

THE FOUNDING OF CHENLA (KAMBUJADESA)

As we have seen, at the dawn of history in this region, the Khmers were found just below the junction of the Mun river with the Mekong. If they were not native of this region—and it seems they were not—they must have come down the Mun valley or through what is now Siamese Laos, for Dupont has recently pointed out that there are no Khmer archeological nor epigraphic remains on the east bank of the Mekong above this point (325, 42). If they ever had common ancestry to the Mons—as their joint name, Mon-Khmer, as many traits of language, customs, and race seem to imply—their contact seems to have been via the valley of the Mun; for at that time, they seem to have lacked any other point of contact and their languages seem to have been pretty well differentiated. Early legends and later chronicles agree that they conquered this region from the Chams, whom they drove out or absorbed in part (p. 15). Indian traders and teachers from the Coromandel coast seem to have reached them here and they began to group themselves into little communities and to adopt Indian religions.⁴ For some time they seem to have submitted to the overlordship of Funan. Finally, Śrutavarman, "the root of the race . . . delivered the natives from the chains of tribute," (161, st 13), i.e., he apparently freed the Kambuja from the domination of Funan, and Chenla became an independent country. The date of this event is not certain, but it has generally been considered as about the beginning of the fifth century.

There is some reason to think that the appearance of Indian religions in this region took place before the arrival of the Khmers and that the early Khmers got the first Indian religions from the Chams; for the chief deity of this region seems to have been Bhadréś-

³ The Chinese mention all the above-named as products of Ancient Cambodia. It is not certain that all were cultivated during the Chenla Period.

⁴ The name of their first semi-historic king, Śrutavarman means "whose armor was the Vedas" (9, 11) or possibly, "protector of the Vedas."

vara, the tutelary-deity of the early Chams of the coast. The *Sui-shu*, according to Ma Tuan-lin, says:

Near the capital is the mountain named *Ling-kia-po-p'o*, at the summit of which rises a temple always guarded by a thousand soldiers and consecrated to a spirit named *Po-to-li*, to whom human beings were sacrificed. Each year the king goes to this temple to perform himself a human sacrifice during the night. It is thus that they honor the spirits. Many of the inhabitants of Chenla follow the law of the Buddha; many others practice the cult of the *tao*. The Buddhists and the *Tao-sse*⁵ place pious images in the houses where travellers stop (584, 483).

The Chinese document mentioned above and later inscriptions of Kambujadesa help to locate more precisely the ancient cradle of the Khmer race and to establish more closely the relations between the early Chams of this region and those of the coast across the mountain-passes. Coedès finds it easy to transliterate *Ling-kia-po-p'o* [*Ling-chia-po-p'o*] as *Lingaparvata* (=mountain of the linga) and *Po-to-li* as the first syllables of Bhadreśvara (140, 124). Now, *Lingaparvata* is mentioned in several inscriptions as the mountain on the lower slope of which Vat Phu stands and Bhadreśvara is the name of the god worshipped on that mountain. Now, according to Pelliot *Lingaparvata* is also the name given to the mountain at Cape Varella where the Chams worshipped a stone linga (663, 217), which Coedès says is similar to that on the summit of the mountain which dominates Vat Phu, and both are worshipped under the name of Bhadreśvara (278, 114–115).

THE DYNASTY OF ŚRUTAVARMAN

The two great races, or royal dynasties, of the epic legends of India were (1) the Lunar race, or Soma-vamśa⁶ (which drew its name from the terrestrial deity Soma), whose most illustrious representative was Kṛṣṇa, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and (2) the Solar race, or Sūryavamśa (so named from the great sun-god Sūrya), whose chief representative was Rāma, another incarnation of Viṣṇu (9, 11). It has been

⁵ The application of this term here is unknown, as there were no Taoists in Chenla. See also page 248.

⁶ Vamśa is Sanskrit for family or dynasty.

seen that the Lunar dynasty of Funan originated in the marriage of the brahman Hun-t'ien and the native queen Liu-yeh, afterwards sublimated into the great brahman Kauṇḍīya and the nāginī Somā, daughter of Soma represented as Nāgarāja. Now the Solar dynasty of the Kambuja is said to have its origin in the union of the mahārshi, or great hermit, Kambu Svāyambhuva,⁷ with the apsaras, or celestial nymph, Merā,⁸ a gift of Hara (Śiva).

Śrutavarman, the first historic or semi-historic king of the Kambuja, a descendant of Kambu and Merā, was succeeded by his son, Śreṣṭhavarman, who is said by an inscription (157, st. 6)⁹ to have been the "Origin of a brilliant family of Kings." The inscription continued: "Son of this sky which is the family of Śrī-Kambu, born in this mountain of the Levant, which is Jayadityāpura, he awoke the hearts of living beings like the lotus, this treasury of splendor, supreme king of Śreṣṭhapura" (*ibid.*, st. 7). His capital, Śreṣṭhapura, has been located by Coedès at the foot of the mountain on which Vat Phu stands, in the present province of Basak, in what is now Laos¹⁰ (131).

The above mentioned inscription, written many centuries later, says Śreṣṭhavarman was the *origin* of a brilliant line of kings; but we do not know who ruled immediately after him or how much time elapsed between him and Bhavavarman, who seems to derive his claim to the throne from Kambujarājālakṣmī, of the family of the mother of Śreṣṭhavarman. Aymonier, as will be seen, tried to identify Śrutavaraman with the second Kauṇḍīya; but this identification was not well based and has not been accepted. The Chinese say Śitrasena's ancestors gradually increased the power of the country (660, 272). It is necessary to understand *predecessors* instead of *ancestors*, for as far as known, none of Śitrasena's ancestors ever governed Chenla.

⁷ Svayambhuva means self-creating.

⁸ Coedès thinks the name Merā may have been forged to make it appear as the origin of the name Khmer (278, 115).

⁹ Quotations from inscriptions will give the name, the number in *Works Cited* and the stanza of the inscriptions.

¹⁰ Madrolle thinks Śreṣṭhapura was near the present Stung Treng (534, xviii).

2. BHAVAVARMAN'S CLAIM TO THE THRONES OF CHENLA AND FUNAN

BHAVAVARMAN BECOMES KING OF CHENLA: HIS CAPITAL

An inscription of the tenth century (Baksei Chamkrong—161, st. 13–16), giving the genealogy of the then reigning king, speaks of "these kings" who followed Śreṣṭhavarman, and continues: "Then came the kings having as chief of branch the King Śrī Rudravarman, drawing their origin from Śrī Kauṇḍīya and the daughter of Soma"; but we know Rudravarman

was never king of Chenla. An inscription of the twelfth century (Ta Prohm—157, st. 8–9) speaks of Kambujarājālakṣmī as having ruled Chenla and says she was "born in the maternal family of the King (Śreṣṭhavarman)." It speaks of Bhavavarmadeva as if he were the husband of this Lakṣmī, Queen of the Kambuja, who apparently descended from the family of Śreṣṭhavarman's mother. An inscription of the seventh century (Ang Chumnik—23, st. 5) says Bhavavarman reigned after Rudravarman—who was suzerain, not

king, of Chenla. Bhavavarman seems to have come to the throne of Chenla about 550 or later.¹

Bhavavarman was not a descendant of the Solar dynasty of Kambu and Merā. He boasts loudly in his inscriptions that he belongs to the Lunar dynasty of Kauṇḍīnya and Somā. His claim to the throne of Chenla was apparently based solely on his marriage with Queen Lakshmi, descendant of the family of the mother of Śreshthavarman (see genealogical table, p. 63).

One of the inscriptions cited above (157, st. 9) says Bhavavarman was "husband of the earth at Bhavapura." Bhavapura was probably not Śreshthapura; for the name of the latter capital appears many times in later history. Yet, as husband of a queen who had reigned, Bhavavarman's capital was probably near that of his predecessor, but not identical with it. Coedès seems to locate Bhavapura near Śreshthapura, at the foot of the mountain of Vat Phu (131; 140, 125; see also 37 and 363). Madrolle (534 xviii) identifies it with Banteay Prei Nokor.

BHAVAVARMAN'S FAMILY

Bhavavarman's father, Vīravarman, is mentioned in several inscriptions. His grandfather is also mentioned under the name of Śārvabhauma,² which Coedès thinks may mean Rudravarman. His father seems to have been a vassal king of Funan. An inscription of Funan mentions a Vīra (varman?) as having been engaged in battle with King Ja. . . ., apparently the Jayavarman, who died in A.D. 514. Another inscription seems to indicate that Bhavavarman's father and mother were living after he became king.

As we shall see, Bhavavarman's brother Śītrasena appears to have been head of the army during all of Bhavavarman's reign and, on his death, succeeded him under the title of Mahendravarman. He had also a sister, whose husband and son were devout teachers of Śīvaism. Bhavavarman seems also to have had a son who apparently ruled for a time while Bhavavarman retired to a monastery, during the latter part of his reign, but who did succeed him on his death.

BHAVAVARMAN REJECTS THE SOLAR DYNASTY OF CHENLA

The Chronicles of Cambodia, which disappeared during the wars of the eighteenth century and were "re-written" early in the nineteenth century, relate that a descendant of Kambu, Preah Thong, son of the King of Intapath, or Indraprashta,³ was banished from that Kingdom and came to settle in Kok Thlok, "the land

of the thlok-tree," Khmer name for Cambodia, which was then occupied by the Chams. Preah Thong married a beautiful *nāgī*, daughter of the *Nāgarāja*, who helped him to conquer the Chams (600, 2, 9). It is to be noted here that the modern Cambodian considers the Kambuja who settled in Chenla, and not the Funanese, as his ancestors.

Be that as it may, the inscriptions of Chenla show no knowledge whatever of the Kambuja and say not a word of Kambu or Śrutavarman or Śreshthavarman. The inscriptions of Bhavavarman and his successors go on repeating that they are members of the Lunar dynasty of Kauṇḍīnya-Somā, as if they had never heard of Kambu and Merā (368). There are, however, a few indications that some of these terms were in use at that time. The term Kambu or any derivation of it does not occur in any inscription of the Chenla period. The country and its principalities were called by the names of their capitals—Bhavapura, Īśānapura, Vyādhapura, Śambhupura, etc.—which, in their turn, are sometimes named after their founders. But Chenla is said to be a Chinese transcription of Kambuja, which seems to be an indication that the term was applied to the country from the time it was first mentioned by the Chinese, if not earlier. An inscription of the twelfth century (Vat Phu) mentions a *viṇaya* (district) of Śreshthapura as existing in the vicinity of Vat Phu, the reputed cradle of Chenla (131; 140), and several inscriptions of the Kambuja period mention Śreshthapura.

BHAVAVARMAN'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE OF FUNAN

Rudravarman, King of Funan, seems to have died about the middle of the sixth century. Except for an inscription or two which do not give the name of a king, the next positive date in the history of Funan-Chenla is 616–617, when the history of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–618) tells us that Īśānavarman, King of Chenla, sent an embassy to the court of China. This Chinese document goes on to say that Īśānasena's father and predecessor, Śītrasena, seized Funan and subdued it (660, 272). An inscription (20, st. 21, n.) tells us that Īśānavarman was reigning in 627 and, as will appear later, we have other reasons for identifying Īśānasena and Īśānavarman. Another inscription (25, st. 1–2) mentions the following kings as having ruled in this order: Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman, Īśānavarman, Jayavarman. Still another inscription (38, st. 1–2) says that, before he came to the throne, Mahendravarman, brother of Bhavavarman, was known as Śītrasena. So it seems to have been during the reign of Bhavavarman that Śītrasena conquered Funan.

Bhavavarman, we are told, was neither a son nor a brother of his predecessor on the throne of Funan, but was the son of a king named Vīravarman (38, st. 13).

¹ An earlier date was formerly generally believed, but Coedès has discovered that Bhavavarman was still reigning in 598 (see p. 45, n. 11).

² Coedès thinks Śārvabhauma means universal monarch and thinks it, therefore, must refer to the king of Funan (274, 81).

³ About twenty miles south of the present, Delhi, in India.

Pelliot thought Bhavavarman could not have been a descendant of the kings of Funan; for the Somavamśa was a brahman line and Bhavavarman was kshatriya; but the Indian historian, B. R. Chatterjee, has pointed out that marriages of this kind occurred in Chenla (113, 240). Pelliot (*ibid.*, 302) thought Bhavavarman may have descended from a collateral line. Finot (368, 36) thought Viravarman was a member of the Somavamśa and that Bhavavarman claimed through him.

As to Bhavavarman's right to the throne of Chenla, an inscription of much later date mentions Śrutavarman as founder of the Solar dynasty, names his son and successor Śreshṭhavarman as having reigned at Śreshṭhapura and connects Bhavavarman by marriage with a matrilineal branch of this family.

Various interpretations have been put on the above data, of which a few will be discussed.

Etienne Aymonier identified Śrutavarman with the second Kaundīnya and had him reign from about 435 to about 495. He was followed by his son, Śreshṭhavarman (495–530).⁴ Then followed, in order according to Aymonier, Rudravarman (530–560), Bhavavarman (560–590), Mahendravarman (590–610), Īśānavarman (610–655), and Jayavarman (650–680). Aymonier thought Funan and Chenla were simply Chinese names for the same country. He thought there was no conquest, but that Bhavavarman simply usurped the throne (9, 13).

More recently, the principal interpreters of the inscriptions have been the epigraphists, Louis Finot and George Coedès. Finot considered Chenla as the beginning of Cambodia and enumerated the first kings as follows: Śrutavarman, Śreshṭhavarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman assuming that Viravarman was not a king of Chenla and that Bhavavarman conquered Chenla on the death of Śreshṭhavarman and Funan on the death of Rudravarman.

Coedès thinks Bhavavarman may have had a claim to the throne of Chenla through his wife and may have been a grandson of Rudravarman. The inscriptions of Khan Thevada and Phou Lakhon say Bhavavarman

⁴ These dates are those of Aymonier. They were intended to be approximate.

was the grandson of Sārvabhauma. Coedès thinks Sārvabhauma may be synonymous with Adhirāja, "universal monarch," a term applied to the kings of Vyādhapura (Funan), which, if true, in this case could mean none other than Rudravarman (140).

BHAVAVARMAN SEIZES THE THRONE OF FUNAN

Out of the welter of fact, legend, and opinion, perhaps we may deduce the following: In the early part of the sixth century, the Empire of Funan had become quite extensive and included a motley of peoples and vassal states, from the sea on the south up into the present Laos on the north, from Champa on the east to the Bay of Bengal on the west and including most of the Malay Peninsula.⁵ It was a maritime empire. Its communications even with its adjoining vassals seem to have been by water. The ties which bound the empire together must have been loose. "Each vassal state had its mandarins," say the Chinese (660, 282).

Of these vassal states, the most powerful one and the one nearest at hand, was Chenla. An ambitious scion of the Funan dynasty, Bhavavarman, had just acquired the throne of Chenla by marriage. When Rudravarman died, there was probably a disputed succession to the throne of Funan. Rudravarman was a usurper, and there were probably legitimate claimants to the throne. Some, at least, of the later "kings" and disputed successions probably have their roots in this period. Bhavavarman asserted the claim he probably held through his mother, and the army under his younger brother, Śitrasena, seized the throne for him. An inscription—Kdei Ang Chumnik (II)—says he "seized the throne by force."⁶ The History of the Sui dynasty says Śitrasena "attacked Funan and subdued it" (660, 272). This probably happened about 550.⁷

⁵ At this time, the Funanese Empire probably included *Ch'ih-t'u* (584, 469; 527, 173).

⁶ This interpretation, including the dates, appears to be that of Finot and Coedès (140, 130); but Coedès says later that it occurred during the second half of the sixth century (278, 117).

⁷ Śitrasena seems to have erected on Ba Phnom a *linga* to Gīrīśa (Śiva), "The god who dwells on the mountain," to celebrate his victory (140, 128–129).

3. THE REIGNS OF BHAVAVARMAN I AND MAHENDRAVARMAN (ca. 550–ca. 611)

BHAVAVARMAN'S POLICY TOWARD FUNAN: HIS MINISTERS

As stated, Bhavavarman, "protégé of Śiva" (6, 3, 413), probably had a claim to the throne of Funan through his mother, but seems to have seized it as the result of a disputed succession. However that may be, he and his successors, in their inscriptions, claim to belong to the Lunar dynasty of Kaundīnya–Somā and go to the greatest pains in their attempts to establish the continuity of the dynasty of Funan. "Born in the

race of Soma" (Hanchey—15 A, st. 3), "moon of the skies of the Lunar race" (15 B, st. 3), "born in the pure, unbroken line of Kings" (535, 3, No. 12, st. 19)—these are some of the statements made about Bhavavarman in the inscriptions. Bhavavarman and some of his successors praise Rudravarman as the founder of their dynasty. As far as dynasties are concerned, it would seem that Funan had subjugated Chenla.

The hereditary line of ministers which had served

Rudravarman continued to serve Bhavavarman without a break, although the new capital was probably far from their native city of Ādhyāpura. The two new ministers, Dharmadeva and Sindhadeva, were nephews by maternal line of Brahmadatta and Brahmasimha, court physicians of Rudravarman. "These two were his ministers, both of good counsel, experienced, versed in the science of the law and the useful, the just and the personified, so to say" (25, st. 6).

Everything possible seems to have been done to facilitate the transfer of sovereignty from Funan to Chenla. This wise policy of conciliation seems to have borne fruit, if we believe the inscription of Hanchey: "Although conquered first by force, the land which has the ocean for its girdle (Funan?) when he exercised his sovereignty, he conquered it the second time by his mildness" (15, A, st. 12).

SOURCES OF INFORMATION: INSCRIPTIONS

Our information regarding the history of Funan is based chiefly on the statements of the dynastic histories of China and Chinese visitors and travellers, especially the data collected by Paul Pelliot. Right at the beginning of the history of Chenla, however, inscriptions become an important, perhaps the principal, source of information. Some of the inscriptions which give us data on the reign of Bhavavarman I belong to later reigns; others seem to belong to the reign of this monarch.¹

None of the inscriptions the author has assigned to the reign of Bhavavarman I are dated. Some of them—Hanchey A and B (15), Phnom Banteai Neang (17), Veal Kantel (18)—mention a King Bhavavarman; three—Thma Krê (350), Vat Chruol Ampil (251) and Tham Pet Thong (694, 92)—mention Śītrasena, pre-coronation name of Mahendravarman, and say he erected lingas there, with the approbation of his father and mother. Other characteristics, such as context or character of the writing, assist in assigning these inscriptions to this reign. Finot, who edited the inscription of Thma Krê,² points out the absence of royal title in this inscription and thinks it was because Śītrasena had not yet come to the throne (350).

The inscription of Ponhear Hor, which resembles that of Hanchey in epigraphy, and that of Phnom Preah Vihear, mention a King Bhavavarman. Coedès assigns these two inscriptions and those of Hanchey to the reign of Bhavavarman II (278, 123). There seems to be little objection to this assignment in the cases of Ponhear Hor and Phnom Preah Vihear; but

the location of Hanchey and the content of its inscriptions seem to this author to indicate that they belong to the reign of Bhavavarman I.³

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF HANCHEY

The two inscriptions on the inner door pillars of the old brick sanctuary at Hanchey, just above Kompong Cham on the Mekong, were among the first discovered and were long considered as the most ancient in Cambodia. Coedès, as we have seen, thinks they belong to the reign of Bhavavarman II.

The two inscriptions have been designated A and B by Barth, who translated them into French. A, on the right pillar, contains 35 lines. In accordance with the rule in Sanskrit inscriptions of some length, the first lines—1 to 16 in this case—are devoted to a *praśasti*, or eulogy of the King Bhavavarman; lines 17–21 are devoted to a eulogy of the King's son and successor, who is not named; lines 22–31 are devoted to a personage who had served both father and son, and lines 32–35 are devoted to the erection of a linga under the vocable of Bhadreśvara by the personage, who is called the Supreme Chief of Ugrapura, which seems to be Hanchey⁴ (15, 8, n. 4). Inscription B, on the left pillar, contains 12 lines. Line 12 begins a eulogy of a person in the service of Bhavavarman, but halts abruptly.

Both of these inscriptions mention a King Bhavavarman, and the servant mentioned in both inscriptions could be the same. But inscription B does not mention a son. It may date from the earlier years of Bhavavarman's reign. Aymonier, who discovered the inscriptions, and Barth, who translated them, seem to think that inscription B is older than inscription A. Inscription A speaks of Bhavavarman as "having gone to the abode of Śiva" (st. 19), says the son "in early youth . . . took up the burden of royalty" (st. 21) and, mentioning no other king, gives the impression that inscription A was carved during the reign of the son, perhaps by the same workmen, directed by the same seigneur, as inscription B.

It is known from several sources that Bhavavarman I was succeeded by his brother, Śītrasena, and no other document mentions a son. This seems to be an argument in favor of Bhavavarman II. But does Bhavarman's going "to the abode of Śiva" necessarily mean that he died? May it not mean that he retired to a monastery, while his son ruled, then returned to the throne and was succeeded by Śītrasena? In this case, or in any case unless the son died in the meantime, Śītrasena must have thrust the son aside after the death of Bhavavarman. There is much reason for suspicion

¹ Coedès says Bhavavarman left only one inscription—that of Phnom Bantei Neang (278, 118); but his sister was author of Veal Kantel and his brother Śītrasena, of several others—all undoubtedly during the reign of Bhavavarman I. As will be seen, Coedès thinks the inscriptions of Hanchey belong to the reign of Bhavavarman II.

² The inscription of Vat Chruol Ampil is said to be an incomplete replica of that of Thma Krê.

³ It is perilous to disagree with Coedès concerning the inscriptions; for he reads them and translates them; they have not all been published and he may have something in reserve. But from the available data the inscriptions of Hanchey certainly seem to belong to the reign of Bhavavarman I (104, 391–392).

⁴ Agrapura, "high city," corresponds well with Hanchey.

of disputed successions all through the history of Chenla, and this may have been a fruitful cause of some of them. And could not the remark that Bhavavarman conquered "the kings of the mountain," found in both inscriptions (A, st. 10; B, st. 5), refer to Bhavavarman I's conquest of Funan?

CHARACTER OF THE INSCRIPTIONS: HANCHEY

Barth praises the inscriptions of the Chenla period as models of regularity, finish, and elegance such as have never been found at any time in India (12, 196). Almost from the beginning, they were partly in Khmer, while those of Funan, as well as the early inscriptions of Champa, were nearly all in Sanskrit.⁵

The inscriptions of Hanchey and Ponhear Hor, on the other hand, seem to exhibit an Indian crudeness, according to Barth (15, 12):

The alphabet in which this inscription and . . . [Ponhear Hor] are written is, if not the most archaic of all, at least that which reproduces the most faithfully an Indian prototype. As has been very well observed by Kern, to whom the honor of having founded the study of Cambodian epigraphy belongs, it recalls exactly that of the oldest inscription of the temple of Pāpanātha at Paṭṭadakal in the Western Dekkan. The resemblance is even such that it would be explained with difficulty by the hypothesis of a derivation, more or less distant, and that it is necessary to conclude a direct transmission. The type of these characters was certainly brought from the Dekkan to Cambodia at an epoch near that when [these] inscriptions . . . were written. The work, one would say, has something of Hindu. It is executed by a hand sure and hardy; but it has nothing of the perfect regularity, of the finish and elegance which distinguished most of the products of Cambodian epigraphy. The workman has not taken the pains, either to prepare well the surface of the stone nor to measure exactly the letters, in that imitating his confreres of India who, all in leaving very beautiful specimens of lapidary writing, do not seem to have dreamed that an inscription, even of some extent, may serve as a decorative model.

RELIGION: ŚIVAISM, LINGAS

The inscriptions of this reign were all Śivaite. Most of them commemorate the erection of lingas, under various vocables—Śambhu (Thma Krê, Chruoy Ampil, Tham Pet Thong), Tryambaka (Phnom Banteai Neang), Tribhuvaneśvara (Veal Kantel). These lingas are interesting, because they are the first ones mentioned in Cambodian epigraphy. Nāgasena almost certainly referred to a linga under the vocable of Maheśvara, and their worship was probably introduced or systematized by the second Kauṇḍīya, who introduced the customs of India.

Two new vocables of Śiva appear in the inscriptions of this reign—Giriśa, "he who reigns on the mountain" and Gambhīreśvara, "god of the depths." Śitrasena appears to have erected the first statue of Giriśa on

Ba Phnom, near the capital of Funan, at the time of the conquest of that country. Many were erected during his reign as Mahendravarman.

It is said that Bhavavarman dedicated a temple to Gambhīreśvara (12, st. 5). As dedications to this god were unusual at this time, it probably refers to the first temple of Ak Yom, said to have been erected in the sixth century, which we know was dedicated to that deity.

INDIAN CULTURE: KNOWLEDGE OF THE SACRED BOOKS

Some of the inscriptions of this reign show that, from the beginning, Chenla received instruction in the sacred books of India. The inscription of the Prasat Ba An, near the village of Veal Kantel, province of Tonle Repou, just below the border of Laos, relates the erection of an image to Tribhuvaneśvara (Śiva), accompanied by a figure of the Sun. The donation was made by a brahman savant, named Somaśarman, husband of Bhavavarman's sister. Among the gifts made to the temple were a complete copy of the *Mahābhārata*, a copy of the *Rāmāyana*, and apparently a copy of the *Purāṇas*. Somaśarman instituted daily readings of these works in a sanctuary, promised benedictions to those who participated in these readings, and pronounced imprecations against those who damaged any of the precious volumes.

This inscription is interesting as showing the extent to which Indian influence had penetrated the country, even to this northern province at this early date. B. R. Chatterjee, an Indian historian who has written on Cambodia, cites an item from this inscription which shows how the most hide-bound Indian customs may become liberalized outside of the mother country. It was that a brahman married a kshatriya and the offspring was a kshatriya. Such marriages, he says, are rare in India, and when they occur, the children belong to the caste of the father, whereas in Indo-China they belonged to that of the mother (113, 38, n. 3).

BHAVAVARMAN AS A BUILDER

Some of the ruins of buildings of the ancient Chenla region run back to the reign of Bhavavarman I, perhaps earlier. Among these may be noted, in order descending the Mekong, the remains of the earliest temple at Vat Phu, the Prasat Baran, the Asram Maharosei, and the Hanchey group. These monuments are described in the chapter on architecture.

The region around Phu Basak near the mouth of the Mun river, sometimes called Champasak, is the reputed cradle of the Kambuja. Around the foot of the mountain are supposed to have been located the ancient capitals of Śreshṭhapura and Bhavapura.⁶ No well defined ruins of these ancient capitals have been found; but

⁵ Coedès has recently published an inscription of the fourth century in Cham (229), which is the oldest known text in Cham or any other Indonesian language (278, 85).

⁶ Madrolle has placed Bhavapura at Stung Treng (537, 18) and at Banteai Prei Nokor (742, 18, 61).

on the slope of Phu Basak, probably the Lingaparvata of the inscription, where now stands the immense temple of *Vat Phu*, was erected what was probably the oldest known Khmer temple. It was dedicated to a linga of Śiva under the vocable of Bhadrésvara, who seems also to have been the patron saint of the Chams⁷ (576, 64). All that now remains of the original sanctuary is a *somasūtra* and a stele inscription of the seventh century, probably of the reign of Jayavarman I (630, 1, 231).

Prasat Baran, on the west bank of the Mekong across from Stung Treng at the mouth of the Se Kong belonged probably to the reign of Bhavavarman I; for an inscription found in the vicinity mentions this king under a name other than his posthumous name and also gives the names of his father and sister.

Asram Maharosei, which Parmentier assigns to the period intermediate between Funan and Chenla, is believed by Mauger to have been erected originally near Kratié, near the place where the rock inscription of Thma Krê was found, and later moved to its present site near Angkor Borei.

The sanctuary at Hanchey, on the west bank of the Mekong a little above the present city of Kompong Cham, is believed to have been erected during the reign of Bhavavarman I, as its two pillar inscriptions are believed to be of this reign. The *mandapa* may have been of the Funan period.

The south tower of Banteay Prei Nokor is believed by Parmentier to have been one of the earliest buildings of the transition period between the architecture of Funan and Chenla (632, 185–186 and notes; see also p. 76).

BHAVAVARMAN AS A WARRIOR

Bhavavarman was a great warrior, according to the inscriptions.

He conquered the kings of the mountains up to the summits of their peaks (Hanchey B, 15, st. 5). He captured elephants en masse in order to use them in war. . . . When, in autumn, he set out to attack foreign nations, whose lustre paled at once, it was his ardor more than that of the sun which was unsupportable by his enemies. . . . The dust, raised by his army, spreading itself on the cheeks of the women of the enemy . . . appeared like santal powder. . . . After having conquered the kings of the mountain, he occupied the countries. . . . No sooner was he free of enemy princes on the frontier, than his exploits carried him beyond the confines of their countries (Hanchey A, 15, st. 5–11).

These statements regarding the continual wars of his reign and his victories, seem to be supported by the testimonies of the Chinese. It seems, however, that most of the actual fighting was done by his brother, Śītrasena, who appears to have been in command of the army during all of Bhavavarman's reign.

⁷ Was this temple originally built by the Chams? Did the Chams teach Śivaism to the Khmers here?

EXTENT OF BHAVAVARMAN I'S KINGDOM

Chenla, before the annexation of Funan, was entirely an inland country, communicating with the sea only by the Mekong through Funan. It had no means of holding in subjection the different states of the vast empire of Funan. The states on the Malay peninsula may have remained loyal to Funan for some time after its reduction to vassalage by Chenla, but there is no evidence that any of them ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Chenla. Lang-ya-hsiu,⁸ for instance, sent an embassy to the court of China in 568 (664, 405), and P'an-p'an, Ch'ih-t'u and probably Dvāravatī began diplomatic relations with China before the final absorption of Funan by Chenla (734, 268). There is nothing to indicate that the coastal strip,⁹ probably reduced by Fan Shih-man, was under the suzerainty of either Funan, Chenla, or Champa at this time and it may have lapsed into a condition of semi-independence.

Of the seven inscriptions assigned to the reign of Bhavavarman I, five are strung along the Mekong from below the capital (near Vat Phu) to above the fork—in their order, ascending the river, Hanchey (2), Thma Krê, Vat Chruoy Ampil and Veal Kantel. This is precisely the region where the five monuments—Prasat Preah That Thom, Hanchey, Asram Maharosei,¹⁰ Prasat Baran, and Vat Phu—asccribed to Bhavavarman I, were located. This region may then be considered the core of Bhavavarman I's Chenla (map 4).

A sixth inscription, that of Phnom Banteay Neang, north of Battambang and west of the Great Lake, in the apparently semi-independent region of Amoghapura, seems to celebrate a victory rather than a conquest.¹¹ Another fact, however, seems to indicate that Bhavavarman I may have had an interest in this distant region. The first temple of Ak Yom (about twelve miles southwest of the site of the later Angkor Thom) is said to date from the sixth century (334, 475). It is dedicated to a Śivalinga, under the vocable of Gambhīrēśvara, to whom Bhavavarman I is said to have had a particular devotion and to have dedicated a sanctuary (12). This region north and west to the Great Lake seems to have been subject to Chenla at this time, but not annexed to it. An inscription dated 609 has been found there (p. 46). The earliest sanctuary of Prasat Kōk Pō, in this same region, seems to be of the same date as the most ancient parts of Ak Yom. A seventh inscription—Thom Pet Thong—a replica of those of Thma Krê and Vat Chruoy Ampil, which celebrates the erection of a linga of Śambu, seems, like that of Phnom

⁸ The former Tun-hsün, with capital near the present Tenasserim.

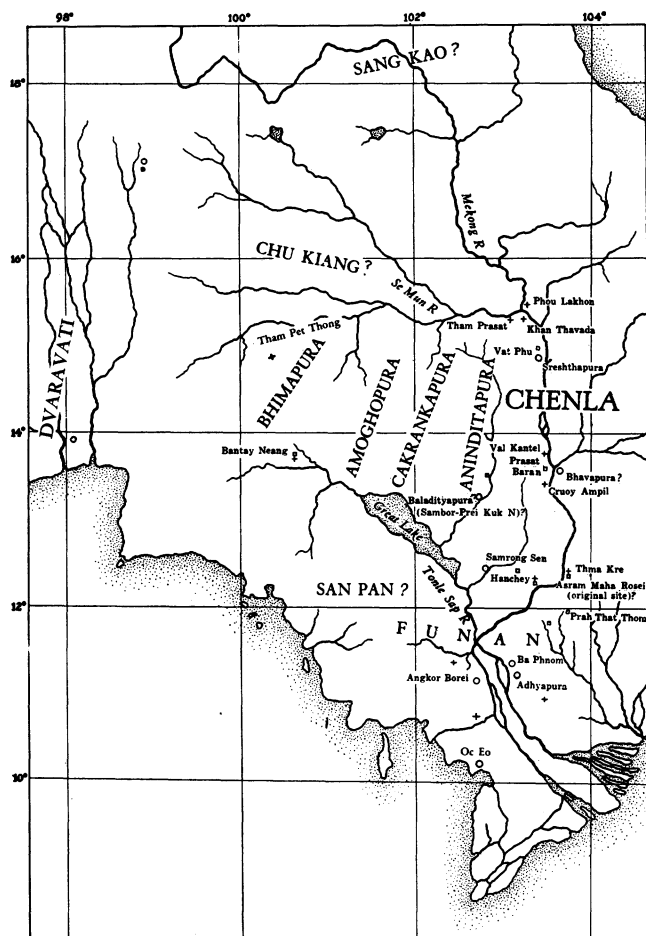
⁹ Possibly called Huan Wang at this time.

¹⁰ It is believed that this temple was erected in the region at this time and later, possibly in the reign Īśānavarman, was moved to its present location.

¹¹ This inscription, which is undated and is in the region annexed by Īśānavarman I (ca. 610–635?), may have been made by Bhavavarman II, who followed Īśānavarman I.

Banteay Neang to be a cry of victory rather than of conquest. It was in the upper Mun Valley, not far from the pass through the Dangrek mountains, where the later road ran from Angkor to Phimai. It is certain that this region was not annexed until some time later.

The absence of inscriptions in the lower delta region during this reign seems to indicate that Funan enjoyed a sort of autonomy under Bhavavarman I.



MAP 4. Chenla under Bhavavarman I and Mahendravarmān.
○ Cities; □ monuments; + inscriptions.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY OF INDRAPURA, 598

An inscription of later date at Robang Romās, near the present Sambor-Prei Kuk, relates that in 598, during the reign of Bhavavarman, a statue was founded there by a king called Narasinhagupta, that two cities were founded in the region to the south of this temple and that the hereditary fief of Indrapura was granted to that king at that time (738, 5-8; 278, 118).

SUCCESSION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

Bhavavarman seems to have enjoyed a long reign, from the number of his inscriptions and the accounts

of his conquests. His demise seems to have occurred early in the seventh century. His brother, Sitrasena, succeeded him, under the title of Mahendravarmān, "Protégé of the Great Indra." He had been associated with Bhavavarman during the entire reign of the latter; for the Chinese tell us it was he who overthrew Funan at the very beginning of Bhavavarman I's reign, some forty or fifty years before that king's death. Consequently, he must have come to the throne late in life and must have had a comparatively short reign. This hypothesis is borne out by the facts that contemporary inscriptions and Chinese accounts speak of him by his pre-coronation name of Sitrasena and there are no certain dates of his reign.

The same ministers—the brothers Dharmadeva and Simhadeva—of the family of Ādhyāpura, who had served under Bhavavarman, continued to serve under Mahendravarmān. In fact, in practically all respects, Mahendravarmān's reign seems to have been a continuation of that of his brother. To a very great degree, his brother's reign had been his.

MAHENDRAVARMAN AS A WARRIOR

Like his brother and predecessor, Mahendravarmān was praised in the inscriptions, chiefly also for his warlike qualities. A contemporary inscription (Phou Lakhon) says he was equal in power to Bhavavarman and possessed all the marks of the great. A Cham inscription (535 3, 24) says he was "a hero in the world, who was the destroyer of the proud allies of his enemies, whose name was increased by his strength and whose supreme majesty, like that of the sun, shone brilliantly forth. He, the famous Śrī Mahendravarmān, equal in power to Indra, King of the Gods."

It is known that these are not empty praises. Chinese dynastic histories say he conquered Funan during the reign of his predecessor, and inscriptions show that he conquered the lower Mun valley during his own reign (map 4).

A stone pillar inscription at Phou Lakhon,¹² "the mountain of the Kingdom," on the left bank of the Mekong, a little above the mouth of the Mun river in Laos, commemorated the establishment there by Mahendravarmān of a linga (said to be still standing) under the vocable of Giriśa, in token of his victories, after the conquest of that region. This inscription says Mahendravarmān was the son of Viravarman and the younger brother of Bhavavarman and that he was called Sitrasena before his coronation (38).

Several similar inscriptions have recently been discovered—Khan Thevada, Tham Prasat, Pham Pet Thong—indicating that this King had conquered all the lower Mun valley (694, 57, 90-92). Giriśa (from *giri*=mountain), "the god who reigns on the mountain," was the vocable under which Sitrasena had

¹² Phou (Phu) is Laotian for mountain. Lakhon, or Nakhon, is the Laotian corruption of the Sanskrit *nagara*, which means fortified city or kingdom.

erected, first at Ba Phnom, a Śiva-linga to commemorate the victory after the conquest of Funan (140, 129) and this custom was followed in all the territory later conquered by him.

Two dated inscriptions have been assigned by the author to the end of Mahendravarman's reign, chiefly because there is a long gap between them and the many inscriptions of his successor. An inscription of Ak Yom which seems to be dated 609 shows that a temple was dedicated there to Gambireśvara. It seems to be the oldest inscription in Khmer language. It is also the first example of the use of Arabic figures in an inscription in Cambodia (332, 530). The inscription of Angkor Borei, dated 611, is more surely dated, but is assigned to this reign with less confidence. It is a temple-inscription, more certainly in Khmer, and its principal purpose seems to be the dedication of slaves to the temple. One of the deities to which the temple seems to be dedicated is Gaṇeśa and one of the officials is given the title *kamratāṅg ān* (232, 21–23). An inscription of Bayang says that in 604 a footprint of Śiva, which seems to be the reason for the later temple built there, was surrounded by a border of bricks.

EMBASSY TO CHAMPA; DEATH OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

An inscription (25, st. 8) says that Mahendravarman sent Siṃhadeva on an embassy to the King of Champa. Neither the date nor the name of the King of Champa is given in the inscription. Aymonier (6, 3, 415–417) says Mahendravarman sent Siṃhadeva to Fan Chi (Siṃhavarman) and that he was present when the Chinese army under Lieu Fang sacked the capital in 605. Maspero mentions this embassy, after he mentions the sack of the capital, but gives no dates. He thought Mahendravarman ruled until 610 (573, 26; 576, 86), although there seems to be no evidence that he was ruling, even in 605, although we have ascribed the inscription of Angkor Borei tentatively to his reign. If he conquered Funan about 550 and was then about twenty years of age, he would have been about seventy-five in 605.

Everything indicates that Mahendravarman's reign was a short one. He probably died shortly after 611. This date is approximate and purely arbitrary because an inscription of that date seems to belong to his reign.

4. THE REIGN OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN I (ca. 611–ca. 635)

ACCESSION OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN; HIS MINISTERS

Īśānavarman, "Protégé of the Master Śiva" (6, 3, 416) called Īśānasena by the Chinese, succeeded his father, Mahendravarman. There seems either to have been trouble about the succession or Īśānavarman feared it; for the Chinese, writing of this reign, say it was the custom for a king, on coming to the throne, to mutilate and confine all his brothers. This certainly had not been the custom before this time.

There may have been pretenders. Apparently, a brother of Īśānavarman was feared as a rival. Possibly, there was the line of the son of Bhavavarman I, whom Īśānavarman's father appears to have thrust rudely aside some years before. Possibly there were descendants of the line of Rudravarman. Coedès has noted (161, 481) that Īśānavarman's inscriptions ignore Rudravarman. Then there was Aninditapura,¹ whose dynasty claimed descent from Kauṇḍīnya-Somā and which was apparently about to change its status from an independent Kingdom (under Bālāditya?) to that of a line of Lords. These are only suppositions, or rather reminders. No document known to this writer, except the statement about the mutilations, gives any hint of trouble at this time. But there were many fruitful sources.

Following the tradition of three of his predecessors, Īśānavarman I appointed as minister a member of the

famous family of Ādhyapura, Siṃhavīra, son of Dharmadeva, who had served both Bhavavarman I and Mahendravarman. "Savant to whom savants still today go to drink the sap of poetic art, he was the excellent minister of King Īśānavarman" (35, st. 10).

SOURCES OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN I'S REIGN; INSCRIPTIONS

Chinese dynastic histories and Chinese travellers and writers have told us a great deal about the reign of Īśānavarman I—the country, its neighbors, its relations with the court of China, the customs of its court and its people. This information is found in the writings of Ma Tuan-lin, Rosny, Pelliot, and others. But considerable data regarding this reign—particularly dates, locations, religions, etc.—may be gleaned from inscriptions—inscriptions of later reigns and of a neighboring kingdom, Champa—but chiefly inscriptions of his own reign, which were plentiful.

More than a dozen inscriptions are attributed to the reign of Īśānavarman I. Of these, several are dated—Prasat Toc, 620 (230, 7), Bayang, 624 (19), Vat Chakret, 626–627 (20), Sambor-Prei Kuk, 627–628 (401) and Kdei Ang Chumnik (I), 628–629 (23).² Several of these inscriptions mention Īśānavarman—Vat Chakret, Svai Chno (21), Ang Pou (22), Sambor-Prei Kuk, Robang Romās (271, 5–8) and Vat Sahab (137). Some—Ang Pou, Khalung (137), Thong Thua

¹ Perhaps more properly called Bālādityapura, as the name Aninditapura does not seem to have appeared before the reign of Yaśovarman I (76, st. 2).

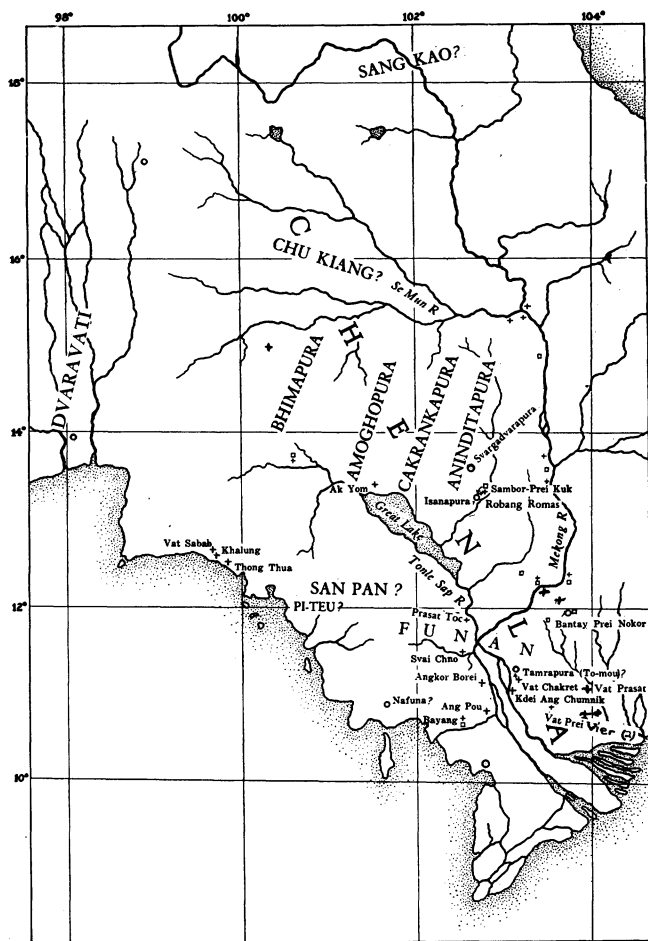
² Perhaps also the inscriptions of Ak Yom (A.D. 609) and Angkor Borei (A.D. 611) belong to this reign.

(137)—are attributed to this reign because of the context, location, dates or some other reasons. The later dates of this reign are very speculative. The certain dates are between 616 and 628.

Measured by later inscriptions, those of this reign are very short and meagre. Sometimes they are of value only for their location and date. Their pertinent data are woven into the text of this chapter. The inscription of 624 found in the temple of Bayang is one of the earliest Cambodian inscriptions containing a

seems not to have included much more than a strip along both sides of the Mekong, from a point a little above the mouth of the Mun, including the lower valley of that river, to Funan, including the Tonle Sap basin, perhaps to the Great Lake, and the lower part of the V between the Mekong and the Tonle Sap. Funan, at the South, seems to have enjoyed a degree of autonomy and may still at the beginning of Īśānavarman I's reign, have exercised some control over the coast to the Bay of Camranh and have had the loyalty of some of its maritime colonies.

To the west of the Mekong, Aninditapura—probably called Bālādityapura at this time—seems to have occupied the valley of the Stung Sen, a tributary of the Tonle Sap parallel to the Mekong and the territory to the west, probably to the line running from the eastern end of the Great Lake, roughly corresponding to the present Kompong Thom. This region seems to have been independent during the latter part of the reigns of Bhavarvarman and Mahendravarman, probably under Bālāditya, who seems to be its first king. This family is said to have belonged to the Kauṇḍīnya-Somā line, and may have represented a claimant of a branch of the old Funan dynasty during the reigns of the early kings of Chenla. A later inscription and an inscription found near the port of Oc Eo seem to indicate that his conquest extended to the sea (383, 8; 325, 18). Further to the west, along the north of the Great Lake—in succession from Aninditapura—were Cakrankapura, Amoghapura, and Bhīmapura. These states seem also, at the beginning of Īśānavarman's reign, to have had a considerable degree of independence, although the Khmers erected a few temples and carved a few inscriptions in this territory. Probably at the southwest of the Great Lake, to the north and east of the Cardamom mountains, was a state called Ts'an-pan or San Pan.⁴ To the west of Chen-la, possibly in the middle Mun valley,⁵ was Chu-chiang, or the Red river country.⁶ Chenla is said to have been in close alliance with these two states, while it was frequently at war with Lin-yi and T'o-huan, or To-Hoan⁷ (584, 479). To the north lay Sang Kao⁸ and other petty states. Chenla, after the reign of Īśānavarman at least, seems not to have been an empire of vassal states, as Funan had



MAP 5. Chenla under Īśānavarman I.

date³ and is also the first known example in Cambodian epigraphy of expressing numbers by symbolic words; e.g., "in the year (designated) by the [6] flavors, the [2] Aśvins and the [5] arrows [of Love]"; reading the figures backward, according to the custom, gives 526 śaka = A.D. 604 (19, 38, n. 1).

CHENLA AND ITS NEIGHBORS

The Chenla of Bhavarvarman I and Mahendravarman, according to their inscriptions and monuments,

³ The date 598 has recently been found in the inscription of Robang Romās (p. 45).

⁴ According to Ma Tuan-lin, one Chinese account says Ts'an-pan was northwest of Upper Chenla (584, 484-485); another says that it was southwest of Chenla at more than 1,000 li (*ibid.*, 485, n. 48), which would place it in the region south of Battambang; while another account says it was northwest of Funan (*ibid.*, 441), which would bring it to the latter region (663, 212 and n. 7).

⁵ Perhaps that was the reason the Khmers carved inscriptions in the upper and lower Mun valley, but not in the center.

⁶ The Kingdom of Chu-chiang is said to join Chenla on the west (584, 477 and n. 6).

⁷ T'o-huan probably meant the region now called Hoanh-an, near the Porte d'Annam.

⁸ Sang-kao, whose customs are said to resemble those of T'o-huan (584, 464), probably lay to the north of Chenla and the east of Hoanh-an.

been. No more is heard of connections with states in the Malay peninsula or in other distant places which could be reached only by sea. The dependent states of Chenla were contiguous to it and seem soon to have become incorporated into the kingdom or their relations to it seem to have become closer than during the earlier period (map 5).

EMBASSIES AT THE COURT OF CHINA: CHENLA, FUNAN

As stated, the name Chenla first appeared when the dynastic history of the Sui (589–618) said that, in 616–617, it sent an embassy to the imperial court. The *Sui-shu* says the expedition from Chenla was received with great honor, but that relations were then interrupted (584, 483). However, Rosny says that, under the T'ang dynasty between 618 and 699, Chenla sent ambassadors four times (680, 181); but he does not give the dates of the embassies nor the names of the kings who sent them.

Even after its definite annexation by Chenla, Funan continued to send embassies to the imperial court. These embassies were apparently missions of protest by the deposed dynasty. One of these embassies brought with it two savage "White Heads" from the mountainous caverns of Pi-teu-kueh which joins Ts'an-pan on the southwest (584, 441; 680, 174). The fact that they brought these natives with them seems to support the belief that they loitered awhile near Kampot.

THE ANNEXATION OF FUNAN

The history of the T'ang dynasty says that, shortly after the beginning of the *cheng-huan* period (627–649), i.e., in 627 or shortly afterward, Īśānavarman conquered Funan and definitely annexed its territory. Under Bhavavarman I and Mahendravarman, it seems, Funan had occupied the position of a vassal state, with its capital at Tō-mu (probably Ba Phnom). Now, its existence was ended and its territory was incorporated into Chenla. The *Hsin T'ang-shu* says, "(Their king) had his capital at the city of Tō-mu. Brusquely, his city was reduced by Chenla and he was forced to emigrate to the south, to the city of Na-fu-na" (660, 274). Coedès translates the name of this capital as Nara-varanagara and thinks it is equivalent to Angkor Borei (738, 3).

During the reigns of the two kings mentioned above, there had been no inscriptions near the capital of Funan. In 626–627, a stele inscription of Vat Chakret, or Preah Vihear Kuk, in the architectural group of Ba Phnom, relates the erection of a Śiva-Vishṇu by a vassal of Īśānavarman, lord of three cities, in commemoration of the conquest of a fourth city—Tāmrapura—from a rebel prince (20). Tāmrapura in this case seems to be Tō-mu and this seems to refer to the conquest of Funan. Aymonier placed Tāmrapura far to the west (6, 3, 420); but Georges Maspero suggests the iden-

tity of Tāmrapura and Tō-mu (573, 24, n. 1). The inscription of Kdei Ang Chumnik (I), in the province of Ba Phnom, in the heart of the old Funan region, relates the restoration of a Śivalinga and the restoration of a pond called Hari. The inscription is dated 628–629. No king is mentioned (23), but Īśānavarman was certainly reigning on that date.

FORMER VASSALS OF FUNAN SEND EMBASSIES TO THE IMPERIAL COURT

In 625 Ts'an-pan sent an embassy with that of a little sister state (probably Pi-teu), which had also been a dependency of Funan and whose envoys laughed at the sight of a man dressed (584, 484–485). These natives were undoubtedly the wild hill tribes (Par, Angrang, Chong, etc.) whose descendants still live in the Cardamon and neighboring mountains (see ethnological map of Henri Maspero (580, also 11). Finally, in 638, Sang Kao and several neighboring small states carried tribute to China (584, 461).

When Funan had begun to show signs of weakness, during the troubled reign of Rudravarman, its distant dependencies had begun to turn to China for protection. P'an-p'an, which seems to have been a fitful vassal even of Funan, sent tribute to China in 527, 530, and 532, during Rudravarman's reign and renewed it again in the 605–617 period (584, 464–465). In 607 an imperial embassy was sent to Ch'ih-t'u, to establish tributary connections with the states of that region. Dvāravatī appeared at the imperial court in 608 under the name of T'o-ho-lo, or Tou-ho-lo (663, 360, n. 1). As Po-li-lo-cha, its envoys came with those of Lin-yi during the 627–649 period (680, 198). T'o-yüan,⁹ soon absorbed by T'o-ho-lo (Dvāravatī), sent embassies in 644 and 647 (527, 180). All these states were now independent. They do not seem to have owed any allegiance to Chenla (734, 264, 266). That they sought protection of China is shown by the statement of one of the officials to the Chinese envoys of 608: "Now we are subjects of the Great Kingdom. We are no longer of the little kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u" (584, 473).

Ma Tuan-lin devoted a long article to Ch'ih-t'u, which takes its name (Ch'ih-t'u=red earth) from the extreme redness of the earth near its capital. He said it was more than one hundred days of navigation from China and he described the voyage (584, 466, 471–472). He said the inhabitants were of the same race as Funan ("issue of Funan") and their houses and furniture resembled those of Chenla. Rémusat (before, however, either Funan or Chenla had been properly identified) located Ch'ih-t'u in the Menam valley (677, 78) and Pelliot—for the time at least—accepted that identification (660, 272). Rosny was so certain that Ch'ih-t'u meant Siam that he so translated it throughout his work (680, 211, 220–221). Even recently, Le May, in

⁹ T'o-yüan was a Mon settlement, apparently just north of the Khmer settlement of Chantabun, which was on the coast.

his excellent work on Buddhist art in Siam, thought Ch'ih-t'u could have been Śrīdeb (520, 56). Ch'ih-t'u has also been located by Kern and others in the Patani-Kedah region (663, 231, n. 2; 734, 264-266), and this identification has been accepted here for the following reasons: (1) the name corresponds to the Raktamrittikā of the Kedah inscription, probably of the fourth century; (2) Ma Tuan-lin says it is bounded on the north by the sea and that the Kingdom of Ho-lo-tan¹⁰ is at the south; (3) that it was the most Buddhist of countries; and (4) that it was beyond Ling-chia-po-pa-to, off the coast of Lin-yi (584, 466, 471).

THE REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO ĪSĀNAPURA

Up to this time, the capital of Chenla seems to have been in the vicinity of Vat Phu,¹¹ or possibly at Stung Treng.¹² But Īsānavarman, undoubtedly bent on consolidating and extending his kingdom, found the old capital too near his eastern border. So, some time early in his reign, he moved to a place on the Stung Sen river, about twelve miles north of the present city of Kompong Thom, where, in the dense forest, near the present village of Sambor-Prei Kuk, the most remarkable group of ruins of pre-Angkorian Cambodia have been discovered (630, 1, 44-92; 449).

This was in Aninditapura (Bālādityapura), over which several inscriptions say Bālāditya, of the Kaundinya-Somā line, was king. Bālāditya apparently was ruling over this kingdom at the time of its conquest; for, after him, its rulers were called "Īśvāras"=lords (140, 138). This kingdom may have been conquered during the reign of Mahendravarman or Bhavavarman, but more probably during the reign of Īsānavarman.

The new capital was called Īsānapura, a name which, following the Khmer custom, was applied also to the kingdom. The city was probably not founded by Īsānavarman I. The North group of monuments seem to have belonged to an earlier period. Perhaps it was Bālāditya's later capital. Bālāditya does not seem to have survived the overthrow of his kingdom; for an inscription says that *after* Bālāditya, the Kings were called "Lords." They undoubtedly moved their capital to another part of their kingdom, probably to the west.¹³

The inscription of Robang Romās (p. 45), near Īsānapura, in Sanskrit, undated but of the reign of Īsānavarman, celebrated the granting of a new fief (location obliterated) to Narasimhagupta, who had been granted the fief of Indrapura in 598 and who, according to the inscription, had been vassal to Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman and Īsānavarman (271, 5-8).

¹⁰ By which Kelantan was probably meant.

¹¹ Śreshthapura, p. 39.

¹² Bhavapura, p. 40.

¹³ The rulers of Aninditapura, after the conquest of their country, probably returned to reside as vassal kings or lords, to Bālāditya's ancient capital of Svargadvarapura (a little to the northwest of the present Kompong Thom) if, indeed, the principal capital had ever been removed to the Sambor Prei Kuk region (140, 134; 6, 1, 444-445 and map opposite p. 424).

In Īsānavarman's time, Īsānapura must have been a considerable city, far larger than any previous capital. "This Prince made his residence in the city of *Y-che-na* [=city of Īsāna=Īsānapura], which counts more than 20,000 families. . . . The kingdom contains more than 30 other cities, each peopled with many thousands of families, and each ruled by a governor; the titles of the functionaries are the same as in Lin-yi" (584, 477). These "cities" and their surrounding territories were doubtless the provinces into which the kingdom was divided.

A description of some of the monuments of Īsānapura is given in a later chapter. Several inscriptions were found there—some mentioning Īsānavarman by name and some bearing dates of his reign. One dated 628-629 is the latest dated inscription of his reign, which has so far been found.

THE CONQUEST OF NORTHWESTERN CAMBODIA

An undated inscription (21, st. 2) speaks of Īsānavarman as the "suzerain of three cities." Another inscription (80, st. 4), as stated, gives the names of the three cities—Cakrankapura, Amoghapura, and Bhīmapura. As Chinese writers say that Chenla contained thirty important cities and as each of the three cities mentioned above is said to have had a governor, they seem to have been vassal kingdoms.

The western boundary of Aninditapura is established by a much later inscription at the village of Run, north of the eastern end of the Great Lake. Cakrankapura, to the west, has been identified by Aymerier (6, 3, 464) with Chikreng, north of the Great Lake. Amoghapura, according to Groslier, corresponded roughly to the province of Battambang and contained Amarendrapura, one of the capitals of Javavarman II, which Groslier identified wrongly with Banteay Chhmar (471, 359-372). But there seem to be reasons for placing Amarendrapura, near the temple of Ak Yom at the western end of West Baray. So, the Angkor region seems to be near the dividing line between Cakrankapura and Amoghapura. The location of Bhīmapura is a little more uncertain. It is thought to have extended from Amoghapura to the upper part of the Se Mun valley which it is almost certain was conquered during this reign. Perhaps a souvenir remains in the name of the city of Phimai, or Vimay.

Chenla had probably exercised some sort of suzerainty over this region, for there had been some Khmer activity there before this date. As has been seen, an inscription celebrating a victory, found in Battambang, mentions King Bhavavarman and that king probably erected a temple to Gambhīrēśvara at Ak Yom and possibly the earliest temple at Prasat Kōk Pō. An inscription dated 609 has been found at Ak Yom, probably in reemploy from a sixth-century temple in light material. An inscription of an earlier date had also been found in the upper Mun valley.

THE CONQUEST OF THE REGION TO THE MENAM VALLEY

Several inscriptions beyond this region, in what is now Siam, were made during this period. An undated inscription at Chantabun (Vat Sabab) (137), mentions King Īsānavarman. Two undated inscriptions near Chantabun (Thong Thua and Khalung), probably also date from this period. Two inscriptions of the Siamese province of Krabin, near the present Cambodian border (Khao Noi and Khao Rang), dated 637 and 639, may belong to the close of Īsānavarman's reign or the beginning of that of his successor (630, 1, 241).

It seems that Īsānavarman I extended his conquests on the west up to the Mon Kingdom of Dvāravatī, which at that time was flourishing in the Meklong-Menam valley,¹⁴ extending apparently to the head of the Mun valley. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hsüan-chuang, who was in India a little later and wrote from hearsay about these regions, says Īsānapura lay between Dvāravatī to Mahāchampa. The settlements of the two countries may have been separated in places by intervening wild mountain tribes.

This means that San-pan and Chu-chiang were absorbed also. Īsānavarman I does not seem, however, to have annexed what is now Central and Upper Laos; for Ma Tuan-lin says (584, 461) that, in A.D. 638, Sang Kao and several neighboring states sent embassies to the Imperial Court and that these states were not conquered until A.D. 650–656.

ĪSĀNAVARMAN AND HIS COURT

Ma Tuan-lin, from whom we have quoted above, continues:

Every three days the King goes solemnly to the audience-hall and sits on a bed made of five pieces of santalwood¹⁵ and ornamented with seven kinds of precious stones. Above this bed is a pavilion of magnificent cloth, whose columns are of inlaid wood. The walls are ivory, mixed with flowers of gold. The ensemble of this bed and the pavilion form a sort of little palace, at the background of which is suspended, as at Ch'ih-t'u, a disk with rays of gold in the form of flames. A golden incense burner, which two men handle, is placed in front. The King wears a girdle of *ki-pei*¹⁶ cotton, dawn-red, which falls to his knees. He covers his head with a bonnet laden with gold and stones, with pendants of pearls. On his feet are sandals of leather and sometimes of ivory; in his ears, pendants of gold. His robe is always made of a very fine white cloth called *pe-tre*. When he appears bare-headed, no precious stones are noticed in his hair. The dress of the great officials is almost like that of the King. The great officers or ministers number five . . . There are many inferior officers.

Those who appear before the King touch the earth three times with the forehead, at the foot of the steps

¹⁴ Dvāravatī, or Louvo as this part of the Mon region came to be called.

¹⁵ Chatterjee translates this phrase: "perfumed with five sorts of scents."

¹⁶ Probably kapok.

to the throne. If the King calls them and orders them to show their degrees, then they kneel, holding their hands on their shoulders. They go then to sit in a circle around the King, to deliberate on the affairs of the Kingdom. When the seance is finished, they kneel again, prostrate themselves and return. More than a thousand guards dressed with cuirasses and armed with lances are ranged at the foot of the steps of the throne, in the halls of the palace, at the doors and peristyle.

The sons of the queen, legitimate wife of the King, are alone eligible to the throne. The day when the new King is proclaimed, all the brothers are mutilated.¹⁷ A finger is cut off on one, a nose on another. Then their subsistence is provided for, each in a separate place, without ever calling any of them to any charge.

THE PEOPLE

The custom of the inhabitants is to go always armored and under arms, so that the least quarrel entrains bloody combats. . . .

The men are small and black; but many women are white. All roll up their hair and wear ear pendants. They are of a live and robust temperament. Their houses and furniture resemble those of Ch'ih-t'u. They regard the right hand as pure and the left as impure. They make ablutions each morning, clean their teeth with little pieces of poplar wood and do not fail to read or recite their prayers. In their food, there is much butter, curded milk, powdered sugar, rice and also millet, of which they make a sort of cake, which is steeped in the juice of the meat at the beginning of the meal.

MARRIAGES AND FUNERALS

Whoever wishes to marry, first sends some presents to the girl he desires; then the family of the girl chooses a lucky day to conduct the bride to the domicile of the groom, under the guard of a mediator. The families of the husband and wife pass eight days before setting out. Day and night, the lamps remain lighted. When the wedding ceremony is ended the husband receives a part of the goods of his parents and goes to establish himself in a house of his own. On the death of the parents, if the deceased leave young children not yet married, these children take possession of the remainder of the goods; but if all the children are already married and doted, the goods which the parents conserve for themselves enter into the public treasury.

Funerals are conducted in this manner: The children of the deceased pass several days without eating, shave the head in sign of mourning and cry loudly. The relatives gather with the bonzes or bonzesses of Fo (Buddha) or the religious of Tao (Brahmanism) who accompany the dead, singing and playing various musical instruments. The body is burned on a pier formed of all kinds of aromatic woods; the ashes are collected in a gold or silver urn, which is thrown into the deep sea. The poor use an urn of baked earth, painted different colors. Some also are content to deposit the body in the midst of the mountains, leaving it to be devoured by wild beasts (584, 477–481).

RELIGIONS: ŚIVAISM, BUDDHISM

The inscriptions show that the worship of Śiva flourished under Īsānavarman I. The undated inscription

¹⁷ The Chinese have apparently mistaken an incident, at the beginning of Īsānavarman's reign, with an established custom. Īsānavarman's father, Śitrasena, certainly served faithfully under his brother and succeeded him.

of Ang Pou commemorates the erection of a linga. The first inscription of Ang Chumnik records the restoration and dotation of a linga, apparently erected there by Mahendravarman. The two-dated inscription of Bayang (I) commemorated the erection of a Śivapāda (19; 588). Although no trace of the Śivapāda has been found, this is said to be the only record in Cambodia of a "footprint of Śiva" (Vishṇupādas and Buddhapādas are not uncommon).

Brahmanism took a very unusual form, apparently for the first time in Cambodia, during the reign of Īśānavarman I. This was the worship of Harihara—Vishṇu and Śiva combined in one body. This curious god is said to have first appeared on the rocks of Bādāmi and Mahāvellipur, in India, in the Pallava country, some time before 450 (331, 3, 114, n. 1). It is not mentioned in the epigraphy of Champa, but became popular in Chenla at this time. Although, as we have seen, Mus thinks it was mentioned by the Chinese in 503 and Parmentier thinks the earliest statues of Harihara belong to the Funan period, it does not appear in an inscription until the reign of Īśānavarman I when it seems to have been the prevailing form of worship. Several inscriptions—Vat Chakret, Ang Pou (see above), Sambor-Prei Kuk—record the erection of images of Harihara, and several statues of this deity have been found.

A few inscriptions indicate the presence of cults during this reign. One of the inscriptions of Sambor-Prei Kuk indicates a cult there of the Vedic sage Jaimini. A sanctuary of the same group provides that the presiding priest of the temple must be a brahman *paśupati* (401). The inscription of Bayang (I) also mentions the Paśupati (19, st. 10).

Buddhism seems almost to have disappeared. Īśānavarman I must have been the king, who I-ching, writing near the end of the century, says persecuted Buddhism until there were hardly enough Buddhists left to be worth mentioning (711, 12). Nevertheless, an inscription of Sambor-Prei Kuk (see above) honors Mucalindo, the *nāga* which sheltered, with his folds, the Buddha when he was assailed by the hurricane, and another inscription of the same group mentions Buddhism on the same plane as the orthodox *śāstras*.

EXTENT OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN'S EMPIRE

When the inscriptions speak of Īśānavarman, they usually speak of him as a conqueror ruling an extensive kingdom. "The deva Śrī Īśānasena was the master of the earth, the equal of Śakra in might" (20, st. A 2). "The glorious sovereign of three Kings, the mighty possessor of three cities of extensive fame" (Svai Chno, 21, st. 2). "Victorious also is Īśānavarman, famed especially for his heroism, who supports the earth like a Sesa *nāga*" (22, st. 2). "He. Śrī Īśānavarman, king of man, whose splendor spread in all directions, up to the very end" (Mi-sōn, II 535, 3, 24).

These are not vain phrases, as is sometimes the case with the plaudits bestowed on Khmer kings in their inscriptions. The Chinese say that Īśānavarman inherited a kingdom extending from somewhere near the forks of the Mekong up to beyond the basin of the lower Mun, and along the Tonle Sap, south of the Great Lake and that he extended his boundaries on the West up to the upper valley of the Menam, then occupied by the Kingdom of Dvāravati, and to the north up into what is now central Laos, and that he conquered and annexed Funan.

Īśānavarman was apparently a great organizer. He seems to have initiated the custom of annexing his conquests and incorporating them into his kingdom. We hear no more of vassal states. Each city (province) was "ruled by a governor; the titles of the functionaries are the same as those of Lin-yi" (584, 477).

ĪŚĀNAVARMAN AS A BUILDER

Īśānavarman was a great builder as well as a conqueror and organizer. The capital he erected at Sambor-Prei Kuk and named after himself (Īśānapura), without counting additions made to it by later rulers, was the greatest conglomeration of buildings of pre-Angkorian Cambodia. Chenla seems to have reached its apogee during his reign.

There are indications of building activity in other parts of Chenla during this reign, especially in the vicinity of Angkor Borei, where an inscription dated 611 has been found (354, 1935, 491). A stele inscription at Ang Pou, or Vat Pou, in the same region, relates the erection there of a linga, an image of Śiva-Vishṇu (Harihara) and an āśrama (hermitage) to Bhagavat, by a muni (i.e., a man retired from the world) who praises Īśānavarman (22). The two-dated inscriptions (dated 604 and 624) came from the great temple of Bayang, but were probably earlier than the temple, which seems to have been completed during the later years of Īśānavarman's reign, or very early in that of his predecessor; for the inscription consecrating the temple mentions a King Bhavavarman and Coedès dates it about 640. It is probable also that the sanctuary of Asram Maharosei, believed to have been built near Kratié, was moved to this region about this time.

These edifices are described in more detail in a later chapter.

END OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN'S REIGN; HIS RELATIVES

Such a program of conquests, building and inscriptions demands a reign of considerable length. Īśānavarman's first embassy to China arrived in 616–617 and his reign probably began a little before that, possibly as early as 611. It probably extended to about 635, possibly later.

All we know about the family of Īśānavarman is the statement in a Cham inscription (Mi-sōn (II). 535,

3, 23–26) that he had a daughter named Śrī Sarvānī, who married a Cham prince named Jagaddharma who, on account of some offense he had committed, had come to Bhavapura (probably during the reign of Bhavavarman I) and that they had a son named Prakāśadharmā, who later returned to Champa, married the queen and became king of that country (in 653) under the name of Vikrāntavarman and was the author of the inscription (in 657).

These facts (the daughter and her husband and son were apparently in Cambodia during the demise of Īśānavarman), the mysterious son of Bhavavarman I, the Chinese remark about mutilations on the accession of a new king, and the succession of a new Bhavavarman apparently not the legitimate successor of Īśānavarman, justify, to some degree at least, the suspicion

that the successions of Mahendravarman, Īśānavarman and Jayavarman were all disputed. It may not have been just an accident that (1) the unnamed son of Bhavavarman I and (2) Bhavavarman II were the only kings of this period not served by the family of Ādhyapura. In the case of Īśānavarman's accession the pretender may have been a descendant or relative of Rudravarman—possibly Bālāditya—which would explain the facts noted by Coedès that the Cham inscription mentioned above and the unedited inscriptions of Tuol Praha and Sambor commence the genealogy of that king with the name of Bhavavarman and ignore Rudravarman (161, 481).

Īśānavarman was succeeded by Bhavavarman, who was apparently not of Īśānavarman's line. No doubt the succession was disputed.

5. THE REIGNS OF BHAVAVARMAN II AND JAYAVARMAN I (ca. 639–681+)

THE APPEARANCE IN HISTORY OF BHAVAVARMAN II

Bhavavarman II may, without much exaggeration, be called a gift of Coedès to history. In the genealogies of the Kings of Chenla found in the inscriptions, Īśānavarman is followed by Jayavarman. The last known date of Īśānavarman's reign, is, as has been seen, 628, and the earliest known date of Jayavarman's reign is, as will be seen, 657. An inscription, of unknown origin, but believed to be from the province of Takeo, found by Coedès in the storehouse of the Public Works Department at Phnom Penh, mentions a King Bhavavarman as consecrating an image of Devi *caturbhuga* (the four-armed goddess) "through devotion to Lord Śambhu (Śiva) and for the deliverance of his parents" (155). This inscription is dated A.D. 639.¹

An inscription on the ruined southeastern pillar of the central temple of Phnom Bayang (II), in the province of Takeo, translated by Coedès, commemorates the donation by a King Bhavavarman to Utpanneśvara (Śiva) of what may be the central temple of Bayang. Because of its location and its subject, Coedès dates this inscription at about 640 (225, 252–255).

Thus the Prasat Bayang was probably completed and dedicated during the reign of this King. It is probable, also, that the temple of Asram Maharosei, believed to have been originally constructed on the Mekong in Chenla, was removed to its present location about this time, when there seems to have been much interest in this region.

WHO WAS BHAVAVARMAN II? WHERE WAS HIS CAPITAL?

Bhavavarman II seems not to have been the son nor the approved successor of Īśānavarman I. He was not

¹ This inscription is called by Coedès, with some doubts, the stele of Ta Kev (240).

served by the family of Ādhyapura, who served a long line of kings, including his predecessor and his successor. Īśānavarman I's daughter, with her Cham husband and their son, and Jayavarman, who seems to have been of the line of Īśānavarman I, appear to have been present at the demise of the latter. Very probably there was trouble. Bhavavarman II seems to have triumphed for a brief period and then was succeeded by Jayavarman I.²

Who was Bhavavarman II? There were doubtless other claimants and there are many possibilities. Perhaps he was a son of the mysterious son of his namesake, who disappeared so completely from history. The name and the probability of a claimant of this family suggest it; but no positive evidence supports this hypothesis.

Where was Bhavavarman II's capital during his brief reign? We have no information on the subject. The inscriptions and monuments we think belong to his reign point to the vicinity of Angkor Borei (map 6).

INSCRIPTIONS OF PHNOM PREAH VIHEAR, PONHEAR HOR AND HAN CHEY

A King Bhavavarman II having been established by the two inscriptions mentioned in the preceding paragraph, other inscriptions were assigned to him. An undated stele inscription from the Phnom Preah Vihear, sometimes called Trapeang Mas, from the village at the foot of that hill, in the province of Kompong Chnang (across the Tonle Sap from the city of that name) mentions a Bhavavarman, whom Coedès believes on paleographic grounds to be Bhavavarman II. This inscription, in 9 Sanskrit lines, gives a eulogy of a King

² Coedès thinks Jayavarman I was the son of Bhavavarman II (274, 97); but sixteen years separate the known inscriptions of these two kings and the only good reason why Bhavavarman II was not served by the family of Ādhyapura, if his succession was in regular line, is the brevity of his reign.

Bhavavarman, said to belong to the Lunar dynasty. The inscription commemorates certain donations to Siddheśa (Śiva) by the Kavi Vidyāpuspa, *ācārya* of the sect of Paśupati, in the service of that king, for the use of that sect (212).

Coedès is of the opinion that the inscriptions of Ponhear Hor and Hanchey also, which Barth had considered the oldest in Cambodia, belong to the reign of Bhavavarman II. The inscription of Ponhear Hor

mentions an image of Lakshmī, another of Viṣṇu, and donations to Dhanvipura³ and to Viṣṇu Trailokyasāra (16). Aside from a resemblance in context to the inscription of Hanchey, the layman, ignorant of epigraphy, can see no objection to assigning this inscription to the reign of Bhavavarman II. The location of the inscription favors such an assignment.

Quite different is the case of the inscription of Hanchey, located on the Mekong above the forks, in the vicinity of the other inscriptions of Bhavavarman I and not adjacent to the inscriptions of Bhavavarman II. It is difficult to see how the many statements of the Hanchey inscription, praising the warlike powers of the king and which apply so well to the reign of a known conqueror like Bhavavarman I, could be attributed to a king like Bhavavarman II, whose conquests are not mentioned elsewhere, whose reign must have been very short and of whom so little is known (104, 391–392).⁴

INSCRIPTIONS OF BHAVAVARMAN II: LOCATION, RELIGION

Of the inscriptions ascribed to Bhavavarman II, if we except those of Khao Noi and Khao Rong, of which we know nothing, and Hanchey, which seems to belong to Bhavavarman I, three of the remaining four—Phnom Bayang, Ponhear Hor and the one found at Phnom Penh—are believed to come from the Residence of Takeo and the fourth—Phnom Preah Vihear—from Kompong Chhang, a little to the north. This seems to indicate that this king's capital was in that vicinity, perhaps at Angkor Borei. It is possible, however, that all these inscriptions, except the one found at Phnom Penh, may belong to the reign of Bhavavarman I.

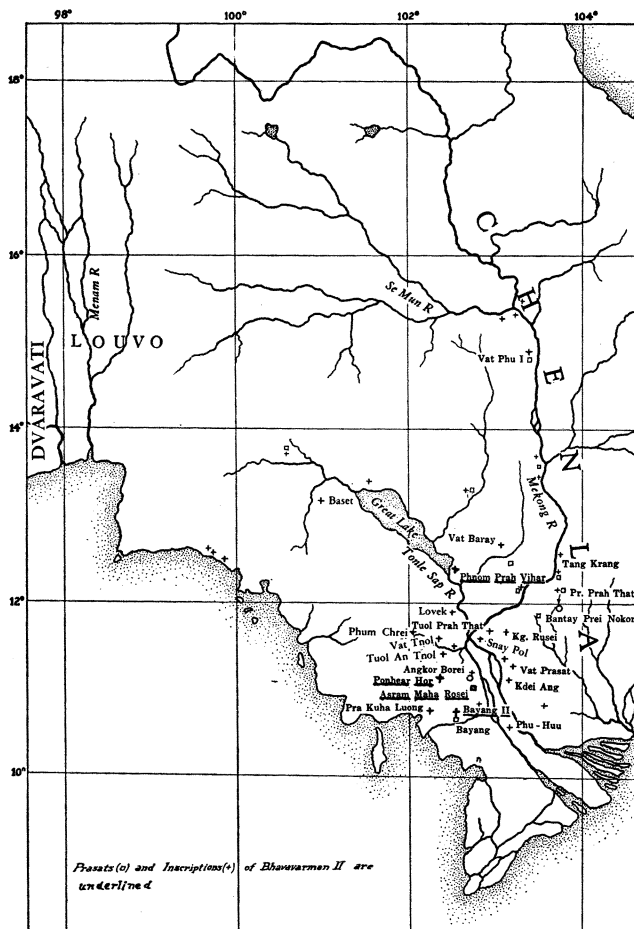
All these inscriptions are Śivaite. One, at least—Ponhear Hor—mentions a Harihara. One—Phnom Preah Vihear—praises Viṣṇu. This inscription also mentions the sect of Paśupati, which had already been mentioned during the reign of Īśānavarman.

ACCESSION OF JAYAVARMAN I

Jayavarman I (of Chenla), "the Protégé of Victory," came to the throne some time between 640, the last probable date of Bhavavarman II, and 657, his own earliest certain date, probably shortly after the first mentioned date. His relationship with his predecessors is not known; but he retained as court physician, Siṃhadaṭṭa, son of Siṃhavira, poet and minister of Īśānavarman, of the hereditary family of Ādhya-

³ Coedès thinks Dhanvipura may be Angkor Borei.

⁴ Professor Coedès informs the author that the inscriptions of Hanchey should be assigned to Bhavavarman II on epigraphical grounds. To this, the author has no reply, as he is not an epigraphist and has not examined the inscriptions. Also, if the statement that Bhavavarman I went "to the abode of Śiva" means necessarily that he died, the proposed relationship between Bhavavarman I and Bhavavarman II, has no basis; but for reasons given elsewhere (105, 391–392), the author prefers to leave the matter in doubt.



MAP 6. Chenla under Bhavavarman II and Jayavarman I.

consists of 17 Sanskrit lines on the left pillar of the door on a square brick sanctuary, in the Residence of Takeo. The right pillar carries an inscription of 6 lines in Khmer. The inscription is said to be very mutilated and difficult to decipher. The name of Bhavavarman can be made out. Like the inscription of Hanchey, "it is a question of two princes and a personage in their service who has received from them the same marks of honor," in this case the Lord of a place called Pasenga. The pious foundations of this person include a linga of Īśvara, an image of Durgā, one of Sambhu-Viṣṇu (Harihara), another linga, and (ten years later) an image of Viṣṇu-Trailokyasāra, "the Essence of Three Worlds." The second part of the inscription

pura; so he seems to have belonged to the old royal dynasty of Īśānavarman, which his predecessor apparently did not.

He is generally known as Jayavarman I, by writers who consider Chenla, but not Funan, as an hereditary antecedent of Cambodia, although there was apparently at least one Jayavarman between him and the king generally known as Jayavarman II of Kambuja.⁵ All we know about Jayavarman I, we get from contemporary inscriptions. Rosny says that, between 618 and 699, Chenla sent ambassadors four times to the Imperial court (680, 181). Some of these embassies may have been sent during the reign of this king, but we know nothing about them. The genealogies of the later inscriptions generally attach themselves to Bhavavarman and Rudravarman and do not mention Jayavarman I.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF JAYAVARMAN I

Many inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman I have been found. From 657 to 681, inclusive, the earliest and latest certain dates of his reign, there are eleven⁶ dated inscriptions. Two more inscriptions dated 685 and 693 seem to belong to Jayavarman I, but are later than the last certain date of his reign. These thirteen dated inscriptions were: Phu Huu, A.D. 646 (630, 1, 95); Basat, 648–657 (266); Prasat Preah Theat, 655 (630, 1, 204); Tūol Kok Preah, or Kompong Rusei, 657 (257); Vat Prei Vier I, 664–665 (24); Vat Prei Vier II, 667–668 (26); Kdei Ang Chumnik II 667–668 (25); Tūol Preah Theat, 673 (332, 437; 213 (2); Preah Kuha Luong, 674 (211, 13); Vat Barai, 676 (27); Tūol An Tnot, 681 (234) (map 6) and Phum Komrieng, 685 (249) and Tūol Tramung, 693 (269) (map 7). Of these thirteen inscriptions, seven mention Jayavarman-Basat, Vat Prei Vier I, Tūol Kok Preah, Kdei Ang Chumnik II, Tūol Preah Theat, Preah Kuha Luong, and Tūol An Tnot; Five undated inscriptions mention Jayavarman-Vat Phu I (37), Vat Tnot (235), Tang Krang (213 (1)), Longvek (247) and Phum Chrei (268). Another undated inscription—Snay Pol (237)—does not mention Jayavarman, but seems to belong to his reign. Most of these inscriptions are in Sanskrit. Some are partly in Khmer.

WHAT THE INSCRIPTIONS SAY OF JAYAVARMAN I

These inscriptions praise Jayavarman, frequently and fulsomely, for his qualities both as warrior and man. Here are some of the praises they bestow on him: "Conqueror of the circle of his enemies" (257, st. 2); "the glorious lion of kings, the victorious Jayavarman"

(25, st. 16); "Victory is to the King Śrī Jayavarman, whose commands are respected by innumerable inclined Kings and who in combat is a living incarnation of Victory . . . then this supporter of the earth, punisher of his enemies, governed the earth inherited from his ancestors and increased by the conquest of other lands" (238, st. 5, 7); "Victorious is the King Śrī Jayavarman . . . to whom the fickle goddess of fortune, Lakshmi, is firmly attached . . . skilful in the task of protecting the world, he is proclaimed by sages to be the thousand-eyed god (Indra) in person" (24, st. 1, 2); "His arrow, his excellent bow, which he bends in spite of its double weight, after his long campaigns, he has deposited them as useless; he, the first of those who knew the science of combatting the impetuosity of elephants, the force of cavalry, the will of man; he, the incomparable master of all the arts, to begin with those of singing, instrumental music and dancing; he, a true repository of everything desirable and subtle, an ocean of which science, patience, moderation, cleverness, judgment, liberality, are the jewels, . . . this master of masters on earth, His Majesty Jayavarman" (37, st. 2).

JAYAVARMAN AS A WARRIOR; CONQUEST OF UPPER LAOS

The inscriptions praise Jayavarman for his skill in warfare. He seems to have been credited with some improvements in the art of war. The inscription of Vat Phu says he introduced cavalry and a method of checking the charges of elephants. Then, the inscription says, he laid aside his bows and arrows as useless; i.e., apparently devoted himself to the arts of peace.

In his early years, he seems to have conquered the present Central and Upper Laos. The Chinese tell us that, in 650–656, Sang Kao, which we placed in the vicinity of Cammon, and several other little states which had sent embassies to the Imperial Court in 638, near the close of Īśānavarman's reign, were now conquered by Chenla (584, 461). These states must have extended north to the no-man's land inhabited by Khas between this region and that occupied by the Tai of the new Kingdom of Nan Chao, in Yunnan; for, as will be seen, in the division of the kingdom which followed closely on the end of Jayavarman's reign, Upland Chenla extended to Nan Chao.

PALLAVA INFLUENCE

We have seen the effect of Pallava, or perhaps it would be better to say pre-Pallava, influence on Funan. This influence continued during the Chenla period. Pallava power was now at its height. It reached its pinnacle during the reign of its King Narasimhavarman I, which came to an end in 655 or 660, during the early days of the reign of Jayavarman I in Chenla. The Pallavas had lost the Vengi country, between the Kistna and Godaverī; but around Kāñcīpura at the south they

⁵ There was also more than one Jayavarman of Funan. The Kings of Funan and Chenla—perhaps also those of Cambodia—will probably have to be renumbered, when it is certain that all of them are known.

⁶ For the inscription of Neak Buos, wrongly dated 674, see p. 144.

were building fine stone monuments and carving sculptures which were among the best of which India can boast. They were also enjoying a great renaissance of Sanskrit literature. Hsüan-chuang, who was in Kāñcīpura about this time, says Mahāyāna Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing there, although the kings were generally devotees of Śivaism and Viṣṇuism, as their names indicate. But under the successors of Narasiṃhavarman I, Buddhism and Jainism soon disappeared and Pallava power began to decline.

Many inscriptions were made on stone during this period. The new Pallava script, developed from the same pre-Pallava, or Vengi, which had been taken into Indo-China and Indonesia, was practically identical with that used in Chenla. The languages used were Sanskrit and Tamil. This native language appeared in the inscriptions of southern India in the seventh century—the same century Khmer appeared in the inscriptions of Chenla.⁷

An undated Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Jayavarman I (Tang Krang, 213 (1), st. 4) is the only inscription of Indo-China which mentions Kāñcīpura, the Pallava capital.

CHARACTERS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Barth, who has made a careful study of the inscription of Kdei Ang Chumnik (667–668), has this to say of its execution:

The characters are those of the most ancient stone inscriptions of the southern Dekkan. They correspond essentially to those which the first Chalukyas, from the sixth to the eighth century, have carved on the walls of the temples of Bādāmi, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal. . . . In general aspect and, if I may so express myself, in style, they recall especially the inscription of Mangaliśa at Bādāmi (A.D. 578) and those of Vikramāditya II at Paṭṭadakal (middle of the eighth century). But by the beauty of the type, the regularity and perfect elegance of the proportion, our inscription is superior, not only to all these latter, but, in general, to all the documents of some extent and of the same family up to here published. The work of the lapicide is careful in all respects. The orthography is consequent and correct. . . . The language itself is of a rare correctness, without mixture of bombast. All these circumstances together, to which must be added the beautiful conservation of the document . . . and the historic interest it presents, make of it one of the most beautiful specimens of Hindu epigraphy (12, 195-197).

RELIGIONS

Śivaism seems to have been the prevailing religion. Two inscriptions—Kdei Ang Chumnik (II) and Vat Phu—consecrate the erection of lingas. Several others

⁷ The first known dated inscription of the Pallava country, partly in Tamil, was apparently the Vallam Cave inscription, during the reign of Mahendravarman I, 600–630 (462, 172); the earliest inscription wholly or partly in Khmer seems to have been that of Angkor Borei, 611 (232, 21), or possibly Ak Yom, 609 (269, 1933, 532); that in Cham, Dong-yen-chau, 400 (?), (229); in Old Malay, Kedukan Bukit, 683 (183, 33–37); in Kawi, Dinaya, 760 (114, 2, 35–40).

celebrate a foundation to Śiva under some vocable—three, Tūol Preah Theat, Phum Komrieng and Tūol Tramung, as Kedareśvara; one, Kompong Rusei, 657, as Āmrātakeśvara; and Tang Krang and Trapang Prei as Āmrātakeśa. The inscription of Tūol Preah Theat is very interesting as it refers to a Svāyambhuva linga.⁸ The latter are interesting not only because of the similarity of the names, but also because the foundations were made by ministers of Jayavarman I, the latter by a brahman whose brother was chief of Śreṣṭhapura and who had himself held several minor offices including that of chief of a troop of a thousand inhabitants of Dhanvipura. Two inscriptions—Baray and Vat Prei Vier (I)—are dedicated to Harihara. Vat Phu erects Bhadreśvara, like that of the Chams.⁹

Two inscriptions ascribed to Jayavarman I are Buddhist. A stele inscription of Vat Prey Vier (I), dated 664–665, relates the transmission, by hereditary right, but authorized and guaranteed by King Jayavarman, of the property or use of a religious domain. This was believed by Barth to have been the first Buddhist inscription of Cambodia and the first one not beginning with an invocation to the Brahmanic gods.

However, another Buddhist inscription, undated, may be older than that of Vat Prey Vier. This is the Khmer inscription of Vat Prasat, also of the province of Ba Phnom, which records a gift of slaves to three bodhisattvas: Śaṣṭa, Maitreya, and Avilokiteśvara, who are given the same titles as the Hindu divinities: *Vraḥ Kamratāñ añ* (=lords, gods). This inscription is believed by Aymerier to be of the sixth or early seventh century *saka* (6, 1, 442).

THE FAMILY OF ĀDHYAPURA

In 667 Jayavarman I appointed his court physician, Simhadatta, Governor of his old home city of Ādhyapura, which seems to correspond to Ang Chumnik. In commemoration of the occasion, Simhadatta erected a Śivalinga there under the vocable of Vijayeśvara.

A stele inscription erected on this occasion gives the genealogy, by matrilineal lines, of this family which, for four generations, had been ministers of five kings: Rudravarman, Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman, Īśānavarman, and Jayavarman. As stated in previous chapters, it does not mention Bhavavarman II nor any son of Bhavavarman I. It has been said that the reason for this is that it is a genealogy of a family of ministers and does not purport to be a genealogy of kings. But this seems to be an additional statement of fact rather than an explanation. The only suggestion that these successions were not wholly smooth is the statement that Bhavavarman I came to the throne by force (25).

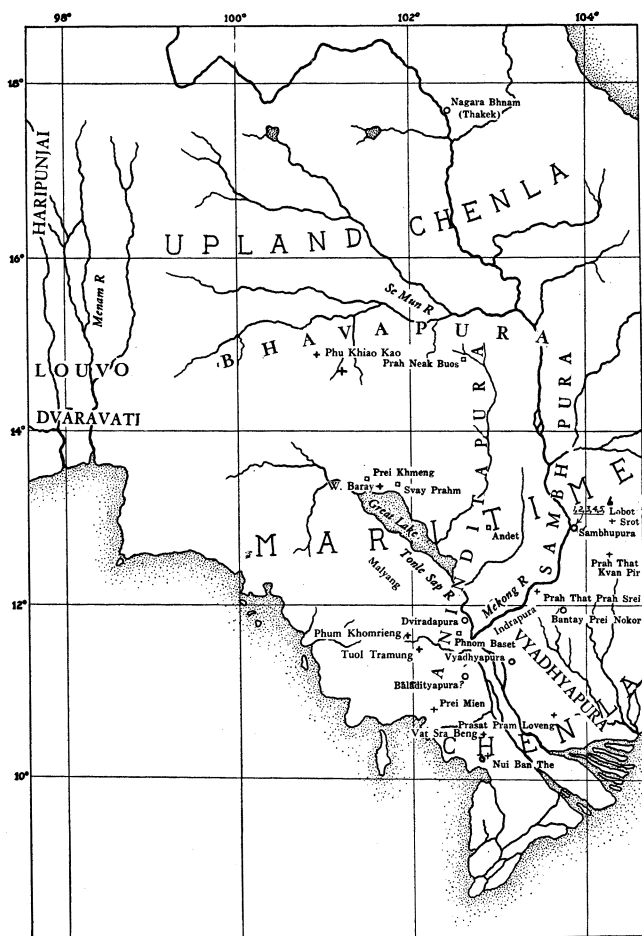
⁸ Svāyambhuva means self creating. A svāyambhuva linga is considered particularly sacred.

⁹ May not this be accepted as another evidence that the Chams settled the Basak region before the Khmers and that they may have founded Vat Phu? (pp. 15, 44).

JAYAVARMAN I AS A BUILDER

One of the principal reasons for thinking that the reign of Jayavarman I—which apparently began in revolution and was followed by chaos—was a troubled or impoverished one, is that no building can with certainty be assigned to this apparently long reign, well provided with inscriptions.

We are fairly certain that Jayavarman I was interested in the region around Banteay Prei Nokor, for



MAP 7. Inscriptions, Chenla in the Eighth Century. 1. Sambor; 2. Anglung Prang; 3. Tuol Kuk Prasat; 4. Trapang Prei; 5. Vat Tasar Mo Roi; 6. Ta King.

an inscription dated 655 has been found on the walls of one of the group of three or four small square brick temples of Prasat Preah Theat, a few kilometers to the east of that ancient city. This group was probably built by Jayavarman I at that time, which was probably near the beginning of his reign. Banteay Prei Nokor was near the center of Jayavarman's kingdom, judging by his inscriptions, and was accessible to the Mekong at Ba Phnom as well as at Kompong Cham. The Prasat Preah Theat Toc group of temples had been built there probably in the Funan period and the south temple of the Prasat Preah Theat Thom group was built a few meters

to the west of it, very early in the Chenla period, probably during the reign of Bhavavarman I. Jayavarman I probably built the center and northern towers, established his capital there, and built an earthen rampart and moat with the new central prasat as a center.

EXTENT OF JAYAVARMAN I'S EMPIRE: HIS CAPITAL

We know that Jayavarman I's predecessors conquered Funan in the south and as far as the valley of the Menam in the east; and the Chinese tell us that Jayavarman I conquered what is probably now central and northern Laos. But Jayavarman I's immediate predecessor had apparently been a usurper and had probably been overthrown by him¹⁰ and Jayavarman I's reign was to be followed by the division of the kingdom into three parts. Civil wars and divisions seemed to have been the rule of the day. How much of the kingdom was actually under the control of Jayavarman is a question. The distribution of his inscriptions may throw some light on the subject.

Of the nineteen inscriptions assigned to this reign (p. 54), one—a doubtful one, Phu huu—was far to the south in the delta, near Sadek, the most southerly Khmer inscription yet found except Phnom Ba-Thé (p. 60). One—Vat Phu—was far to the north. Eight of the other eighteen were strung along the eastern bank of the Mekong, between the region of Ba Phnom and that of Kompong Cham. Of these, three—Vat Prei Vier (I and II) and Kdei Ang Chumnik (II), were in the Ba Phnom region; three—Kompong Rusei, Tüol Preah Theat, and Snay Pol—were in the province of Prei Veng, a little to the north; one—Prasat Preah Theat—was at Banteay Prei Nokor, still a little further up the river; and one—Tang Krang—was just across the river near Kompong Cham. Two were on the western side of the Mekong, a few hundred kilometers from the river—Vat Barai, or Baray, in the north; Loñvek, near the Tonle Sap, and five—Vat Tnot, Phum Chrei, Tüol an Tnot, Phum Komrieng, and Tüol Tramung—a little to the north and west of Angkor Borei (maps 6 and 7). The only inscriptions to get away from the valley of the Mekong were Baset, in Battambang, near the head of the Great Lake, and Preah Kuha Luong, near the seacoast south of Angkor Borei.

It will be noted that none of the inscriptions was in the immediate vicinity of Īśānapura. It seems certain that city was no longer the capital. Jayavarman I's capital probably was not at Angkor Borei, because that of Bhavavarman II seems to have been there¹¹ although many inscriptions of the period come from that vicinity. The choice seems to lie between Ba Phnom and Banteay Prei Nokor, with the odds in favor of the latter (map 6).

¹⁰ Coedès seems to think, on the contrary, that Jayavarman I was a son of Bhavavarman II (278, 124).

¹¹ This argument would have no force if, as Coedès seems to believe, Jayavarman I was the son of Bhavavarman II.

THE END OF JAYAVARMAN I'S REIGN

The existence of so many inscriptions during Jayavarman I's reign leads to the belief that it was a long one. For reasons already given, it is believed that his predecessor's reign had been short. Bhavavarman II's last known inscription is believed to date about 640. The long gap between that date and the first known date of Jayavarman I's reign—657—and the character of the change of reigns, hints the probability of a troubled period. The date of the inscription of Baset—the only inscription that got away from the Mekong and its path to the sea—hints that it may have been carved before Jayavarman I was really settled on the throne. The inscriptions seem to indicate that after long campaigns he pacified the country; but the location of his inscriptions hint that he may have made a mistake in abandoning his bow and arrows. During his later years at least he does not seem to have had all Chenla under his control; for, in a reign of perhaps more than 40 years, with more inscriptions than any other king before Yaśovarman I, the inscriptions of his reign seem but once or twice to get away from the immediate region of the Mekong and its route to its port. The civil wars, which apparently began on the accession of Īśānavarman I and which split the kingdom

asunder on the death of Jayavarman I, seem to have smouldered during his entire reign. He was able to hold the Mekong region, with his capital apparently at Banteay Prei Nokor—and possibly an outlet to the sea—while his rivals, centering apparently in Bālādityapura with a capital perhaps at Sambor-Prei Kuk or Angkor Borei, seem to have controlled the western, and perhaps the southern, part of the kingdom.

Our knowledge of the early location of Bālādityapura makes it possible that Sambor-Prei Kuk may have been one of its capitals (140, 133). It also gives possibility to the statement of a Chinese document of the T'ang dynasty, reported by Pelliot, that in 658, "*Che-li-t'i-po* (Śrīdeva), Mo-la and Che-p'o-lo-ti-po (Bālāditya?) sent an embassy to the imperial court to offer tribute." The document adds: "These three kingdoms all depend on southern India. These kingdoms are extremely distant and have never before had relations with China" (663, 361). Perhaps Śrīdeva (Śrīdeva) had been absorbed by Īśānavarman I when he extended his boundaries to Dvāravatī, or perhaps at least he made contact with it when he conquered the upper Mun valley.

Jayavarman I does not seem to have left male heirs. He seems to have been succeeded by his wife (278, 124–125).

6. DIVISION AND REUNION (EIGHTH CENTURY)

THE ADHIRĀJAS OF VYĀDHAPURA AFTER JAYAVARMAN I (681–716)

Jayavarman I seems to have reigned in the Banteay Prei Nokor-Ba Phnom (Vyādhapura) region. After 681 we have no dated inscription or other document which mentions a ruler by name for thirty-two years, when an as-yet-unpublished inscription, found at the West Baray, Angkor Thom, mentions a ruler called Jayadevī, who in the opinion of Coedès (who has read the inscription) was the widow of Jayavarman I and reigned after his death (278, 124–125; 325, 19). These twenty-five or thirty years constitute one of the most confusing periods of Khmer history. There is nothing to indicate when Jayavarman I ceased to reign or when his wife succeeded him, if she did. We find her reigning a full generation after the last mention of her husband. There was trouble; for Jayadevī complained of it in the above-mentioned inscription. A group of petty kings sprang into prominence and the country became divided into an Upper and a Lower Chenla. But Jayavarman I and his successors seem to have been at least nominally in control of Lower Chenla during the entire period; for later inscriptions refer to them as "Adhirājas" (= Supreme Kings).

There were several inscriptions of this early period, but they do not give much light regarding political conditions. Three of these inscriptions come from Sambor. The Khmer inscription of Trapeng Prei, dated

683, celebrates donations to the god Amareśvara and is the most ancient date known to Cambodia which uses a cipher to denote zero. The Sanskrit inscription of Anlung Prang contains two dates, 683 and 708. The Khmer inscription of Ta King (I), undated but believed to be of this period, records gifts to the god Maṇḍaleśvara (230, 85, 90–91; 513, 741).

The most important dynasties which bid for supremacy at this time were the ancient Lunar dynasty of Aninditapura and the newly-formed Solar dynasty of Śambhupura. Trouble seems to have been smouldering during most or all of Jayavarman I's reign and may have had its origin in the disorder which followed the reign of Īśānavarman I.

Aninditapura (or Bālādityapura as it was probably called at first), since its conquest, apparently early in Īśānavarman I's reign, had been a dependency of Chenla, governed by "Īśvara" (lords) of the family of Bālāditya. A much later inscription—Pre Rup—says Sarasvatī, maternal niece of Bālāditya, married a Brahman named Viśvarūpa. Their son, Nṛpatindrarman (217, 74) (who seems to have been a contemporary of Jayavarman I, at least during the latter part of that monarch's reign) ruled as king (217, st. 7, 9) and apparently restored the old kingdom of Bālādityapura, with a strip of delta to the sea at the ancient port at Oc Eo (383, st. 8; 150, 7–9; 325, 18) and possibly with a capital at Angkor Borei.

The dynasty of Śambhupura, with its early centers in the vicinity of the present Sambor and Kratié, seems to have broken off from that of Chenla during the reign of Jayavarman I. The name Śambhupura, which has been preserved in that of Sambor, seems to presume a founder named Śambhuvarman¹—X(A)—but there is no other record of such a person. He would have been approximately contemporary with Nṛpatīndravarmān. At any rate, this region assumed great prominence during the last two decades of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth centuries. Many inscriptions and monuments of this period are found there (630, 1, 212–214), some of which are dated (pp. 57, 60). At first, Śambhupura may have included the Khmer settlements beyond the mouth of the Se Mun, including what later became Upper Chenla in what is believed to have been the vassal state of Bhavapura. These Chinese say the division into Upper and Lower Chenla took place after 707. The first ruler of Śambhupura mentioned in the inscriptions is a female—x(a)—presumed to have been a daughter of the supposititious Śambhuvarman. This daughter married Pushkarāksha, son of Nṛpatīndravarmān of Anindītapura² (217, st. 9; 76, 361), and he thus became king of Śambhupura.

LOCATIONS OF LOWER AND UPPER CHENLA

Chinese writers say that, after the *chen-long* period (705–707), Chenla was divided into two states. The northern part, which consisted of mountains and valleys, was called Land Chenla.³ It was said to be 700 *li* in extent. The southern part, bordering on the sea, was low and covered with lakes and waterways. It was called Water Chenla. Its extent was 800 *li*. The king lived in a city called *Po-lo-ti-pa* (584, 483–484; 663, 211). These divisions may better be called in English, Upper Chenla and Lower, or Maritime, Chenla.

The exact location of the capital of these two divisions of Chenla has been the subject of much controversy, which is interesting, if not wholly essential to the understanding of the present status of the question. In 1904 Georges Maspero, influenced by the digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman I of a couple of centuries later, traced the genealogy of that king back to two lines of kings of this period—one ruling at Vyādhapura, which he identified as Angkor Borei (573, 27–28); another ruling at Śambhupura, identified as the present Sambor. That same year Paul Pelliot, following an old theory of Aymonier, located the capital of Lower Chenla at Vyādhapura and reluctantly recognized Sambor as the seat of Upper Chenla, while protesting that

Sambor was much too far to the south to agree with the itinerary of Chia Tan, which he was trying to elucidate (663, 211–215). As a consequence, these identifications came to be generally accepted (map 7).

CAPITALS

The identification of Sambor as the capital of Upper Chenla soon became the subject of further discussion. Aymonier, in the third volume of his *Le Cambodge*, published in 1904, expressed the opinion that Sambor was “incontestably one of the capitals at the time of the succession; but of which part we are not in a position to decide” (6, 3, 459), and Pelliot, in his review of Hirth and Rockhill’s translation of Chau Ju-kua’s *Chu-fan-chi*, modified his previous opinion as follows: “There is no doubt of the position of Wen Tan in ‘Upper Cambodia’; but it will be necessary to arrive at a more precise determination” (665, 467).

In 1914 Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis attempted a brief sketch of the history of Wen Tan during the short period of its existence—a study highly speculative, but of great interest and doubtless of considerable value. Several years previously, the German scholar, Adolf Bastian, had transcribed the Chinese name of this state as Wen Chan and had identified it with Vientian, a later capital of Laos. Gustaf Schlegel transcribed it as Chanda, and Chandapura is one of the Sanskrit names of Vientian. Lefèvre-Pontalis adopted the theory of Bastian and in a very interesting manner, wove Wen Tan’s embassies to China into the story of that country’s struggle with Tibet and the new Tai kingdom of Nan Chao, in what is now Yunnan (518). This theory has been rejected because the phonetic equivalence is considered unsatisfactory and because the necessary archeological vestiges have not been found in the vicinity of Vientian (150).

In 1918 Henri Maspero took up the question in connection with the study of the frontier of Annam and Cambodia (579). Tracing again the itinerary of Chia Tan over a route which he thinks was followed by an expedition of Chenla against Tonkin in 722, he locates the capital of Wen Tan in the vicinity of Pakhinbun, on the Mekong, in central Laos. He contended that it is impossible to locate this capital either at Sambor or at Vientian, not only because of the distance and the direction, but from the very nature of Chia Tan’s voyage, there being no mention of crossing the Mekong or of ascending or descending it. Against the argument that no ancient ruins had been found in that vicinity, he replied that the buildings were probably of perishable material, that the jungle is dense in that vicinity, now little peopled, and that thorough search has not been made. It should be recalled that Pelliot had admitted that the distance to Sambor was too great to correspond to the Wen Tan of Chia Tan’s itinerary. So, it seemed to be established that the capital of Wen Tan, or Upper

¹ See genealogical chart, p. 63.

² He was probably the Indraloka of the inscription of Bakong (see p. 61).

³ Upper Chenla was also called Wen Tan and Po-lieu by the Chinese.

⁴ Said to be phonetically equivalent to Bālāditya (pura).

Chenla, in the eighth century, was well up into what is now Central Laos. In a later study Seidenfaden thought he had located it near the present site of Tha Khēk, at the ancient seat of Nakhon Phanom (Nagara Bnam), where he says that ruins of a great city with traditions are found (694, 56).

Taking up the question of the location of the capital of Maritime Chenla, in 1928, Coedès contended that the Vyādhapura of the later inscriptions referred to the capital of Funan and not to that of Lower Chenla and corresponded to Ba Phnom, rather than to Angkor Borei, but that Angkor Borei may have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of Lower Chenla (104, 127–131).

Thus, it seems, both identifications made by Georges Maspero in 1904 were discarded. The capital of Upper Chenla seemed to have been near Tha Khēk and one of the capitals of Lower Chenla may have been at or near Angkor Borei, while another capital seems to have been, at least for a time, at Sambor. The fact that the Chinese speak of Chenla and Wen Tan in the same sentence indicates that Lower Chenla was considered the true successor of the Chenla of Jayavarman I (663, 212, n. 1).

Recently, Pierre Dupont has advanced the idea that the Upper Chenla which seceded after 707 was the original Chenla of Bhavavarman I's reign, bearing, in honor of its first great king, the name Bhavapura. The old homeland of the Khmers, he believes, was the Bassac-Paksé region and the lower part of the Mun⁵ valley. Under Bhavavarman I and his successors, the region to the south was conquered, the name Bhavapura expanding with the kingdom, the original Śreshṭhapura remaining a subdivision. After the secession, the conquered territory—Śambhupura, Vyādhapura, Bālādityapura—united to form Lower, or Maritime, Chenla, while the old homeland, under the name of Bhavapura, expanded to the north and the west (325, 45). Little is known of the dynasty of Bhavapura after the secession, but it was believed to be an offshoot of that of the old Chenla, as Upper Chenla claimed to be the legitimate Chenla. Long ago, Coedès expressed the opinion that the King Jayasimhavarman mentioned in the inscription of Phu Khiao Kao in the upper Se Mun valley (which inscription Coedès thinks is of the seventh-eighth century) may have been a king of Bhavapura, i.e., of Upper Chenla (694, 90). Recently Coedès has advanced the less probable theory that the dynasty mentioned in an inscription of 937, found at Ayuthia (p. 123), may have ruled in the same region (325, 46).

⁵ Coedès, following a lead of Aymonier who found a reference in an inscription of Koh-Ker to Mūladeśa (6, 1, 407) which in Sanskrit is said to mean "country of origin" (6, 2, 470), thinks a souvenir of the name may be found in that of the Mun river (150, 2) and suggests that in the name of the country through which the Se Mun runs (Mun- or Mūla-deśa) may be found the "country of origin" of the Khmers.

UPPER CHENLA

EIGHTH CENTURY; EARLY EMBASSIES TO CHINA

All we know about the history of Upper Chenla during the eighth century is what the Chinese say about the embassies it sent to the Imperial Court. It seems to have extended northward to the present Chinese province of Yunnan, with a wide, ill-defined borderland inhabited by Khas, speaking generally a Mon-Khmer⁶ language, and possibly Tai tribes on the border of Nan Chao. We know more about Wen Tan's dealings with China than we do about its relations with Lower Chenla during this period. Its route to the Imperial Court doubtless lay across the Annamitic chain to Nghean, thence to Chiao-chou (Tonkin).

The first embassy from Wen Tan, we are told, arrived at the Imperial Court in 717; so the separation was consummated before that date. We know nothing else about it. Five years later (A.D. 722) Wen Tan joined in a war against the Chinese governor of Chiao-chou. A native chief of Nghean—probably a Tai or a Muong⁷—revolted and, aided by the Chams and Khmer force from Wen Tan, defeated the Chinese forces, conquered Chiao-chou and proclaimed himself Hei-ti, "Black Emperor." A new Chinese expedition completely defeated his forces and he himself was killed in battle.

THE EMBASSY OF 753-754 AND THE NAN CHAO EXPEDITION

Another embassy appeared at the Imperial Court in 750, but it is not quite clear from which Chenla this embassy came. In 753 the Crown Prince of Wen Tan came to the court of China with a suite of twenty-six relatives and was received with great honor and given the title of "Protector Firm and Persevering." China was at war with the King of Nan Chao and was undoubtedly courting the King of Wen Tan for his assistance in helping to guard its southeastern frontier.

China, just at this time, was in a precarious situation with enemies on all its fronts. In 649 the Tai of what is now Yunnan had formed the Kingdom of Nan Chao and under a succession of strong rulers, sometimes allied with the new Kingdom of Tibet, during the next two centuries more than once threatened to overthrow the divided and feeble Chinese Empire. In 748 Kolofong, Nan Chao's most warlike king, came to the throne. Two years later, he invaded Chinese territory and took several cities. Several armies sent against him were defeated. Kolofong made an alliance with Tibet and prepared for a further attack on China. The Emperor sent a large force against him (754). The

⁶ H. Maspero's linguistic map (580) shows the extent of Mon-Khmer speakers in this vicinity. The Lolos and Tais in this region are generally later comers.

⁷ The Muongs were probably Proto-Annamites, mixtures of the original inhabitants of the delta region and the Yuēh, from China—later influenced by the Tai of the mountains.

Crown Prince of Wen Tan accompanied the Chinese forces to Nan Chao. The Chinese army was utterly defeated (608, 44).

THE NORTHERN AND NORTHEASTERN FRONTIER

While continuing unsuccessful warfare against Kolo-fong, China prepared to strengthen its defenses on its southeastern frontier. In 756 Chiao-chou was transformed into the march of Ngan-an (Annam) and placed under a military commandant. In 767, as a result of Malay raids, the citadel of Lo-thanh was constructed near the site of the present Hanoi. In 771 "the Viceroy of Upper Chenla, named Pho-Mi, came to the Court with his wife and offered in tribute eleven trained elephants. This Pho-Mi was given the grade of second president, inspector of the palace, and was given also the surname of Pin-han, 'guest of the Emperor.'" Another embassy is said to have been sent in 779 (518).

In 778 Kolofong died. His grandson, Imusin, succeeded him. Imusin established his residence at Ta-li,⁸ in Western Yunnan, and in 789 renounced the alliance with Tibet (608, 51-52). This did not, however, prevent the Emperor from going ahead with his plans for consolidating his southeastern frontier. In 791 he attempted to organize all the Lao-Tai territories, but succeeded only in appointing an administrator general over Fong-chou, in Upper Ngan-an, and administrative officials along the Red and Clear Rivers (582, 140).

Finally in 799 a last envoy appeared at court and received a Chinese title (663, 211). Some time near the end of the century, Chia Tan wrote his famous itinerary of the route from Nghean to the capital of Wen Tan—a route which was followed by the Khmer expedition of 722 and has been followed ever since.

This seems to be about all we know about Wen Tan, or Upper Chenla, during its independent existence.

LOWER CHENLA

EIGHTH CENTURY; INSCRIPTIONS

We have no record of any embassies to the Chinese court from Lower Chenla during the eighth century; unless it be the uncertain one of 750—of which we know nothing—and that of Pho-Mi, which Ma Tuan-lin, probably wrongly, attributed to Maritime Chenla (584, 484). But there are a few inscriptions of this period—all from Maritime Chenla.

The inscription of West Baray (mentioned above), in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 713, celebrates the foundation to Śiva Tripurāntakeśvara by Queen Jayadevī, apparently the widow of Jayavarman I, and her daughter, who was married to the Brahman Śakrasvāmin. The inscription alludes to the misfortunes of the times. It seems to indicate that Jayavarman I's posthumous name was Sivapada (325, 19; 278, 148).

⁸ Ta-li is the Tai word for that kingdom; Nan Chao is the Chinese name.

A fragment of slab-inscription, in Sanskrit, undated, found recently in Vat Sre Beng, in the village of O lam, province of Chaudoc, in the delta, contains the name of Bālāditya. A pillar-inscription, from a ruin at the foot of Phnom Ba Thé, or Nui Ba Thé (not far from the recent excavations of Oc Eo), in Sanskrit, undated but believed to be of this period, commemorates the erection of a Vardhamāna līṅga and a brick chapel for the devotion of Nṛpādityadeva⁹ (150, 7-9; 325, 18).

The door-inscription of Preaḥ Theat Kvan Pir, in the province of Kratié, about fifty kilometers south-east of Sambor, in Sanskrit, dated 716, relates that "Puṣhkara had the god Śrī Puṣhkareśa erected by the munis and the most eminent of brahmins." Both Finot and Pelliot think this Pushkara may be identified with Pushkarāksha (353). This is believed to be the first example in Cambodian history of the apotheosis of a king (163, 48-49).

A Sanskrit inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng (II),¹⁰ undated, but on epigraphical grounds placed in the eighth century, relates the erection of a statue or the foundation of a sanctuary to the deity Pushkarāksha by one Śambhuvarmadeva¹¹ (150, 3-5). A Khmer inscription of the same place (III), probably co-participant with the above, relates the foundation of the god Puṣhpavataśvāmi, in the enclosure of the god Mūlas-thāna (150, 5-6).

A stele-inscription, in Khmer, dated 726, found at Prei Mien, in the province of Takeo, dedicates a Hari-hara, under the form of Śaṅkara-Nārāyana. It does not mention a king. Several other inscriptions, undated but apparently the same general period as the above, are found in this region (630, 1, 117; 530, 1, 9).

An inscription of Preaḥ Theat Preaḥ Srei (I) in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 770, in the province of Thbon Khmum, Residence of Kratié, mentions a King Jayavarman, who is said to have made a foundation there on that date. The inscription of Lobok Srot, in the province of Sambor, Residence of Kratié, in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 781, had for its object the consecration of a Viṣṇu foundation by a King Jayavarman, "of a family of brahmins and kṣatriyas." Coedès proposed to call this king Jayavarman I *bis* (156; 150, 10, n. 9; 278, 163, n. 5). Two other undated inscriptions in the vicinity of Sambor—Tūol Kok Prasat in Khmer, and Sambor (Kratié) in Sanskrit—are said to mention a Jayavarman and are assigned by Dupont to Jayavarman I *bis* (325, 19).

The inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy, at Sambor (Kratié), in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 803 celebrated a foundation to Śiva by a queen Jayeṣṭhāryā, daughter of Princess Jayendra-bha, grand-daughter of Princess Nṛpendradevī, great-grand-daughter of a king who received the posthumous name of Śrī Indraloka (6, 1,

⁹ Nṛpatindravarman was probably meant.

¹⁰ For inscription of Prasat Pram Loveng (I), see p. 28.

¹¹ Doubtless Pushkarāksha's son X(B), apparently called Sambhuvarman.

305; 325, 19). This is believed to be the first mention of a posthumous name in an inscription of Cambodia (113, 72).

This is all the information given us by contemporary documents about Maritime Chenla in the eighth century. There is still no mention of Kambu, the Sūryavaṃśa, Śrutavarman, or Śreshṭhavarman. So far as the contemporary documents are concerned, all the kings of Chenla who have said anything about their ancestry, have claimed to belong to the Somavaṃśa, or Lunar dynasty of Kauṇḍiṇya-Somā.

LATER GENEALOGIES

Indravarman I

But, in inscriptions of a century or more later, kings ruling at that time began to make out long genealogies, connecting themselves with the various dynasties which ruled Chenla and Funan. These genealogies are often contradictory or otherwise confusing and are probably largely fictitious; but they have an important historical value, in that they show what the kings of their time thought were the most important dynasties of the early period, and in some cases the later kings were being served by ministers or brahmins of families which held hereditary functions and whose ancestors may have served some of the early kings mentioned in the inscriptions.

In these inscriptions we hear for the first time of Kambu, Kambuja, the Sūryavaṃśa, and the rest. Much of this is, doubtless, pure invention. Kambu and Kambuja—like Champa, names introduced from legendary India—seem to have come in with Jayavarman II and to have been the names the people called themselves after the date of his accession. But they doubtless have historical roots in Chenla, running back the period of Jayavarman II. Śrutavarman and Śreshṭhavarman were probably real kings, as Śreshṭhapura is definitely fixed in the geography of the region where the earliest capital was doubtless located. The very name Chenla is consistently used by the Chinese as equivalent to Kambuja (Cambodia).

The door-inscription of the temple of Preah Kō¹² in the Roluos group at Hariharālaya southeast of Angkor, dated 879 (p. 103), is one of a group of inscriptions at the beginning of the reign of Indravarman I and is one of the earliest known inscriptions of what we have called the Kambuja period. The genealogy of Indravarman in this inscription gives as his father, King Prithivindravarman, born of akṣhatriya (i.e., not royal) family. His mother is not named, but is said to be born "of a family where kings succeeded each other." Her father's name was Rudravarman and her maternal grandfather was King Nṛpatindravarman, through whom Indravarman claimed his right to the throne (71, st. 3). Of the six towers which make up

the Preah Kō group, the three front ones are dedicated to Prithivindreśvara, Rudreśvara, and Parameśvara, the posthumous names, respectively, of the father, the maternal grandfather and Jayavarman II, and the three in the rear, respectively, to their wives—Prithivīndradēvī, Narendradēvī, and Dharaṇīndradēvī (163, 40). The genealogies of the inscriptions of the five towers of Bakong of a neighboring group, and the stele inscription of the temple of Bayang (I), near Chaudoc, of apparently the same date (72; 73), are similar to those of Preah Kō.

The foundation stele of Bakong mentions Indraloka and his queen, Indrānī (214, st. 32). Both Coedès and Dupont suggest that Puṣkarākṣha may be the king who received the posthumous name of Indraloka (278, 149; 325, 32). As the digraphic inscriptions say Puṣkarākṣha was of the house of Aninditapura and acceded to that of Sambhupura (76, st. 2), Indraloka must have been Puṣkarākṣha and Indrānī must have been—x(a)—the daughter of the suppositious Śambuhvarman—X(a).

Yaśovarman I

The digraphic inscriptions, dated 893, were found on twelve steles scattered throughout the kingdom, each of which contains identical inscriptions in Sanskrit and Khmer (p. 107). All give the same genealogy. It is long and complicated. Yaśovarman bases his claim on descent from the dynasties of Śambhupura, Aninditapura,¹³ and Vyādhapura, chiefly through his maternal grandfather, Mahipativarman. It begins with Puṣkarākṣha, descendant of the lords of Aninditapura, who acquired the throne of Śambhupura and who was "the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother" of Jayavarman II (76, st. 2). A male descendant (son?) of Puṣkarākṣha¹⁴ X(B) married a female descendant of the Adhirāja of Vyādhapura and the issue was Rājendravarman I, "who was also king in Śambhupura"¹⁵ (76, st. 3). The latter married Nṛpatīndradēvī, and their son, Mahipativarman, was the father of Indradēvī¹⁶ (76, st. 4, 8). Through his maternal grandmother, Yaśovarman I claimed descent from Agastya (76, st. 3–5). On his father's side, he claimed descent through one Rudravarman, who was the younger brother of Jayavarman III's grandmother (76, st. 10–11). Rudravarman took for wife a daughter of Nṛpatīndrarvarman, Narendralakṣmī (p. 64), or Narendradēvī, who is called "queen" (76, st. 13). Their daugh-

¹³ This seems to be the first appearance of the name "Aninditapura" in Cambodian history.

¹⁴ The Śambhuvarmadeva who erected the sanctuary to Puṣkarākṣha at Prasat Pram Loveng (p. 60) was probably the son of Puṣkarākṣha. His marriage with the heiress of Vyādhapura would put him in possession of the Plain of the Junks (bulrushes), where the Prasat is located.

¹⁵ This seems to indicate that Vyādhapura was considered the principal kingdom of Lower Chenla.

¹⁶ Indradēvī is said to be a "daughter of the mountain" (76, st. 16), (i.e., of the dynasty of Funan).

¹² Also called Bako, Preakon, and Prea Kou.

ter¹⁷ married Prithivindravarman, who was the son of a sister of Rudravarman and a kshatriya (76, st. 12). Of them was born Indravarman (76, st. 14) father of Yaśovarman, thus making Indravarman I a nephew by marriage of Jayavarman II. Bergaigne gives a genealogy of these relationships, based on the Digraphic Inscriptions (76, 361), but his table is incomplete, according to later inscriptions.

Rājendravarman II

The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong, at the foot of Phnom Bakheng, Angkor, in Sanskrit, dated 946, gives the genealogy of Rājendravarman II (944–968). Only the early part of the inscription need concern us here. It mentions first the eponymous ancestor, Kambu Śvayāmbhuva, and the apsaras Merā and their descendants “who have Śrutavarman for root.” Then comes the race having for chief of branch the King Śrī Rudravarman, drawing their origin from Śrī Kaundīnya and the daughter of Soma. The first king of the family mentioned after Rudravarman was Jayavarman II,¹⁸ who is called “guardian of the honor of the solar race of Śrī Kambu.” As to Indravarman I, the inscription simply says that he was the son of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman III (161, st. 20).

The inscription of Mebon, in the East Baray of Angkor Thom, in Sanskrit, dated 952, says Rājendravarman (II) was of the Kaundīnya-Somā line and that his mother was a descendant of Sarasvatī (niece of Bālāditya, who, we are told, was overlord of kings “up to the sea”), and who married a brahman, Viśvarūpa (383, st. 8–10). Finot, who edited the inscription, thought Rājendravarman (II)’s mother was the daughter of Sarasvatī (383, 310); but the foundation-stele of Pre Rup, dated 961, says Sarasvatī was the daughter of the sister of Bālāditya, that King Nṛpatindravarman was a descendant of Sarasvatī and that King Puṣkarākṣha was the son of Nṛpatindravarman and uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II (217, 7, 9).

Four inscriptions—Mebon, Pre Rup, Preah Eynkosei, and Prasat Komphus—mention Bālāditya and say he was king of Aninditapura and descendant of Kaundīnya-Somā (pp. 62, 142). This leads Coedès to think that he must have been connected with the ruling dynasty of Chenla, as he believes the Adhirājas of Vyādhapura were the descendants of the rulers of Funan (140, 130–131).

Harshavarman III

The inscription of Lovek (II), a little to the northwest of Phnom Penh, of the reign of Harshavarman III (1066–1080), gives a genealogy of a famous

family, who served as ministers and other servants to the kings of Cambodia for several generations. The first mentioned is a Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman and Narendralakshmī, who lived in the village of Saptadevakula, near Lovek. Then comes a relative of Punnāgavarman in maternal line, who served Jayavarman II as chief of fan-carriers (31). This family played an important part in the later history of the capital.

Jayavarman VII

The stele of Ta Prohm, near Angkor Thom, in Sanskrit, dated 1186, traces the genealogy of Jayavarman VII back to Śrutavarman and his son, Śreshṭhavarman, “origin of a brilliant family of kings—Son of this sky which is the family of Śrī Kambu, born in this mountain of the Levant, which is Jayādityapura, he awakened the hearts of living beings, as the lotus (is awakened), this treasury of splendor, supreme king of Śreshṭhapura” (157, st. 6–7). But instead of enumerating the “brilliant family of kings” of which Śreshṭhavarman was origin, the inscription mentions only Kambujarājalakshmī, “born in the maternal family of this king,” i.e., apparently descended from the family of Śreshṭhavarman’s mother and not from Śreshṭhavarman. It then speaks of Bhavavarmadeva (Bhavavarman I), who ruled at Bhavapura,¹⁹ as if he were the husband of Kambujarājalakshmī, and from this king was descended the mother of Jayavarman VII.

EIGHTH CENTURY: RÉSUMÉ

The task of building a history of Maritime Chenla during this period from the data given above is more than perilous; but such a task imposes itself and the following is an attempt to make the most reasonable interpretation of the facts and hypotheses at hand, cautioning the reader all the way that these are not the only, or necessary, interpretations.

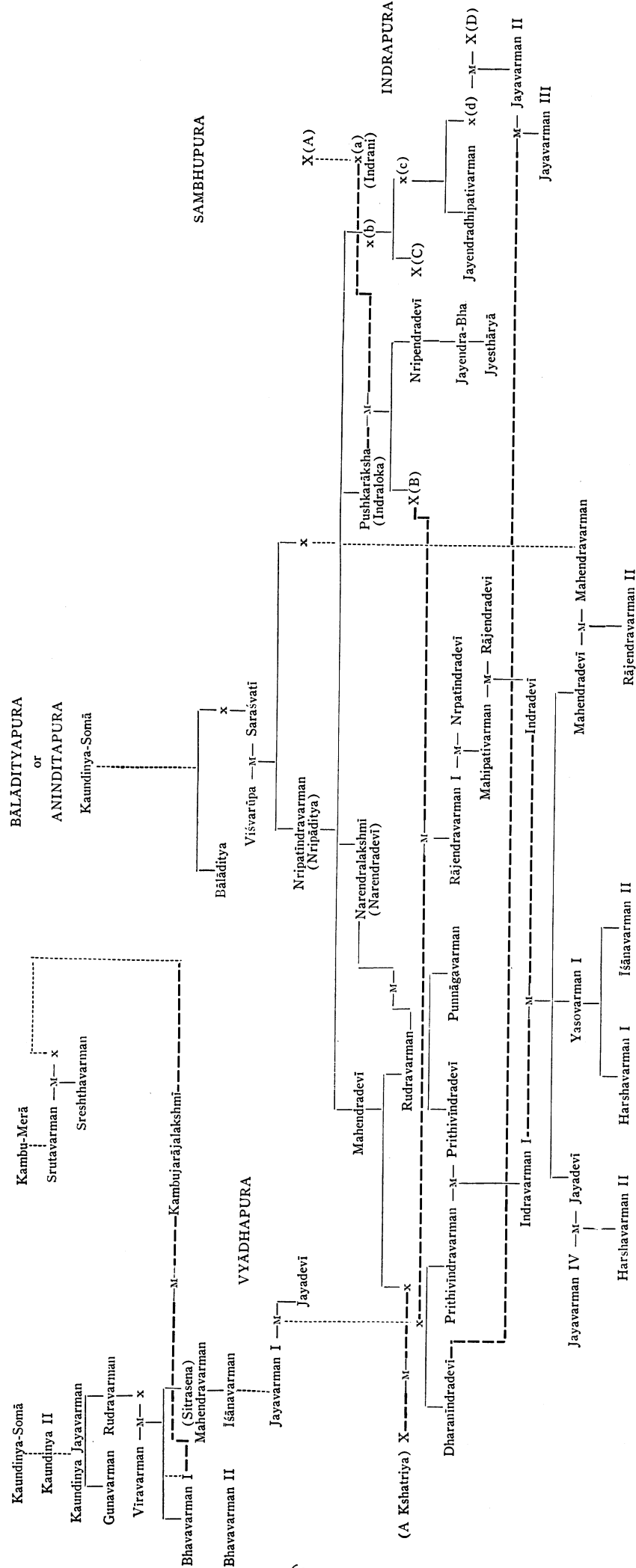
As has been stated (p. 57), the death of Jayavarman I was followed by a period of internal strife. Two new dynasties arose and disputed the supremacy with that of Vyādhapura. Nṛpatindravarman, Íśvara of Aninditapura, apparently revived his ancient kingdom and controlled a western strip of the delta to the sea at Oc Eo, probably establishing his capital at Angkor Borei, which seems to have been called Bālādityapura; while the new dynasty of Śambhupura was building up a kingdom on the eastern bank of the Mekong, in the Sambor-Kratié region. Puṣkarākṣha, son of Nṛpatindravarman, married a daughter of the king of Śambhupura, and became king of that country. This probably happened before the death of his father; for Puṣkarākṣha seems to have been reigning in Śambhupura in 716 (p. 60) and as Aninditapura seems to have been the greater kingdom at this time, he probably had

¹⁷ She was unnamed in the Digraphic Inscriptions, but the inscription of Preah Kō (p. 61) calls Prithivindravarman’s wife Prithivindradevi.

¹⁸ Thus omitting all the kings of Chenla.

¹⁹ Bhavapura, in this case, is used in its simplest sense, to mean the Chenla of Bhavavarman’s reign.

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not yet succeeded his father there. The supreme kings (Adhirājas) of Vyādhapura, successors of Jayavarman I, seem to have been reduced to a short strip along the Mekong in the vicinity of the old capital of Jayavarman I, Ba Phnom-Banteay Prei Nokor.

This marriage of Pushkarāksha with the heiress of Śambhupura (which Coedès thinks was a conquest in disguise) may have been the cause of the secession of Upper Chenla (probably under a pretender of the old Chenla line), which the Chinese say happened after 707. Sometimes after 716, Pushkarāksha succeeded his father at Aninditapura, perhaps leaving his son (?), Śambhuvarman, in charge at Śambhupura. This family seems now to have ruled nearly the entire delta region; for Śambhuvarman seems to have erected an image of his father there (p. 60). Śambhuvarman married the heiress to the throne of the Adhirājas of Vyādhapura (another conquest?) and thus united all Lower Chenla. Śambhuvarman was succeeded by his son, Rājendravarman, in whom was united the blood of the three great rival dynasties of Lower Chenla. This must have taken place after the middle of the eighth century. Rājendravarman has been so generally accepted as a king of Chenla (i.e. Cambodia) that nearly all histories have agreed in calling the second king of that name Rājendravarman II. Rājendravarman I must have reigned until some time in the last quarter of the eighth century, when he was succeeded by his son, Mahīpativarman. The capital was now probably at Bālādityapura (probably Angkor Borei), for the Diagraphic Inscriptions say Rājendravarman was also king of Śambhupura (p. 61), seeming to indicate that it was not the principal kingdom.

LESSER KINGS

There were other dynasties, perhaps vassals of greater or less importance, in Lower Chenla at this time. Rudravarman, ancestor of all the kings of Cambodia beginning with Indravarman and uncle of the wife of Jayavarman II, is said by the inscription of Preah Kō to be the maternal grandfather of Indravarman I and to have married Narendralakshmī, daughter of Nṛpatīndravarman (71, st. 3). Rudravarman's daughter, Prīthivīndradevī, married Prīthivīndravarman, who through his mother was grandson of Nṛpatīndravarman. This Prīthivīndravarman, father of Indravarman I, was brother of Dharaṇīndradevī, wife of Jayavarman II. This Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman and Narendralakshmī, who founded the Saptadevakula line, must have been a brother of Prīthivīndradevī and thus a brother-in-law of Prīthivīndravarman. These

two men, of the same generation as Jayavarman II, while apparently not kings, are spoken of as men of high rank and great power (31, A st. 7-10).

There was the Jayavarman of the inscriptions, whom Coedès once called Jayavarman I *bis*. There seem to be no other data to identify him nor to connect him with any royal line; but the genealogical table prepared by Dupont suggests that he was husband and father, respectively, of the Jayendra-bha and Jayesthāryā of the inscription of Vat Tasar Moroy (p. 60). He seems to have resupplemented the dynasty of Indrapura, which was apparently a recent off-shoot of that of Śambhupura. The facts (1) that they bear the same name, (2) that they were connected with the same regions at approximately the same date, and (3) the reasons that probably led Jayavarman II to establish his first capital at Indrapura (p. 82), are not sufficient to establish Jayavarman I *bis* as father of Jayavarman II, with certainty; but it at least raises a probability and nothing seems to deny it. Perhaps Jayavarman I *bis* founded a vassal state of Indrapura after the old Śambhupura had been merged into Lower Chenla,²⁰ while his wife, x(d), seems to have been descended from Nṛpatīndravarman of Aninditapura. Jayavarman I *bis* was certainly reigning in the Indrapura region at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighth century and his son would have been a logical candidate to be trained at the Mahārāja's court to succeed the unfortunate young king who lost his head to the Mahārāja.

Then there was the Jayendrādhīpativarman, who a later inscription says was the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II (215, st. 30) and thus descended from the line of Aninditapura. There is nothing to indicate that Jayavarman I *bis* was living on the return of Jayavarman II from Java and Jayendrādhīpativarman may have ruled as vassal king of Indrapura during the minority or absence of the young prince, his nephew.

Dupont thinks that the ancestors of Indravarman were vassal rulers of Indrapura. It has been noted (p. 45) that Indrapura was granted as a fief, in 598, to one Narasimhagupta, who, an inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman says (p. 49), held it as a fief during the reigns of Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman, and Īśānavarman I. Dupont seems to think that, on the dislocation of Chenla during or after the reign of Jayavarman I, Indrapura was absorbed by the new dynasty of Śambhupura (325, 39).

This seems to have been the situation in Lower Chenla when an unfortunate disaster overwhelmed the country.

²⁰ Rājendravarman I seems to have been the last king of Śambhupura mentioned in the inscription.

7. THE CONQUEST OF MARITIME CHENLA BY THE MALAYS OF JAVA

THE APPEARANCE OF THE MALAY EMPIRE OF ŚRĪVIJAYA

Meanwhile, a new people—the Malays—were forming in western Indonesia. Our first knowledge of the formation of these new kingdoms comes to us from the earlier history of the T'ang dynasty of China. Its first kingdom seems to have been Malāyu, whose center was in the lower valley of the Jambi river near the southeast coast of Sumatra. Its first embassy appeared at the court of China (the Chinese called it Mo-lo-yeou) in 644–645 (663, 324). In the period 670–673, an embassy arrived from Śrīvijaya (called Shih-li-fo-shih by the Chinese) (663, 334), whose capital of the same name was located near the site of the present Palembang, a little to the south of Jambi. From the statement of a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim and several inscriptions, the information is gained that Śrīvijaya conquered Malāyu and sent an expedition to subdue Java, which had not been submissive to Śrīvijaya (711, 10; 183).

The appearance of this new maritime kingdom—which was to develop into the Empire of Śrīvijaya—so soon after the dissolution of the maritime empire of Funan, had a tremendous influence on all the countries and peoples of Southeast Asia, and especially Cambodia.

ŚRĪVIJAYA'S CONQUESTS IN JAVA AND THE MALAY PENINSULA

Little is known about Śrīvijaya's conquest in Java. So many conflicting elements enter into the events of that island during the first three quarters of the eighth century that its history during that period is not altogether clear. The early settlements of western, and probably central, Java—called Iabadiou by Ptolemy, Yavadvipa by the *Rāmāyana*, and Ye-p'o-ti and Chō-p'o by the Chinese—were said by visiting Chinese pilgrims to be strongholds of Buddhism, chiefly Hīnayānist. The kingdom of Tārumā, near the present Batavia, with its four rock-inscriptions, carved during the reign of King Pūrṇavarman about the middle of the fifth century, seems to have been Vishṇuite (118, 31–33). The kingdom of Ho-ling, visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Huei-ning in 664–665, was Mahāyānist (116, 60). The name suggests that the founders of this kingdom, like those of Malāyu, came from the Kalinga coast of India, which had recently been subjugated by Pulakeśin and Harsha (278, 137–138). Central Java seems to have had a Hindu colony also. The Vishṇuite boulder-inscription of Tuk Mas, at the foot of the volcano, Merbabu, dates probably from the middle of the seventh century (118, 33) and the first monument of the Dieng plateau was believed to have been built shortly after that (508, 126). In 732 the

inscription of Changal, or Jangal, a little to the south-east of the later monument of Borobudur, relates the erection of a linga there by a King Sañjaya, who says that he and his father (or maternal-uncle), Sanna, or Sannāha, had been reigning there for several years (118, 34–37).

Śrīvijaya probably put an end to the kingdom of Tarumā.² With possibly the assistance of the other Mahāyānists of west and central Java, it seems to have driven the Śivaite successors of Sañjaya to the eastern end of the island; for Chinese sources say that between 742 and 755 the capital of Ho-ling was transferred to Gresik, near the site of the modern Surabaya, and the Śivaite inscription of Dinaya, near Malang in East Java, dated 760, relates the erection of a sanctuary of Agastya there by a son of the King of Ho-ling (92; 538, 248–249).

Even less is known of Śrīvijaya's conquests on the Malay peninsula, which was now becoming Malay—for the first time. The Sanskrit inscription of Vat Sema Muang, Tāmbalinga, known as the Ligor³ inscription, dated 775, recorded the erection there of several Buddhic stupas by order of the King of Śrīvijaya. This inscription shows Śrīvijaya was in possession of the Bandon region at that time. How and when it came into possession of the region to the south is not known. To the north, perhaps the narrowness of the peninsula and the Mon occupation there discouraged the spread of the Malays in that direction. The old vassal states of Funan in the Bandon region and immediately to the south—P'an-p'an, Tāmbalinga, Ch'ih-t'u—seem to have been independent at the time of their conquest by Śrīvijaya. Chenla seems never to have exercised political control over them, but the early language of this region was probably a pre-Khmer Austro-Asiatic (734, 281) and Khmer trade-settlements probably existed along the transpeninsular trade-route. So Khmer language and culture probably persisted there.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE SAIENDRA DYNASTY

About this date, a new and powerful dynasty—the Sailendra, "kings of the mountains," suddenly dawned in Southeast Asia. It first appeared in the inscription of Kalasan, dated 778, in the Chandi of that name on the plain of Prambanan near the city of Jogjakarta, in Central Java. This inscription commemorates the erection in that temple of a statue of the Buddhic goddess Tārā by the preceptor of a King Panamkarana, who is called "Mahārāja" and "ornament of the Sailendra dynasty." The inscription of Kelurak at a neighboring temple, dedicates (A.D. 782) an image of the bodhisattva Manjuśrī by a king who is called "ornament of the Sailendra dynasty" and "crusher of enemy-

² This kingdom (*To-lo-mo*) is not heard of after its embassy to China in 666–669 (278, 145; 663, 284).

³ Sometimes called, wrongly, the inscription of Vieng Sa.

¹ The *Hsin T'ang-shu*.

heroes." It pays tribute to the Buddhist Triratna⁴ as well as the Brahmanic Trimūrti⁵ and other gods. Both of these inscriptions are in devanagari script and show the tantric Mahāyānist influence of the famous old university of Nālandā, in western Bengal (720; 538, 151–152; 278, 154–155).

About this time the Śailendra dynasty appeared in the Bandon region as unexpectedly as Śrīvijaya had appeared there a few years before. An inscription on the opposite side of the stele of Ligor sounds the praises of "this supreme King of Kings," whom it calls "Chief of the Śailendra family," and "Mahārāja." So, it seems the Śailendra dynasty had conquered the Bandon region from Śrīvijaya or had made itself the ruling dynasty of that country.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚAILENDRA DYNASTY

What was the origin of this dynasty which appeared so suddenly and gained such complete ascendancy over Southeast Asia? This subject, as the French would say, has caused much ink to flow during the last quarter-century. The importance of this dynasty and the closeness of its connection with the early history of the Khmer Empire seem to be sufficient warrant for this seeming diversion.

The debate began in 1918, when Coedès, reviewing the inscriptions of Kota Kapur and Ligor, considered the Śrīvijaya mentioned in both as a country—instead of a king, as had heretofore been believed—and identified it with Palembang. He thought both sides of the inscription of Ligor were carved at the same time and thus that the Śailendra dynasty was ruling over Śrīvijaya, which conquered the Bandon region and made the inscription of Ligor in 775 (170). Gabriel Ferrand, French diplomat and Arabian scholar, who was writing a series of articles on the subject, agreed in the main with Coedès (343; 344). The Dutch archaeologists, N. J. Krom and J. P. Vogel, agreed and called attention to the inscription of Kalasan, which brought the Śailendra dynasty (and, consequently, they thought, Śrīvijaya also) into Java in 778. So it seems to have been generally agreed that the Śailendra dynasty came from Śrīvijaya (Palembang), conquered the Malay peninsula and Java before 775–778 and built the great monuments of Central Java culminating in the Borobudur. Krom wrote of a "Sumatran period of Javanese history" (507; 720, 733, 78–80).

Then the Dutch scholar, W. F. Stutterheim, found a copper-plate inscription at Kedu, not far from Changal, which gives what purports to be a list of the early kings of the later kingdom of Mataram. This list begins with Sañjaya. No connection is given, but the next name on the list is Mahārāja Panangkaran, whom Stutterheim identified with the Panamkaraṇa of the Kalasan inscription. A much later Sundanese chronicle

gives what purports to be an account of the extensive conquests of Sañjaya within and outside of Java, including Sumatra, Malay peninsula, Cambodia, and China (Annam). Stutterheim then called to his aid a Nālandā copper-plate inscription and identified Samarāgra of that inscription, who married Tārā, daughter of a Pāla king of Bengal, with the Panamkaraṇa whom the Kalasan inscription says dedicated that temple to Tārā, perhaps the patron-saint of his wife of that name. The son of this king of Yavabhūmi (= Java), according to the Nālandā inscription, became King of Śrīvijaya. So, according to Stutterheim, the Śailendra dynasty was of Javanese origin and conquered the surrounding territories. In reply to Krom, Stutterheim proposed "a Javanese period in Sumatran history" (710).

A few years later the Indian historian, R. C. Majumdar, advanced the opinion that the Śailendra dynasty originated in the Śaila and Gāṅga dynasties of Kalinga and Orissa, in India, entered the Malay peninsula via Burma, conquered Śrīvijaya and Sumatra, made the second face of the Ligor inscription, after 775, conquered Java and made the inscription of Kalasan, in 778 (536; 537; 538, 154–156). This gave the problem a new aspect. As Coedès pointed out, Majumdar completely non-suited both Krom and Stutterheim by showing that there never was either a Sumatran period of Javanese history nor a Javanese period of Sumatran history, but a Śailendra period of both (190).

Coedès agreed to the separation of Śrīvijaya from the early Śailendras, but not from Palembang. Thus, while Majumdar's theory of a north Indian origin of the Śailendra was not well based and has not received much consideration, to him belongs the credit of separating Śrīvijaya and the Śailendra—before 775, at least. In reply to Majumdar's theory, Coedès advanced the hypothesis—once suggested by Finot—that the old Funan dynasty, known also as "kings of mountains," after the conquest of Funan by Chenla, may have gone to Java or the Bandon region or some former vassal of Funan and may have later reappeared as the Śailendra dynasty (190).

Other theories followed. The French scholar, Jean Przyluski, thought the Śailendravamśa was of combined Indonesian and South Indian origin and its *vamśakarā*⁶ was the syncretization of Śiva, the chief Indonesian deity and the Mahāyāna Buddha (675). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri thought Java probably got the Śailendravamśa along with its Śivaism and its Agastya-worship, with its immigrants of that period, from the Pāṇḍya region of South India (684). So the question stands. Coedès's views, while not supported by much positive proof, are plausible and seductive and seem to be gaining ground (733, 80–88).

MALAY RAIDS ON THE COASTS OF INDO-CHINA

While this strife and change of dynasties was going on in Java and the Malay peninsula, there was a great

⁴ The three Buddhist jewels—Buddha, dharma (the law) and sangha (the congregation).

⁵ The Brahmanic trinity—Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu.

⁶ Vamśakarā means the source of the vamśa, or family.

swarming of Malays or K'un-lun, as both the inhabitants and their language are sometimes called by the Chinese. They were generally said to be from "Java," a term which sometimes meant also Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula or all of them. They seem to have seized the islands of Pulo-Condor, south of the coast of Chenla (which islands were thereafter sometimes called K'un-lun) and to have used them as a base for raids on the coast of Champa and Chiao-chou (342).

As early as 767, according to G. Maspero, people from K'un-lun and Da-ba, or Chō-p'o (Java), pillaged the new march of Ngan-an (Annam, formerly Chiao-chou, the present Tonkin), as far as the capital (near the present Hanoi) and remained in possession of the delta region until the military governor drove them out and built the citadel of Lo-thanh. They probably put an end to the dynasty of Gāṅgarāja, which was ruling in Siṃhapura (the present Tra-kieu), capital of Lin-yi; for, in 774, a new Cham kingdom, Huan Wang, appeared in the south, with its capital, Rājapura, or Vīrapura, near the present Phanrang, in the Pānduranga region, and governed by a local dynasty which had been reigning there for some time (576, 95-108).

That same year (774), according to an inscription—Po Nagar (II)—"ferocious, pitiless, dark-colored people of other countries, whose food was more horrible than that of vampires . . . came in ships," sacked the temple of Po Nagar, on Nhatrang bay, and carried off the golden mukhalinga and other spoils (535, 3, 41-44). Thirteen years later (787), another Cham inscription—Yang Tikuh—says that a temple of Śiva, near Vīrapura, was burnt by the armies of Java, coming in ships (535, 3, 44-54).

THE MALAYS CONQUER MARITIME CHENLA

While Java and the Malay Peninsula were being conquered and Champa and Annam (Tonkin) overrun and ravaged by the Malay deluge, Cambodia did not escape, although the inscriptions of the period give no inkling as to what happened. Some time, probably after the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, the Mahārāja himself set out from his capital, probably in Java, took the Khmer King by surprise, beheaded him, and placed a new king on the throne as his vassal.

An Arab merchant, Sulaymān, who travelled through these waters in 851, has left with the account of his travels,⁷ the following narrative of events which must have occurred in the closing years of the eighth century.

THE KHMER COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

According to the annals of the country of Zābag,⁸ there was formerly a King of Khmer (of whom we will speak later on). Khmer is the country from which Khmer aloes

⁷ Published by Abū Zayd Hasan (*ca.* 916,) translated into French by G. Ferrand. The account given here is a second-hand translation by the author from the French of M. Ferrand (344, 56-61).

⁸ Zābag is the name the Arabs called the Mahārāja's empire.

are exported. The country is not an island. There is no country which possesses a more numerous population than Khmer. All the Khmer travel on foot. Drunkenness and all fermented liquors are forbidden to them; in the cities and in the Empire practising drunkenness or using fermented liquors (is forbidden). Khmer is situated in the same longitude as the kingdom of the Mahārāja, i.e., the island called Zābag. Between these two countries, the distance is from ten to twenty days' travel by sea, in the North-South direction, or inversely; ten days with good wind and twenty days with average wind.

THE KING'S DESIRE

It is said that formerly a King of Khmer was invested with power; he was young and prompt to act. One day he was seated in his palace, which dominated a fresh water river like the Tigris of Irak. Between the palace and the sea the distance was a day's travel (by river)—His minister was in front of him. He was talking with his minister and the question arose of the kingdom of the Mahārāja, its splendor, its numerous population and the islands which were subject to it. "I have one desire," said the King, "which I would like to satisfy." The minister, who was sincerely devoted to his sovereign and who knew his rashness in making decisions, asked him: "What is that desire, O King?" The latter replied; "I wish to see before me, on a plate, the head of the Mahārāja, King of Zābag."

The minister understood that it was jealousy which suggested this thought to his sovereign and replied to him: "I do not wish, O King, that my sovereign should express such a desire. The people of Khmer and Zābag have never manifested hatred toward each other, either in words or in acts. Zābag has never done us any harm. It is a distant island, not in the neighborhood of our country. (Its government) has never manifested a live desire to seize Khmer. What the King has said, should not be repeated." The King of Khmer was angry (at his minister), he did not listen to the advice which his wise and loyal counsellor gave him and he repeated the statement before his generals and the nobles of the court, who were present.

THE MAHĀRĀJA'S EXPEDITION

The statement passed from mouth to mouth until it came to the knowledge of the Mahārāja. The latter was an energetic sovereign, active and experienced. He had then arrived at a ripe age. He called his minister and told him what he had heard; then he added: "After the statement which this fool has made public, wishing to see my head on a plate because his is young and light, after the divulgation of his statement, it is necessary for me to act. To disregard his insults would be to harm myself, to debase myself and to lower myself before him."

The king then ordered his minister to keep the conversation secret and to prepare 1,000 vessels of average size, to equip them, to put on board each of them arms and valiant troops in as great quantity as possible. (In order to explain these armaments), he declared openly that he was going to make a pleasure trip in the islands of his Kingdom; and he wrote to the governors of the islands submitted to him to notify them that he was going to make a pleasure trip to the islands. The news spread everywhere and the governor of each island prepared to receive the Mahārāja in state.

When the orders of the King were executed and the preparations were finished, the latter embarked and with his fleet and troops set out for the Kingdom of Khmer. . . .

CAPTURE OF THE KHMER CAPITAL AND KING

The King of Khmer did not suspect these events until the Mahārāja had seized the river leading to his capital and had thrown his troops into flight. They took the capital by surprise, seized the King and surrounded the palace. The Khmers fled before the enemy. The Mahārāja had public criers declare that he would guarantee the security of everybody; then he seated himself on the throne of the Khmer King, who had been made prisoner and made the King and his minister appear before him. He said to the Khmer King: "What caused you to form a desire which was not in your power to satisfy, which would not have given you happiness if you had realized it and which would not even have been justified as it was easily realizable?"

(The Khmer King) did not reply. The Mahārāja continued: "You have manifested the desire to see before you my head on a plate; but if you had also wished to seize my country and my Kingdom or only to ravage a part of it, I would have done the same to Khmer. As you have expressed only the first of these desires, I am going to apply to you the treatment you wished to apply to me and I will then return to my country, without taking anything belonging to Khmer, either of great or small value. My victory (will serve as a lesson) to your successors; no one will be again tempted to undertake a task above his power nor desire more than the share given to him by destiny; one will consider himself fortunate to have health when he can enjoy it." Then he had the head of the Khmer King cut off. Then he approached the Khmer minister and said to him: "I am going to reward you for the good (you tried to do) in acting as a good minister; for I know well how you wisely counselled your master. (What a pity for him) that he did not listen to you. Look now for some one who will make a good King after this fool, and put him in place of the latter."

THE MAHĀRĀJA'S RETURN

The Mahārāja left at once to return to his country, without him or any of those accompanying him carrying away anything belonging to Khmer. When he had returned to his Kingdom, he seated himself on the throne which dominated the lake . . . and had placed before him the plate containing the head of the Khmer King. Then he called the high officials of his Kingdom and told them what had happened and his motives for making the expedition against the King of the Khmer. (On learning that), the people of Zābag prayed for their King and wished him all kinds of honors.

The Mahārāja then had the head of the King of the Khmer washed and embalmed. It was put in a vase and sent to the King who had replaced the decapitated King of Khmer on the throne. The Mahārāja sent a letter at the same time saying: "I have been prompted to act as I have done against your predecessor because of the hatred he manifested against us, and we have chastened him (to give a lesson) to those who wish to imitate him. We have applied to him the treatment he wished to apply to us. We think it wise to send you his head, for it is not necessary now to keep it here. We do not draw any glory from the victory we have won over him."

When the news (of these events) came to the Kings of India and China, the Mahārāja increased in their eyes. After this moment, the Kings of the Khmer, every morning, on rising, turn the face in the direction of Zābag, incline themselves to the earth and humiliate themselves before the Mahārāja to render him homage.

WHERE WAS THE SEAT OF THE MAHĀRĀJA'S EMPIRE?

This story was picked up by an Arab merchant and traveller along the coast of southeastern Asia less than a century after the occurrence of the events it relates. There is no doubt of its significance. Where the Mahārāja's capital was at that time is a much disputed point. Palembang, Java, or the Ligor-Kedah region—each has its adherents. Palembang is exactly in the same meridian as the upper delta of the Mekong, which would satisfy the statement of Arab writers. Java is in the same general direction, but the Bandon region is not.

The expedition either carried off the successor of the beheaded king or he went to the Mahārāja's capital on a visit of homage, for an inscription several centuries later tells us that a young prince returned from Java and was crowned King of the Kambuja and in 802 had a ritual prepared so his country would no longer be dependent on Java. Java, however, might mean any of the three regions. The account of Abū Zayd Hassan also says:

The authority of the Mahārāja is exercised in these islands. His island, on which he resides, is as fertile as a land could be and settlements follow each other without interruption. Someone whose testimony is worthy of belief has related that when the cocks of this country start to crow, as they do in Arabia, they answer each other over an extent of 100 parasangs or more.

This also would apply to any of the three regions.

It is the opinion of the writer that the Mahārāja of Zābag was a member of the Śailendra dynasty, which ruled over most of the Malay Archipelago, with its residence at this time in Central Java, where the great outburst of Mahāyānist temple-building was taking place, but this is only an opinion (734, 274–276).

WHO WERE THE AUTHORS OF THESE RAIDS?

Many questions may be asked which are not so easily answered. There is no doubt that the Mahārāja of the Śailendra dynasty conquered the Bandon region and made the second part of the inscription of Ligor and that he reduced Chenla to submission and set up a vassal king there. The documents are explicit. But who made the raids of 767 and 774, before the Śailendra were known to history? The inscriptions and other documents say these raiders came from Java (Da-ba, Chō-p'o) and there is no reason to think they did not mean Java in the strict sense, although some of the ships may have come from other islands of the archipelago. Did Śrīvijaya subdue the descendants of Sañjaya, drive a branch of them to East Java, and build the early Buddhist monument of Prambanan and make the earliest raids, before the arrival of the Śailendra—make the inscriptions, conquer the Khmers and build the later monuments, including the Borobudur, after the Śailendra had become their ruling dynasty? Or were these

later achievements accomplished by a Mahārāja's Empire which had no connection with Śrīvijaya but had subdued it?

When Jayavarman, who was a Khmer prince, visited Java, as a later Khmer inscription says he did, whom did he visit? Both Śrīvijaya and the Śailendra dynasty were ardent Mahāyānists, and Jayavarman was Śivaite and, on his return, established the worship of the linga as the state-worship in his new Khmer Empire, partly in accordance with certain ideas it is sometimes thought he picked up in Java. A son of the Ho-ling king of Gresik established a temple of Agastya at Dinaya in 760, where, according to Coedès, was guarded a linga called Pūtikeśvara, which materialized the essence of royalty, a cult which Jayavarman introduced into Cambodia (278, 157). Did Jayavarman, who was presumably hostage at the Mahārāja's court in Central Java, visit the Śivaite court at Gresik, in East Java?

WHO WAS THE KING BEHEADED BY THE MAHĀRĀJA?

Who was the young King of the Khmers whose head was carried away by the Mahārāja and later returned? This event must have occurred in the last few decades of the eighth century; for, apparently, young Jayavarman (later known as Jayavarman II) was taken to the Mahārāja's court or went there to pay homage as the successor of the beheaded king; and Jayavarman II did not die until 850. It could not have been the Jayavarman I *bis* of the inscriptions Preah Theat Preah

Srei and Lobok Srot, for he was reigning in 770 and 781 at Sambor, his kingdom was apparently a vassal, and his capital too far north to satisfy the geographic conditions. Jayavarman II, apparently a relative, possibly a son, of Jayavarman I *bis*, seems to have been the successor named by the Khmer minister and approved by the Mahārāja.

One Rudravarman and after him his nephew, Prithivindravarman, ruled at Dviradapura, near the present Lovek. But they were vassals of the supreme king of Chenla and their capital was too far inland. Rājendravarman, we are told, was issue of the heir of the sovereigns of Aninditapura and Sambhupura with the heiress of the Adhirāja of Vyādhapura. He was the supreme King of Maritime Chenla and his capital, probably at *Po-li-ti-pa* (Bālādityapura—Angkor Borei?), was not too distant from the sea. He is generally accepted as the King of Chenla. Georges Maspero thought Rājendravarman I was either killed or made prisoner by the Mahārāja (577, 161). Coedès has spoken of him as "the last and unfortunate sovereign of a destroyed empire" (160, 482). But Rājendravarman I's reign must have begun about the middle of the century and he could not have been a rash youth at the time of the disaster. The digraphic inscriptions speak of his son, Mahīpativarman as "king" (76, st. 4). Aymonier thought Mahīpativarman changed his name to Jayavarman II and was identical with that king (6, 3, 466). It seems probable that Mahīpativarman was the unfortunate king who was beheaded by the Mahārāja.

8. ARCHITECTURE AND ART BEFORE JAYAVARMAN II (ca. 550–ca. 790)

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF CHENLA

As already seen, Parmentier has attempted to make a distinction between the architecture and art of Funan and those of Chenla. The distinguishing characteristics of the architecture of Chenla, according to Parmentier, were: (1) buildings with square or rectangular plan, always accompanied by false doors detached from a slightly projecting redent; (2) storeys few but elevated, with false bays corresponding to the door and the false doors of the lower, or principal storey; (3) storeys richly ornamented and chiselled, with panels of interpilasters provided with reductions of edifices—generally flying-palaces; (4) doors and false doors with lintels, chiefly of types II and II intermediate, but also sometimes of the old type I of Funan. The architecture thus attributed to the Chenla period gives a much less squatty appearance than that of the Funan period (632).

MATERIAL AND CONSTRUCTION OF MONUMENTS

The durable material of this period was nearly always brick, with stone in an accessory role, for door,

and sometimes window, frames and sills and for colonettes and lintels. As throughout the entire history of Cambodia, the architecture in durable material, except some of the walls of the cities, bridges and other public works, was wholly religious. It must be borne in mind, also, that even to the end of the ancient Khmer period, practically all the secular, and much of the religious, architecture was of wood, of which architecture we know practically nothing, except through its representation on the walls and in bas-reliefs and through its influence on architecture in durable material.

Laterite, sometimes called "Bienhoa granite" (from a place near Saigon where it was quarried, was found almost everywhere in ancient Cambodia. It is a porous, soft, red rock, which hardens after being quarried. It was generally used for foundations and walls, but sometimes entire sanctuaries were made of it. A kind of sandstone (called *grès* by the French) has the consistency, and generally the color, of grind-stone, but sometimes has reddish or bluish tinge. It was found at Mount Kulen and a few other places. It was used for lintels, colonettes, door and window frames, and wherever carving was desired. Its use increased, and later

the large temples of the Angkor group were made entirely of it.

In brick construction, each layer was fitted to the preceding by friction and glued to it by a kind of cement which Parmentier thinks was vegetable and of which the secret was lost. These joints were practically invisible and are still able to resist a fall of fifteen meters or more, the bricks often splitting before giving way at the joints. The lateral joints, however, are not so solid, probably owing to the lack of lateral pressure, and the carelessness in overlapping sometimes resulted in vertical cracks. The bricks were carved, even at the cornices, after being put in place and were often covered with a coating, which "permitted a very finely-chiselled decoration, doubtless polychromed" (635, 288-289, 293). Traces of this coating have been found in place.

LOCATION AND FORM OF MONUMENTS

The location of the temple was usually on an elevation, if one was convenient; but in the low regions, temples were built in the plains and even in the hilly regions they were frequently located in the valleys. They were generally oriented toward the east, or nearly so; but to this there were many exceptions, owing generally to topography or to the location, with reference to them, of other buildings. Each temple usually stood alone, but groups of two or even three are found aligned, possibly not originally so planned. They were often accompanied by annexes, entrances, halls of columns, and cellules.

The edifice generally consisted of a single hall. Edifices of two rooms prevailed near the mouth of the Kong river and were occasionally found elsewhere. Of the one-room temples, the rectangular plan prevailed, but the square plan was nearly as common and the octagonal plan was occasionally found, especially in the vicinity of Sambor-Prei Kuk (fig. 11). The superstructure of the square plan was usually a staged pyramid, while the rectangular plan generally called for a motif in length with gables, with ridge-crests and pike-heads.¹ The storeys were sometimes of equal height and smooth, sometimes unequal and decorated with redents and false bays (630, 1, 9-13).

INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR OF THE MONUMENTS

In general, the interior corresponded to the exterior. There was usually a corbelled vault, sometimes successive drums, sometimes a bending of the walls. The vault was masked by a low ceiling, which was of perishable material and has disappeared. The hall was simple, but the walls of large halls were divided by pilasters. A *somasūtra* marked the pedestal of the divinity, sometimes ending outside in a *makara* head. A *cuvette* with *snānadronā* beak terminated it on the inside. This is the testimony of the temples, as not a single idol has been found *in situ*.

¹ A pointed ridge-crest (see fig. 12).

Whether the walls were redented or not, they were always ornamented on the outside by thin pilasters. The interpilasters were sometimes bare, but generally received a decoration. The decoration was usually a reduction of edifice. These reductions varied in size according to the panel, but they were generally representations of two or more storey "flying-palaces" carried by winged monsters (fig. 11).

DOORS AND FALSE DOORS

The door and its decorations formed one of the most characteristic features of Khmer architecture. The door frame consisted of four monoliths, usually in schist, forming the sill, the two uprights, or pillars, and the lintel. The pillars stood against a projection of the pilaster, which sloped back to the inner wall and projected outward on the edge of the step, making a corner on each side for the colonettes. The pilasters were of brick and formed continuous masonry with the wall. The colonettes, of stone, rose from the step in the corner formed by the pilasters, a little to the side of the door. The true lintel rested on the pillars, but it was faced by a decorative lintel, which rested on the colonettes, outside of the true door. Behind the pillars, on each side, were holes in the sill for the pivots of the vantails, or leaves, of the swinging door, which were of wood and elaborately carved (530, 1, lxxvi-lxxxvi).

The other three sides of a monument contained false doors, corresponding to the true door. They were exact reproductions of the true door—two vantails and an up-right. And as they were generally in brick, with a coating, they give us some idea of the decoration of the latter, which were of wood and have long since disappeared. The decorations of the false doors of this period are not very clear; but it appears that a lion's head projected from each vantail, to hold a ring by which the vantail was swung (301, 72).

COLONETTES

The colonettes and lintels of the doors offered special types. They were always of sandstone and, with the frames and sills, were generally the only parts of these monuments, except the foundations, which were of stone. The colonettes of this period were nearly always circular, but toward the end of the period the octagonal form began to appear. In either case, the colonettes were ornamented with rings of various motifs, sometimes of frieze with pendant garlands.

Philippe Stern and his associate, Mme Gilberte de Coral Rémusat, divided the decorations of this period into the three styles: (1) The Style of Sambor, covering the seventh century, (2) The Style of Prei Khmeng, covering the first half of the eighth century, and (3) The Style of Kompong Preah, covering the second half of the eighth century. The colonettes of the first Style are round, generally small;

they are related to the art of India and carry among the moldings of their base and capital, the bulb, souvenir

of the "turban" of Indian pillars. Their shaft is very free, ornamented at the center by a ring decorated with medallions. At the summit under a series of moldings of the capital, is represented a frieze of pendant garlands, imitation of true garlands. At the base, sometimes, are sculptured leaves "in face."

On the later styles, the columns become larger, the shaft more loaded and the decorations more varied. The colonettes generally followed the style of the lintels (301, 56-61) (fig. 5).

THE LINTELS

The lintel forms such an important factor of Khmer decoration that it deserves a special study. Parmentier says, "we find all the various forms of Khmer sculpture and ornamentation in the lintels, the major decorative point of the Khmer sanctuary" (630, 1, 272). Lunet de Lajonquière has divided the Khmer lintel into five types (530, 1, lxxix-lxxxiv). Parmentier follows this classification, with some modifications.

The decorative lintel was supported by the colonettes. Type I is sometimes called the lintel "with *makaras*." Its general dispositions were as follows: On the capital of each colonette, facing toward the center of the lintel, was a *makara*—a monster with a scaly body, the claws of a bird of prey, a large head with a trunk sometimes ending in flowers, mouth open, tongue long and thin in the form of a harpoon. A personage was generally shown mid-body behind the *makara* or seated on its back, while from its mouth issued personages or lions. Between these monsters, from one capital to the other, ran a canopy, from which alternate garlands and pompons were suspended. This band was always ornamented with three oval medallions framed by two rows with beads between. The center medallion always presented a little figure of Indra coiffed with a cylindrical bonnet, seated Indian-style or kneeling on an elephant's head. The others generally represented horsemen facing in front. The figures of this lintel were sometimes coarsely sculptured and seem to have been inspired by sculptures of wood.

Type II was a modification of type I. Capitals and canopy were there, but the *makaras* were replaced by bouquets of flowers and arabesques. The three medallions were modified in the same way and did not present any figurine. This was the most common type in Primitive Khmer Art. Type II, like type I, was characterized by the capital and arch. Parmentier's type II intermediate (Lunet de Lajonquière's type V) was of two kinds: one did not carry any human figure, but only motifs of foliage, widely treated and very cleverly worked; the other had as principal motif a human figure treated as ornament. The capital and arch were lacking (530, 1, lxxix-lxxxv).

The Style of Sambor, corresponded roughly to type I; the Style of Prei Khmeng, to type II; the Style of Kompong Preah, somewhat to the first kind of type II intermediate. They were characterized by the progres-

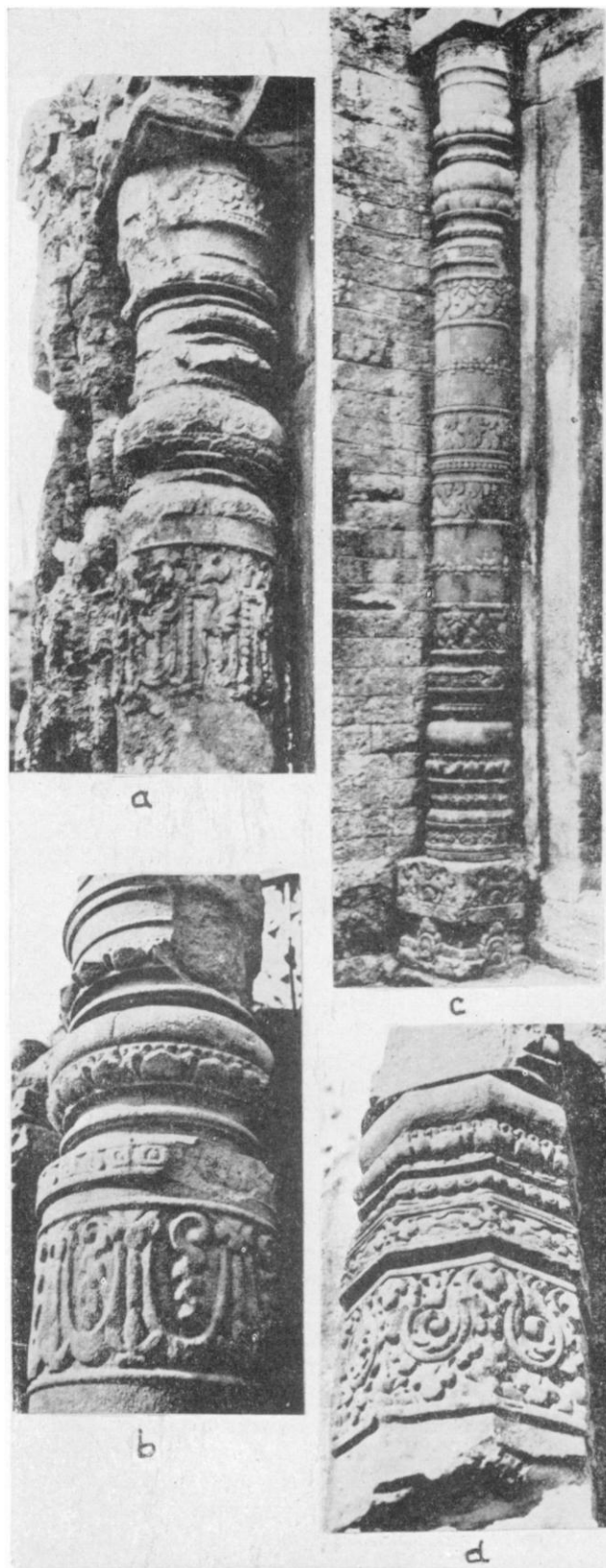


FIG. 5. Colonettes of the Chenla Period: a. Style of Sambor: (Sambor-Prei Kuk, SI); b. Style of Prei Khmeng (Prei Prasat, N); c. Style of Kompong Preah (1) (Phum Baset); d. Style of Kompong Preah (2) (Preah Prei Prasat); (Courtesy of Edition d'Arts et d'Histoire).

sive replacement of *makaras*, medallions and human figures by foliage (301, 116, 46).

The lintels of Primitive Khmer Art, types I and II, represented the translation into stone of the more ancient entrance in light material. Type II intermediate was the transition from types I and II to type III of Classical Art (630, 1, 287 (fig. 6).

FRONTONS

The frontons of this period were executed in brick, very summarily, and covered it seems with a coating much more finely worked, but which, today, has fallen. It is, then, almost impossible to study the frontons of the Styles of Sambor, Prei Khmeng and Kompong Preah. The vestiges which have reached us suffice, however, to recognize the close relationship of their form with that of the horseshoe arches which surmount the true or simulated openings of the ancient temples of India. But the Khmers have made this Indian horseshoe (an exaggerated arch) undergo a series of transformations which, at the classical epoch, give to their frontons an aspect entirely original.

The exaggerated horseshoe arch of India is very exactly reproduced in most of the reductions of edifice sculptured on the exterior walls of the monuments of the seventh and eighth centuries. But it seems that the arches of the true frontons have always received the form of an inverted **U**, with bases sensibly enlarged; their decoration seems to have been limited, generally, to some rosaces and circles in relief, disposed from place to place (301, 62-63) (fig. 12).

VAT PHU. PRASAT BARAN

The original temple of Vat Phu goes back to the reign of Bhavavarman I or probably earlier; but it has been modified so much that almost nothing remaining can be identified with certainty with the earliest temple (p. 44).

In the region of Stung Treng near the mouth of the Se Kong is a group of temples in which the two-room edifice predominates. The principal one is Prasat Baran, or Boran (=ancient sanctuary), on the west side of the Mekong. This is the only edifice which has conserved a complete type of building with two rooms. It is oriented to the east and one room is behind the other. The front room is slightly wider than long, the rear room slightly longer than wide. A *somasūtra* with external gargoyle has been found. Outside, the building is rectangular and slightly redented. It has two storeys, the second supporting a high *bahut*. The lintels of most of this group are of type I, with a single medallion. Near this temple was found the famous inscription of Val Kantel, which is undated, but is ascribed by its context to the reign of Bhavavarman I (630, 1, 226-229, 2, pl. xcvi, xcix; 530, 2, 57-59; 634, 43).

PRASAT PREAH THEAT THOM S. ASRAM MAHAROSEI. HANCHEY

One of the earliest buildings of the Chenla period—in fact, Parmentier considers it of the transition period

between Funan and Chenla—was the South tower of the Prasat Preah Theat Thom group, where the citadel of Banteay Prei Nokor was later built. It stands a few meters in front of the Prasat Preah Theat Toc group, built during the Funan period, and was probably constructed during the reign of Bhavavarman I (pp. 33, 76).

This tower, which was quite large for the period, has an inner measurement of 3.56×3.69 meters. Outside, it consisted of a high plain lower storey and six slowly-retreating upper storeys, of which the terminal is missing. Their only decorations are lateral pilasters and *krudus*. The colonettes are round. The lintels are ruined (630, 1, 204, 2, pl. lxxxix, xcii; 530, 1, 134-136).

Asram Maharosei, or Āsrama Mahārṣi, "Monastery of the Great Hermit," is a sanctuary of unusual interest, now located on the slope of Phnom Da, near the site of Angkor Borei (map 7). It is believed by Henri Mauger, former Conservator of the Monuments of Cambodia, to have been built originally near Kratié (map 5) at an early date and later moved to its present site (586; 587). Parmentier places this monument in the intermediate period between the architectures of Funan and Chenla; i.e., probably in the early Chenla period (632, 184). It sheltered a remarkable figure of Harihara, now at the Musée Guimet, Paris. The *mandapa* probably belongs to the Funan period. Remains of a *somasūtra* were found there (630, 1, 124; 530, 1, 13-15; 587).

The edifice is also interesting because it is entirely in stone, in basalt which is found in the Kratié region. Mauger has devoted quite a study to its origin and filiations. In many features, he points out, it resembles the temples of the Dieng plateau in Java. On the other hand, several characteristics are distinctly Khmer. Mauger concludes that it is a connecting link between Indian and early Cambodian art; i.e., a survival of early stone architecture introduced into Funan from India at an early date (586; 587) (fig. 7).

The Hanchey group of monuments is located on a promontory which rises on the west bank of the Mekong river, a little above the modern city of Kompong Cham. It was one of the first of the early group to be brought to light by European explorers and for a long time these sanctuaries and their inscriptions were considered the most ancient known in Cambodia. The group consists of a brick sanctuary and a sandstone *mandapa*. Both are oriented to the east, a little north.

The *mandapa* probably belongs to the Funan period. It is smaller and cruder than the *mandapas* of Sambor Prei Kuk, but it has preserved its door. Its lintel is a narrow band which rests on the colonettes (fig. 8). On both sides are symmetrical figures of Vishnu lying on the *nāga* Ananta.

The sanctuary contains a *somasūtra*. Its lintel is an interesting variation of type 1 (fig. 5) (630, 1, 194-195, 281; 2, lxxxiii; 530, 1, 86-90; 285, 181). Its door pillars contain inscriptions.

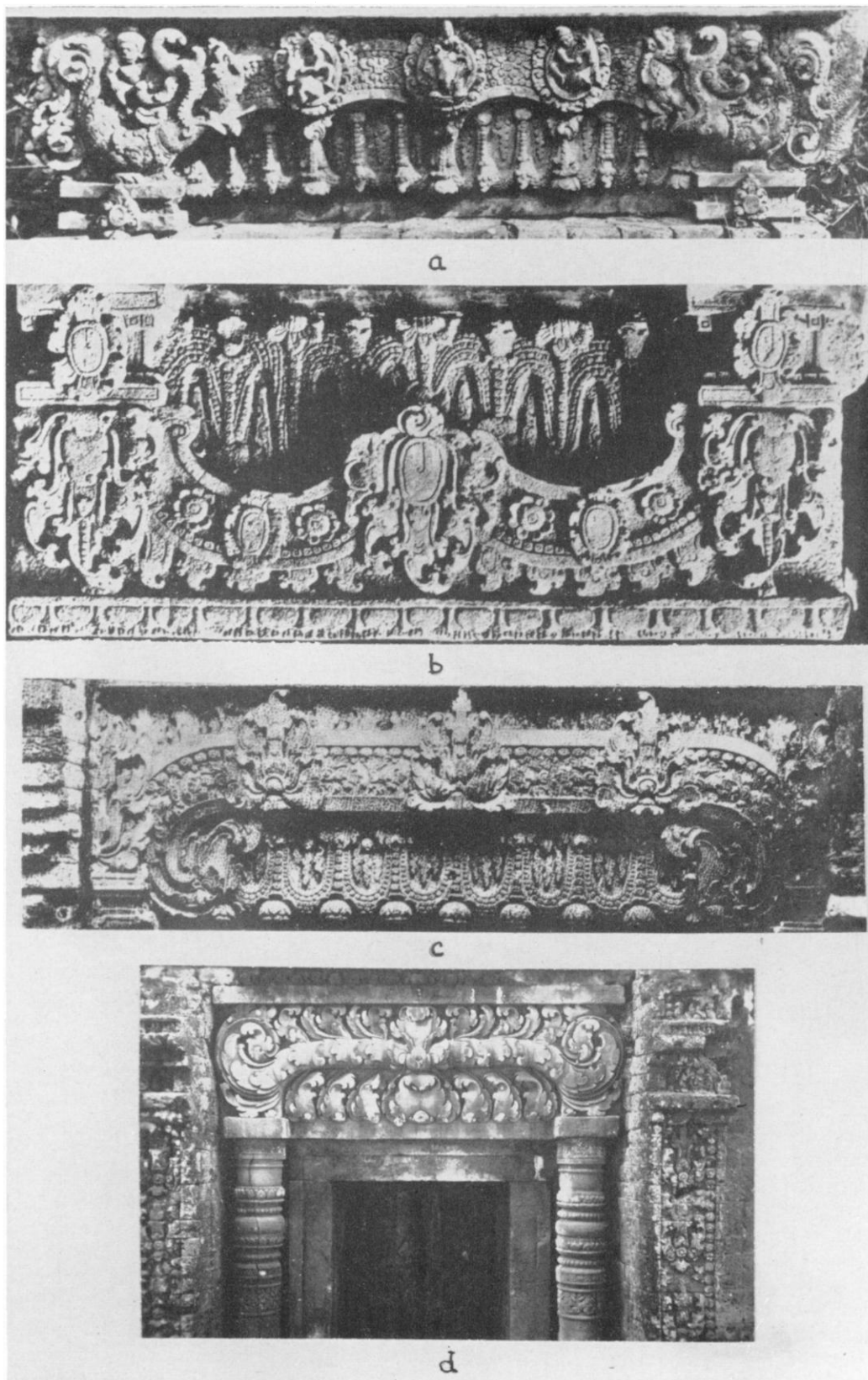


FIG. 6. Lintels of the Chenla Period: *a*. Style of Sambor (Sambor-Prei Kuk, 57); *b*. Style of Prei Khmeng (Phnom Penh Museum); *c*. Style of Prei Khmeng (Phnom Baset) (Courtesy of Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient); *d*. Style of Kompong Preah (Prasat Phum Prasat).

SAMBOR-PREI KUK

The most considerable group attributed to the Chenla period is that of Sambor-Prei Kuk, presumed to be Īśānapura, capital of Īśānavarman, because several inscriptions of that king are found there. These monuments of Sambor-Prei Kuk are divided into three large groups—N, S, and C—and a smaller group, Z. Some of them are placed before the reign of Īśānavarman. One (N 19) is placed by Parmentier in his intermediate group (632, 184). This seems to indicate that the



FIG. 7. Asram Maharosei.

north group, or at least N 19, which is outside of the enclosure, is the oldest. This group possibly belonged to the early capital of Aninditapura. One (S 1) contains two inscriptions of the reign of Īśānavarman. The south group was apparently the Īśānapura of Īśānavarman and S 1 his central sanctuary. One (C 1) is attributed, on its decorations, to the reign of Jayavarman II (301, 128).

This sanctuary—N 19—is undated, but seems to be early. Perhaps, as has been suggested, it belonged to the capital of Bālāditya, King of Aninditapura. It is a small, square, brick edifice, opening to the west. The vault was corbelled and the floor paved with stone. The cuvette of a *somasūtra* is distinguishable. The cornice

contained *kūdus* with heads (fig. 9). The door, not projecting, probably did not have a decorative lintel (630, 1, 79).

Sanctuary S 1 of the South group contains two inscriptions of the reign of Īśānavarman. It is a large, rectangular edifice, resting on a terrace and facing the east. It seems to have consisted of four or five slowly-retreating storeys. The inside was ornamented with

FIG. 8. Hanchey: Cellule, showing *mandapa*, lintel, and colonettes.FIG. 9. Sambor Prei Kuk: N 19, showing *kūdus*.

thin pilasters. The corbelled vault was masked by a ceiling, sustained by some crochets and by a set-off which marked its level. No trace remains of the installation of the idol, which, according to an inscription, was a linga of gold. Between the pilasters appear, probably for the first time in Khmer architecture, reductions of edifice, which hold exactly the place of the appliques of this kind in Cham monuments (fig. 10).

The door presents some unusual features. The colonettes show, as friezes with pendant garlands, a motif entirely original, where birds with very stylized profile

occupy the anses of the garlands. The lintels were of type II, with undulating arch, medallions replaced by lion heads with horned eyes (S door) or *gajasimha* head (N door).² The false doors are framed in stone. Their vantails, formed in the brick, were formerly covered with a coarse chalk mortar and show traces of painting. A rosace shows traces of the attachment of a door ring. The colonettes and lower part of the lintel show traces of red paint (630, 1, 52, 282).

Sanctuary S 2, of the South group contains one of the most perfect *mandapas* found in Cambodia (630, 1, 52-54; 285, 182).

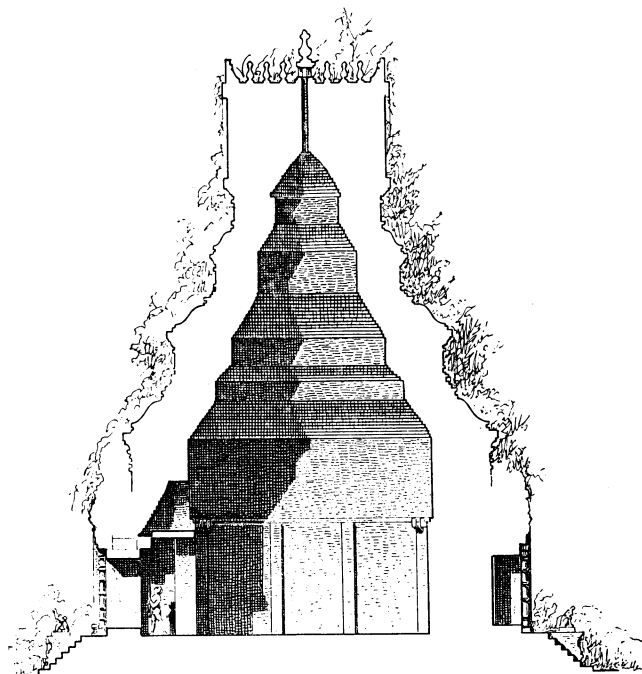


FIG. 10. Sambor-Prei Kuk; S. group: Central tower (cross-section).

PRASAT BAYANG

Prasat Bayang is located on a high and very steep hill which arises in the delta a little to the north and slightly to the east of Chaudoc, in the extreme southern part of the present Cambodia, not far from Angkor Borei. It is reached from the plain by inclines and wandering stairways and, because of the terrain, is oriented to the southeast. The group consists of some entrance halls, which connect the sanctuary with the monumental stairway, a walled enclosure and some annexes. It commands the plain for a great distance and is one of the most imposing structures of early Cambodia.

The temple itself is of brick, slightly rectangular and somewhat larger than most temples of that date—

² On one of these lintels, Mme de Coral Remusat pictures what she believes to be the dance of Siva (301, pl. xxiv, 89), apparently the first appearance of a lintel with scenes.

7.80×10 meters on the outside (630, 2, pl. xxxix). The door is framed by four monolithic slabs of black basalt. The colonettes are round and the decorative lintel of the door is of type II, with five medallions; those of the center and sides contain a bird, the others a fleuron. There are no motifs above the capitals, but, beside the latter, finishing the lintel, are human *nāga* figures, with hoods of five serpent heads. They have a coiffure with storied chignon, large ear buttons, brace-

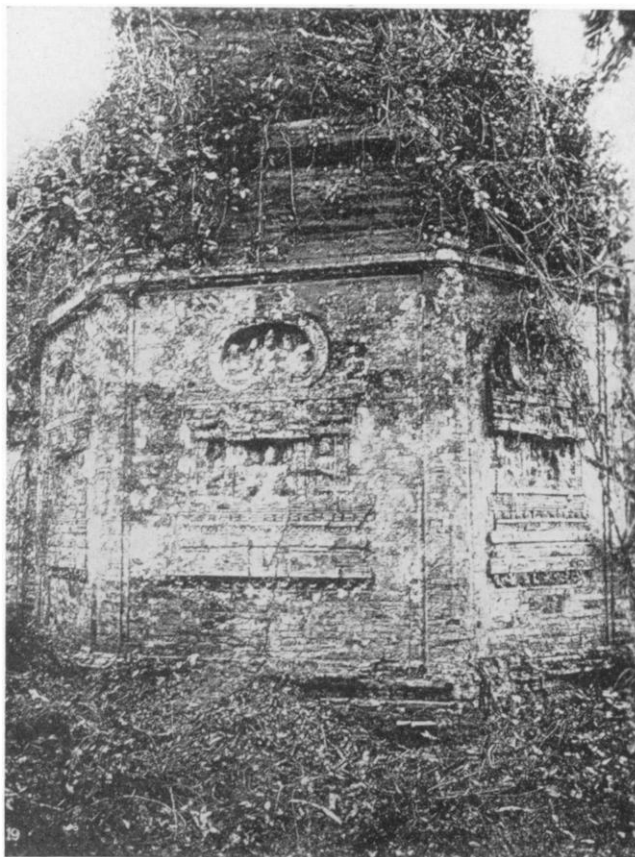


FIG. 11. Sambor-Prei Kuk: octagonal building, showing reductions in edifice.

lets, and the Brahmanic cord in serpent. The false door, redented, reproduces, in brick the decorations of the door. The colonettes of the false doors are also circular, and the lintels are of type I. The interpilasters are decorated with great reductions of edifices with personages. Base and cornice show the ordinary decoration and the pilasters are richly sculptured. The walls of the two upper storeys reproduce on a smaller scale, the ornamentation of the principal storey. The coronation of the monument is almost entire (fig. 12). Stele inscriptions, found in this sanctuary, are dated A.D. 604 and A.D. 624, but the temple is thought to have been dedicated about A.D. 640 by Bhavavarman II.

The temple contains a *mandapa* of brick, but its upper part seems to have been remade of laterite. It was inferior in execution to those of Hanchey and Sambor-

Prei Kuk, N 17. It was provided with *somasūtra* (530, 1, 3-7; 630, 1, 110-112; 588).

BANTEAY PREI NOKOR

As we have seen, Jayavarman I seems to have established his capital at Banteay Prei Nokor, where a group of temples had been built during the Funan period and where Bhavavarman I had built the south temple of the group called Prasat Preah Theat Thom. Jayavarman I seems to have built the central and north-

than the south tower and much more complicated. It is a much-redented brick tower whose inner dimensions are 3.30×3.33 meters. Its base and contour resembled those of some of the Sambor-Prei Kuk group. It has three receding upper stories with *kūdus*. The coronation is missing. A fine colonette of type I, coming from the ruined north temple is now at the Albert Sarraut Museum, Phnom Penh.

The enclosure of Banteay Prei Nokor is the largest and most formidable of which we have any knowledge in pre-Angkorian Cambodia. It was surrounded by a large earthen rampart, probably surmounted by a wooden palisade. The rampart is about 2.50 kilometers square. A moat, about 100 meters wide, surrounded the

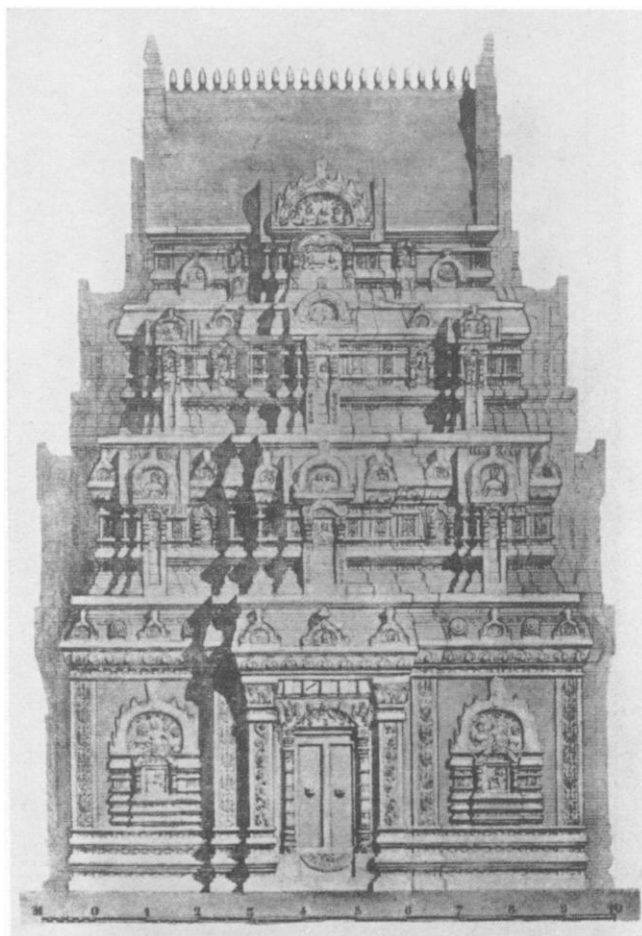
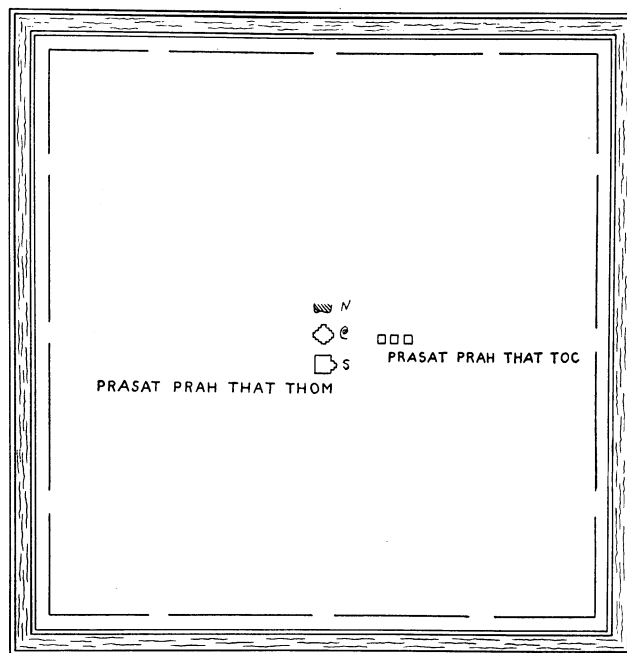


FIG. 12. Prasat Bayang: side view, showing false doors, reduction in edifice and ridge-crest.

ern towers of this group, aligned north-south on the same platform as the south tower, and may have built an enclosure and moat³ with the central temple of this group as a center (plan 1).

Nothing but a shapeless mound remains of the northern tower, the material having been used in the construction of a modern pagoda; but the central tower is fairly well preserved. It differs greatly from the south tower, in plan and appearance. It is slightly smaller

³ The enclosure and moat may have been built later, by Jayavarman II (see p. 82).



PLAN 1. Banteay Prei Nokor.

rampart (630, 1, 204-207; 2, pl. lxxxix-xcii; 530, 1, 134).⁴

EARLY EIGHTH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

In spite of the apparent political disorder of the eighth century, it seems to have been a period of considerable development in architecture. Several sanctuaries of some interest and importance were erected during this period. Prasat Preah Neak Buos, in the north, is dated by an inscription. Others, located at the north of the Great Lake and along the lower Tonle Sap, are dated by their architecture. Prasat Svay Pream and Prasat Prei Khmeng, in the future Angkor region, are considered as belonging to the first years of the eighth century. Prasat Phnom Baset and Prasat Andet, near

⁴ The wall of Angkor Thom is about 3 kilometers square and the moat 100 meters wide.

Phnom Penh, are dated about the middle of that century.

At a point east of Preah Vihear and south of Vat Phu, the Dangkre Mountains, which had been running approximately west-east between what are now Siam and Cambodia, turn abruptly to the north, to form the watershed between the Mekong and its tributary, the Mun. At the extreme southeastern point, called Candanagiri in the inscriptions, on the lower slope of the last projecting cliff, a scarcely-legible inscription (Neak Buos (I)) in Khmer, apparently dated in 622 *śāka* (A.D. 700)⁵ tells of the donation of lands to the temple of Sivapādapūrva (530, 2, 11; 2, 238).

Neak Buos, the temple which Parmentier thinks was erected here at this early date, was a plain rectangular edifice, of laterite and brick, oriented to the west. Its façade is said to recall that of Prasat Baran. Its colonettes were circular, with rings. The lintels were of type II (530, 2, 312; 630, 1, 172). Later, a new ensemble of monuments was erected on this site.

Svay Pream consisted of a group of three ruined brick temples, aligned north-south and oriented to the east. It is located in an earlier Roluos group, some three or four kilometers to the southwest of the later group (p. 84). The Stern-de Coral mission studied this group in 1936. The temples are very ruined, but the lintels show that the central temple belongs to a later period. The lintel of the north sanctuary belongs to the Style of Sambor or a transition from it to the Style of Prei Khmeng; that of the south sanctuary is considered the most beautiful of the latter style. The earliest of these sanctuaries is considered as belonging to the beginning of the eighth century or probably a little earlier. It is probably the oldest existing monument of the Angkor region (530, 1, 262; 707; 709).

In 1932 George Trouvé unearthed Prei Khmeng at the southwest corner of the West Baray. It is an important, though badly crumbled, brick sanctuary with antechamber, on a mound surrounded by a rectangular moat of considerable size, elongated east-west and extending on the east to the site of the West Baray. The prasat is a rectangular cella, with light niches of the primitive type, oriented to the east. A fragment of *somasūtra* indicates that it was dedicated to Śiva (332, 1135–1136).

This prasat, which is believed to be the most ancient existing edifice of this region which is thought later to have become the seat of one of the capitals of Jayavarman II, is dated by its decoration as belonging near the beginning of the eighth century, not long after the end of the reign of Jayavarman I. The lintels are considered by Mme de Coral Rémusat as showing the first steps of the replacement of the *makaras* and figures by motifs of foliage. In the lintel of the principal entrance, the *makaras* are replaced by *gajasimhas* mounted on

human *nāgas* (332, 1136); but those pictured by Mme de Coral Rémusat (301, pl. 13) show complete replacement by foliage.

PRASAT PHNOM BASET

Prasat Phnom Baset, is situated on the north slope of Phnom Baset, between Phnom Penh and Lovek, just south of the latter. It was constructed to shelter an enormous rock, under which is a little natural grotto, and, corresponding to the grotto, it opens to the west. It is a rectangular brick edifice, whose dimensions are 8.45×12 meters. Inside, the room is high and bare. Parmentier thinks it was not vaulted with brick, but covered with light material. Finot thinks the thickness of the walls indicates that it was vaulted.

Outside, the walls were redented and contained a door and three false doors. The door was framed in sandstone. The colonettes were round and decorated with horizontal bands, alternately smooth and sculptured with opposed leaves. The lintel, partly destroyed, was of type II intermediate, ornamented with scrolls of foliage (fig. 9). The interpolasters contained reductions of edifice of two types. The covering of the temple has entirely disappeared (364; 630, 1, 133–135).

This is one of the best known of the early temples. It was very accessible to tourists, unfortunately, and many statues and steles have been carried off to other depositaries, where it is not easy to identify them. Aymonier says that in 1882, he saw there "sculptured debris, altars, pedestals, bas-reliefs representing Śiva on the bull Nandi, Vishnu on Garuda" and that he found, in a pagoda at Phnom Penh, five steles, of which two came from Phnom Baset.

Mme de Coral Rémusat (301, 128) places the decorations of this temple between the middle of the Prei Khmeng period (about 720) and near the end of the Kompong Preah period (about 780). The inscription of Lovek, which was one of the steles seen by Aymonier at Phnom Penh, tells us that, during the latter part of the eighth century, King Rudravarman was reigning at Dvāradapuri, in this vicinity. Perhaps the many shrines which covered the peaks of this group and seem to have constituted a true religious center, were connected with this capital.

PRASAT ANDET

Prasat Andet, near the present city of Kompong Thom, is placed by Mme de Coral Rémusat at the end of the Style of Prei Khmeng (700–750), consequently near the latter date (301, 128). It is a fairly well preserved sanctuary, rising on an artificial hill from which it dominates the surrounding plain. It is of brick, rectangular and very elongated. It is oriented nearly to the east, without entrance hall. The edifice is composed of three slowly-retreating storeys and a terminal vault, apparently ending in two gables, giving the impression of height. The lower storey is redented, with a door

⁵ Parmentier (656, 1, 128, n. 1) quotes Coedès as saying that the inscription thought to be of 674 (76, 380, n. 3) is dated 874.

and false doors, a pilaster on each corner and plaques in projection for reductions of edifices. The door has finely chiselled circular colonettes and a decorative lintel of type II. The false doors are very abnormal, without colonettes or ornamentation. The inner vault was irregularly corbelled, corresponding to the outside.

SCULPTURE: BAS-RELIEFS WITH SCENES

The decorations of the Chenla period consisted chiefly of the sculptures in very low relief, on the colonettes, lintels, frontons, pilasters, and flying palaces.

The dawn of bas-reliefs with scenes appeared at Sambor-Prei Kuk. Mme de Coral Rémusat pictures

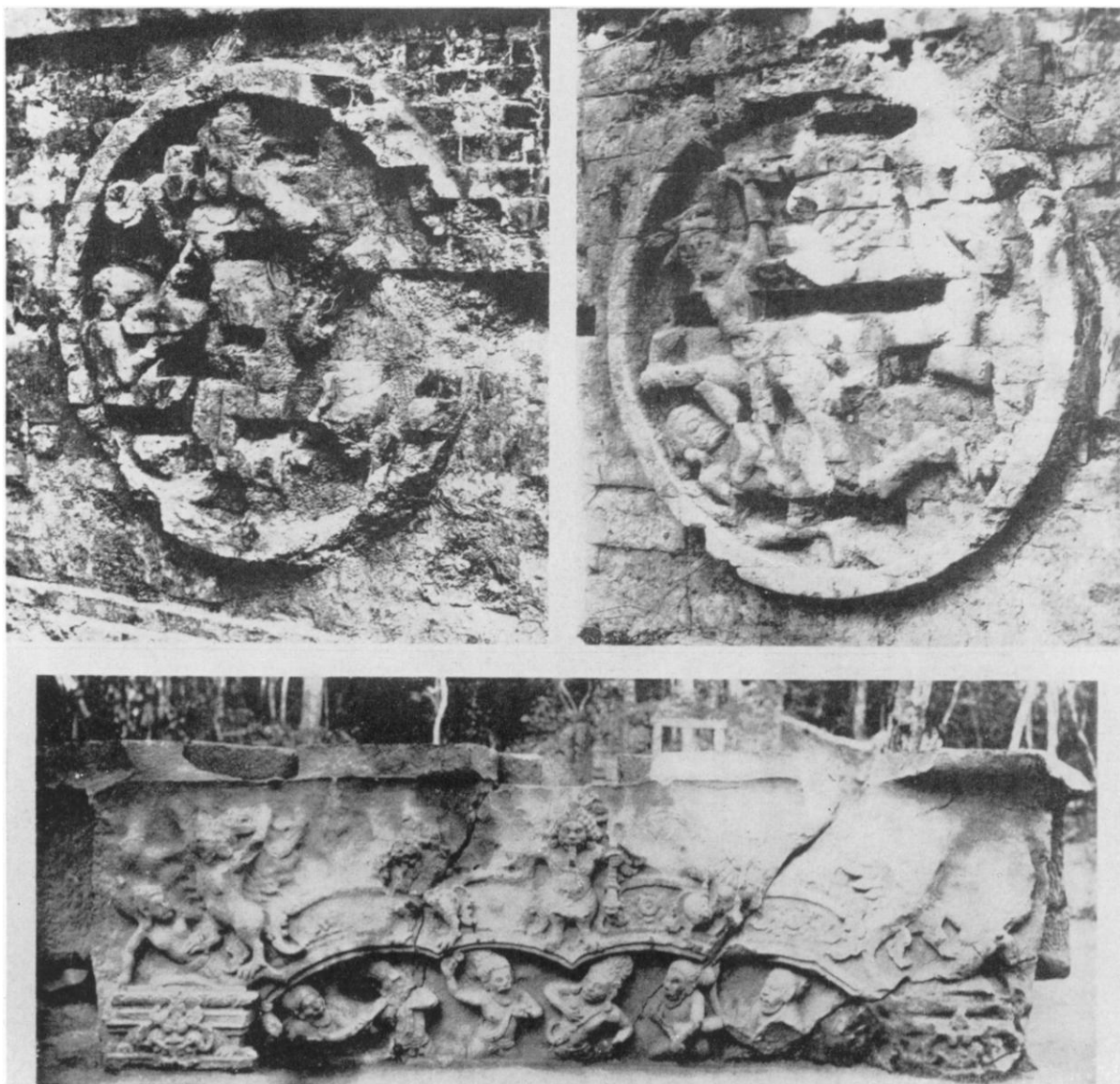


FIG. 13. Sambor-Prei Kuk: bas-reliefs with scenes.

Crochets on the faces show that it was masked by a wooden ceiling. A cuve of ablutions and many interesting pieces were found in this monument, the principal one being a fine statue of Harihara standing (fig. 15c), now found in the Musée Albert Sarraut, Phnom Penh. One of the few coronation stones found near an ancient temple has been found there (630, 1, 156-158; 530, 1, 259-260).

two large circles carved on the wall of the enclosure of the south group, which seems to be most clearly identified with the reign of Īśānavarman I. These circles contain scenes, one representing the combat of two men with a lion, the other a deformed monkey offering a present to a woman. They are crude, but natural. A more ambitious attempt is the scene on the west lintel of the south tower of the same group at

Sambor-Prei Kuk, which under the arch gives a very animated representation of the dance of Śiva (301, 82) (fig. 13c).

These embryonic attempts at bas-reliefs do not seem to have had any tomorrow in Chenla. The rare attempts to follow this lead in the style of Prei Khmeng, lose their naturalness, become conventional, and soon disappear. It is not until much later that we find the true bas-relief which forms such an interesting and important feature of Classic Khmer Art.

EARLIER SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND; FEMININE STATUES

No sculptures of animals in high relief seem to belong to the Chenla period, although animals, real and fantastic, are common in the lintels. The "poodle lions" of Sambor-Prei Kuk belong to a later period.

Many human figures of this period have been found. Those from the delta region, including the Buddhas of Prei Krabas, the Vishṇus with cylindrical mitre, the four-armed woman of Phnom Da, the Lokeśvara of Rachgia, and the Stocklet figure, have been assigned to the art of Funan, regardless of dates. There are other statues, however, which belong indubitably to the Chenla period. These include some small female statues and some images of Harihara, which are among the finest of Khmer art.

Female statues of small size, usually in long, stiff skirts, of which many have been found, seem to be the earliest specimens of the sculpture of the Chenla period. Mme de Coral Rémusat pictures one which she considers of the Style of Sambor (seventh century) (fig. 14).

Their pose, haunched although hardened, recalls the Indian haunchment and, by a survival of the tradition of the Gupta India, the anatomical forms appear under stiff clothing. These are always smooth and the folds of the clothing are almost always indicated by incisions. The faces are full, the eyes prominent, the upper arches sculptured in relief and separated from each other; the thick lips smile an Eginetic smile, very different from that of the Bayon, of the twelfth century. The coiffure is habitually cylindrical, like the coiffures of the statuary of southeastern India of the Pallava epoch (seventh century) (301, 96-97).

LATER SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND: CHARACTERISTICS

All the figures studied up to this time shown a strong Indian influence. Toward the end of the Chenla period, this influence began to grow weaker and local influence appeared. The statues of this period were mostly of Harihara, sometimes of Vishṇu. Buddhist statues do not appear and authentic statues of Brahmā and Śiva are lacking. The representation of the standing Śiva, and to a large degree of Vishnu, are taken from that of Harihara.

Except for some details of facial features and dress,

the principal characteristics of the human statuary of this period were: (1) figures of natural size or larger, (2) arms and legs free, (3) high cylindrical coiffure, and (4) arch of support.

The arch of support, in the form in which it appears here, is peculiar to pre-Angkorean Khmer statuary. Hitherto and elsewhere, when sculptors first began to carve massive figures in the round, they resorted to such subterfuges as (1) supporting the figures against a pillar, (2) enclosing the legs in a long robe, or (3) embedding the feet and lower legs in the stone.



FIG. 14. Woman of Sambor.

Here, a vaulted arch rising from the socle supported the figure, back of the coiffure and the upper arms. Later, supports running from the upper hand to the coiffure were substituted for the arch, and one of the lower hands rested on a staff running to the socle (630, 1, 270-271; 316) (fig. 15d).

STATUES OF HARIHARA

The chief sculptures of this period were statues of Harihara, that curious god, half-Vishṇu, half-Śiva, whose worship characterized seventh century Chenla, particularly the reign of Īśānavarman I. These statues, of sandstone, varied from one to two meters in height, but were generally about the natural size of a man. The upper arms, when not broken, were joined to the arch of support and held the trident of Śiva and the disk or shell of Vishnu. The lower arm on the Śiva side

held the jewel, while on the Vishnu side it rested on the club of Vishnu, which formed part of the support. The coiffure was cylindrical, the *jata* of Śiva on the right. In contrast with most Khmer statues of this period, these statues of Harihara wore no jewelry of any kind.⁶

Many of these statues have been found. Four deserve special mention. The earliest is probably that found at Sambor-Prei Kuk (Īśānapura), capital of Īśānavarman I, now in the Albert Sarraut Museum, Phnom Penh (482, 70, pl. XXII). A classical example

LOKEŚVARA OF RACHGIA

The cult of Lokeśvara does not seem to have been popular during the Chenla period. He is mentioned in only one inscription—a pillar-inscription, probably in reemploy—in the unimportant sanctuary of Prasat Ta Kam, in the Angkor region, dated 791 (68, 61; 6, 2, 373; 394, 235).

The most ancient representation of Lokeśvara found in Cambodia seems to be that found at Rachgia in what is now Cochin China, mentioned by Coomaraswamy as



a. Sambor-Prei Kuk.

b. Asram Maharosei

c. Prasat Andet.

d. Trapeang Phong.

FIG. 15. Harihara.

is that of Asram Maharosei, now at Musée Guimet, Paris (438; 630, 1, 299). The Harihara of Prasat Andet, now at Albert Sarraut Museum, is considered by some to be the most perfect specimen of pre-Angkorean statuary (301, 97; 630, 1, 268). That of Trapeang Phong, now at Musée Finot, Hanoi, is one of the latest and best preserved. It is more crude and its location was more peripheral, thus probably showing the transition from Indian to local influence, which was characteristic of this period. It was found in the sanctuary of Trapeang Phong, in Roluos (Hariharālaya) and may have been the statue after which that early capital of Jayavarman II was named (567, 72) (fig. 15).

⁶ For Harihara showing division and arch of support, see 100, 78-79.

probably of this period. Parmentier thought it was of uncertain origin (624, 291). Finot, who says it is the only image of Lokeśvara known to Primitive Khmer Art, describes it as follows:

The bodhisattva is standing, feet resting on two lotus-flowers. The arms rest on vertical supports. The left hand holds a lotus-bud; the right shows a lotus-flower. The bust is nude, the dhoti pressed to the lower body by a jewelled belt, falls to the knees. The neck is ornamented by a necklace. The ears, with lobes widely distended, carry each a ring, which rests on the shoulder. The coiffure is characterized by a sort of band, which surrounds the forehead and which is decorated, in the front and on the sides, by three large oval plaques. Between the plaques, the hair is rolled in fine curls. On the top of the head is the Buddha Amitabha (394, 238).

A frontal eye is observable (100, 80).

9. THE REIGN OF JAYAVARMAN II BEFORE 802

JAYAVARMAN'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE

Jayavarman II was probably chosen King of the Khmers by the minister or ministers of the beheaded monarch, in accordance with the Mahārāja's instructions to find a suitable person and make him king. No doubt the approval of the Mahārāja was necessary, and Jayavarman seems to have paid a visit of homage to that sovereign's court in Java.

But, in choosing a King of the Khmers, the ministers undoubtedly confined their choice to those having a good claim to the throne. Jayavarman does not seem to have been of the line of Rājendravarman I. "For the prosperity of the people in this perfectly pure royal race, great lotus which no longer has a stalk, he (Jayavarman) rose like a new flower" (Phnom Sandak (I), 75, st. 8-13). According to the Digraphic Inscriptions (76, st. 2), he was a great-grandson, by maternal lines, of Nripatindravarman, King of Aninditapura. We know nothing about his father; but Jayavarman II apparently came from the region of Śambhupura and, according to the inscriptions of Preaḥ Theat Preaḥ Srei (A.D. 770) and Lobok Srot (A.D. 781), a King Jayavarman had been ruling in that region, apparently as a vassal king and probably as a representative of the ancient kings of Śambhupura, whose crown had been taken over by Puṣhkarākṣha.

Early historians of Cambodia seem to have had difficulty in disposing of Mahīpativarman, son and successor of Rājendravarman I. Bergaigne (48, 184) and Aymonier (5, 460, n. 5) identified him wrongly with Jayavarman II. Maspero thought Mahīpativarman had all the rights to the throne, but that he was killed or made prisoner (573, 29). But the inscription of Pre Rup (217, st. 9) says he was king. The Mahārāja seems to have solved the problem of the disposal of this prince.

Nothing is known of any other claimants, but there are other possibilities (see p. 64).

HOW A KING OF CAMBODIA WAS CHOSEN

It is doubtful that it is proper to speak of a right to the throne of Cambodia. Although the King of Cambodia was absolute (even divine, after 802 at least), he was apparently chosen by a Council of Ministers, who had been appointed by his predecessors; but the choice of a new king did not take place until the demise of the old one.

We do not know exactly how a king of Kambujadesa was chosen. But we have the testimony of historians like Moura and Aymonier as to the system in use when the French protectorate was established in 1864, and the scant information we are able to glean from the early inscriptions of the Khmers themselves and from the testimony of their neighbors, seems to accord with that account. This is their account of the way a king was chosen:

It was the custom of a Cambodian king, early in his reign, to name a Yuvarāja, whom he designated as his successor. He generally chose his eldest son, but the choice was not necessarily so restricted. Immediately on the death of a king, the chief minister convoked the Great Council, which consisted, in addition to the ministers,¹ of the chief of the *bakō*, and all the mandarins present in the capital and they all took part in the discussion regarding a successor. After all had participated in the discussion, the chief minister presented his candidate, who was generally—but not necessarily—the Yuvarāja. The other ministers, in their hierarchical order, voted "yes" or "no." Only the ministers could vote. If the first candidate did not receive a majority, the minister next in rank presented a candidate to be voted on in the same way. This was continued until a successor was chosen; but the council could not dissolve without choosing a king. The choice was immediately proclaimed by the chief minister as "uncrowned king," so that the country would not be without a legitimate king. The coronation took place later.

In choosing a King of Cambodia, the only test of eligibility was that the candidate must be a member of the royal family; i.e., a descendant of a king to, but not including, the fifth generation. If there was no male candidate, a princess could be chosen under the same conditions. In case of failure of candidates of the royal family, a king could be chosen from among the eight ranking members of the *bakō*; but there is no record of a failure of male heirs (600, 1, 235-236; 6, 1, 55-57).

The kings now ruling in Cambodia claim to be descended through the early dynasties from their eponymous ancestor. The *bakō*—members of a clan said to be descended from the royal chaplains of the ancient Angkorean kings, whose hereditary task it is to keep the Sacred Sword and to preserve the ancient customs, claim they have guarded these customs since time immemorial (743, 181). Perhaps the Mahārāja had an ancient Khmer custom in mind when he asked the Khmer minister to find a suitable candidate and have him chosen king. As we have seen, the genealogists of the early inscriptions—Tasar Moroy, digraphic, Mebon—always bring their candidate within the fifth degree of relationship of the king to which they wish to attach him.

DATE OF JAYAVARMAN II'S RETURN FROM JAVA

The date at which Jayavarman II came from Java to rule over Kambuja is an uncertain point, which is full of possibilities. Many inscriptions say that he established his capital on Mount Mahendra in 802. But he had reigned in three other capitals before that, one of which he is said to have *founded*. Apparently, he was

¹ The number of ministers is now five. Formerly, it was four.

searching for a satisfactory capital and his stay in each of these places was transient. Presuming that Jayavarman II came from Java about 790 and was twenty years of age at the time, he would have been eighty years of age at the time of his death in 850. This is purely speculative, but it is evident that the year 790 is about as far back as it is reasonable to push the date of his coming.² This would give him twelve years to reside in the three capitals and arrive at the fourth—which is more than sufficient when it is evident that none of them satisfied the conditions he was seeking.

In 1904 Coedès created a Jayavarman I *bis* to satisfy the exigencies of the inscriptions of Preah Theat Preah Srei and Lobok Srot (p. 60). In 1928, on the belief that Jayavarman II's reign ended in 854, instead of 869 as was formerly supposed, Finot emitted the opinion that this Jayavarman I *bis* should be suppressed (406, 45). Even Coedès conceded that the date 781 was not too early to assign to Jayavarman II (139, 119). A recently-discovered inscription (p. 94) seems to place Jayavarman II's death in 850. In that case, Jayavarman II would have died at eighty years of age. This still leaves us in the dark regarding the Jayavarman of the inscription of 770, which is the date of Jayavarman II's supposed birth. A Jayavarman I *bis* is still necessary.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION: FAMILY OF SIVAKAIVALYA

No inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman II tell anything about his reign, and Chinese dynastic histories are mute on the subject. Our information is gained almost entirely from inscriptions of later date, and particularly from that of Sdok Kak Thom, dated about 1052. This inscription records the religious foundations of priestly family—that of Śivakaivalya—which held the hereditary position of *hotar* (royal chaplain) and *purohita* (chief priest) of the *devarāja* for two and a half centuries, from 802 to 1052. Incidentally, the inscription gives a list of kings and a brief chronicle of their reigns during that period. As is customary with Cambodian inscriptions after 802, these kings are called by their posthumous names.

On his return from Java (some time before 802), Jayavarman took as *hotar* a wise *guru* named Śivakaivalya, who seems at the time to have been in charge of a Śivalinga, which he had erected at the *sruk* (village) of Bhadrāyogi, in the *vijaya* (district) of Indrapura. The family of Śivakaivalya came originally from the *sruk* of Śatagrāma in Aninditapura. The *kurung* (king) of Bhavapura had given them a piece of land in Indrapura and there they had founded the *sruk* of Bhadrāyogi³ and erected a Śivalinga (358, st. 59–61; 741, st. 59–61).

² In a later article (202, 42), Coedès places the date of the coming of Jayavarman II, at "about 800." The evidence seems to favor a date for his coming not much before 800.

³ These locations are probably not far from the fork of the Mekong-Tonle Sap.

JAYAVARMAN II REIGNED FIRST AT INDRAPURA

"Then His Majesty Paramesvara⁴ came from Java to be *kurung* in the holy city of Indrapura. The *steng an*⁵ Śivakaivalya, wise ancestor, was the *guru*,⁶ was the *rājapurohita*⁷ of His Majesty Paramesvara" (741, st. 61–64). Finot, who edited the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, thought Indrapura was undoubtedly a little principality, situated in the vicinity of the Great Lake, and that Jayavarman II extended his kingdom progressively, to include the adjoining regions (358, 58). But Coedès, with apparently good reasons (139, 117–120; 202, 42), has located it on the eastern side of the Mekong,⁸ between the present sites of Phnom Penh and Kratié, and suggests the old capital of Banteay Prei Nokor,⁹ not too far from the site of the inscriptions of Jayavarman I *bis* of Śambhupura. If Jayavarman II was a native of Śambhupura, which seems probable, it is reasonable to think that he chose a capital near his old home (map 8).

The reasons for thinking that Jayavarman II came from the region of Sambor, include the following: (1) He or/and Jayavarman I *bis* (who was possibly his father), is mentioned in the inscriptions of 770 and 781, which come from this region (p. 60); (2) he chose as his first capital Indrapura, mentioned by inscriptions of Lolei and Phum Mien as in this region (139, 117–118); (3) the inscription of Ta King (Sambor) says the hereditary servants of the god of Śambhupura were relatives of Jayavarman II (140, 132); (4) the Khmer inscription of Theat Kuk Prasat at Sambor says four of Jayavarman II's relatives built the gates of the temple of Sambor (6, 1, 307); (5) the inscription of Vat Tasar Moroi, Sambor, dated 803, shows that the custom of giving a posthumous name to a king after his death, which became general in Kambujadesa after the reign of Jayavarman II, existed at Śambhupura at the very beginning of his reign; (6) the inscription of Preah Theat Kvan Pir, in this region, gives the first example in Cambodian history of a king identifying himself with a god, as in the worship of the *devarāja*, introduced by Jayavarman II, and (7) the

⁴ Posthumous name of Jayavarman II.

⁵ *Steng an* seems to have been a religious title. It is the Khmer term equivalent to the Sanskrit *Deva*. On leaving the religious life, it seems to have become *Kamsteng an* (741, 95, n. 1, -66).

⁶ The regular definition of *guru* is teacher; but, in ancient Cambodia, the *guru* appears to have had additional functions; e.g., sometimes he seems to have been a sort of chief architect.

⁷ The term *rājapurohita* is used only twice, as far as known in Khmer epigraphy. It seems to be applied to laics. It was applied to Śivakaivalya, first *purohita* of the *devarāja*, before he entered the service of that deity, and to Jayendrapandita, last *purohita* of the *devarāja* mentioned in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, after he left that service (pp. 151, 169).

⁸ The location of Robang Romās suggests that part of Indrapura was on the west side of the Mekong.

⁹ Possibly Jayavarman II built the wall and most of Banteay Prei Nokor. Madrolle (534, xviii) continued to call it Bhavapura, but located Indrapura near by.

inscription of Tūol Kuk Prasat, Sambor, says that, at the very beginning of the reign of Jayavarman II, the *devarāja* (which was installed on Mount Mahendra in 802) was already adored at Śambhupura under the very name of *Vrah Kamrateng an ta raja* (163, 48).

Coedès identifies Jayavarman II with the dynasty of Śambhupura and thinks that, during the eighth century, that dynasty probably represented the "legitimate" in Chenla (140, 132). By that, he probably means they were the legitimate successors of Jayavarman I. The demise of Mahīpativarman probably extinguished the line of Rājendravarman and Jayavarman I. So Jayavarman II probably came back from Java to rule in his native region. He may have claimed through a collateral line—through a maternal ancestor who was a sister of Puṣhkarāksha or through his father, whose ancestry is unknown, but who apparently was connected with the Śambhupura dynasty. Whatever his ancestry, genealogists of later reigns have provided him with a genealogy which meets all the exigencies of long-standing customs.

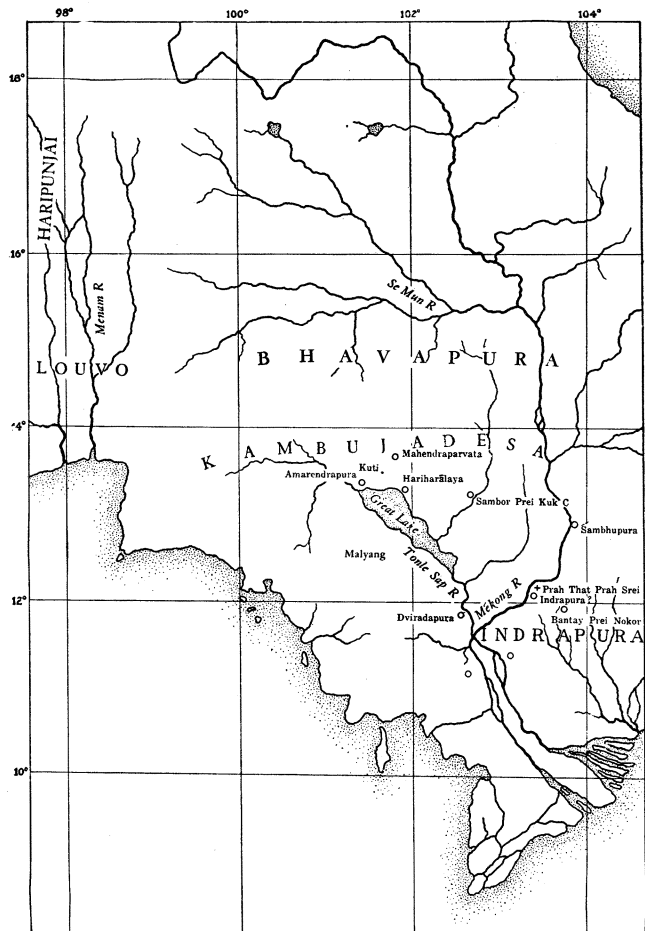
EARLY WARS OF JAYAVARMAN II

The inscriptions (pp. 60–61) and monuments (pp. 77–78, 86–87) assigned to the last years of the eighth century and the first few years of the ninth are found in the Mekong valley above the forks, in the valley of the Tonle Sap and in the "V" between the water-basins. Jayavarman, it seems, did not, at first at least, have control of Upper Chenla, or even of all of Lower Chenla,¹⁰ but he seems to have begun the conquest of Lower Chenla soon after his return. This he did not accomplish without trouble. Little is known of this; but, according to a later inscription (Palhal, 1069), he seems to have begun the conquest when he was reigning at Indrapura. The regions of Vyādhapura (Ba Phnom) and Vrai krapai (Angkor Borei?) seem to have been friendly to him. Two brothers—apparently of this region—were Śivakaivalya¹¹ and Śivavinduka. Jayavarman married their younger sister, the *svāminī* Hyang Amritā. Jayavarman "charged the principal mandarins to pacify all the district." Malyang, to the northwest, southwest of the Great Lake, in the southern part of the present Battambang (147, 80, n. 1), seems to have been the center of resistance. The great mandarin, Prithivīnarendra, "burning like fire the enemy troops," accompanied by Śivakaivalya and Śivavinduka, went to Malyang and reduced the country. The people were compelled to pay a perpetual tribute. Prithivīnarendra solicited a piece of land for these two brothers, apparently in this region which they had helped to

conquer, and later (812), the king granted it to them (130 st. 4, 11–17).

SIVAKAIVALYA ESTABLISHED HIS FAMILY AT KUTI

"Then His Majesty Paramesvara came from Indrapura. The *steng an* Śivakaivalya came in the capacity of *Kandvara homa*¹² for the royal service. His Majesty ordered to bring all his family, with women and chil-



MAP 8. Kambujadesa, showing capitals of Jayavarman II.

dren. When they arrived at the *visaya* of Pūrvadiśa, His Majesty gave orders to grant him a piece of land, to establish a *sruk* called Kuti and to assign it to him as residence" (741, 62–64).

The ancient *visaya* of Pūrvadiśa lay to the east of the Siemreap river, near the southwest corner of the later East Baray. The three temples of Kutiśvara marked the site of the *sruk* of Kuti. This seems to have been the first Khmer settlement in the immediate vicinity of the later Angkor. The temples have been excavated and positively identified (385; 139, 119–121; 564). Coedès thinks a souvenir of the name Kuti may

¹⁰ Dupont thinks Upper Chenla (which he calls Bhavapura) was not a part of the Khmer Empire until the reign of Rājendravarman II (p. 123).

¹¹ Coedès, gives several reasons why this Śivakaivalya is not identical with the dignitary of that name who was later made *purohita* of the *devarāja* (741, 106, n. 3).

¹² The meaning of this term is unknown (741, 107).

be found in that of the neighboring later temple of Banteay Kdei (202, 42).

JAYAVARMAN II MOVED HIS CAPITAL TO HARIHARĀLAYA

"Then His Majesty was *kurung* on the site of the royal city of Hariharālaya. The *steng an Śivakaivalya* resided also in this city. As for his family, they were made pages of the King" (741, st. 65-66).

These changes of capital were undoubtedly motivated by two desires: (1) to find a place more difficult of access and more easily defensible against the Mahārāja and the piratical attacks of his marauding Malays, as well as against internal enemies; (2) to find a suitable eminence for the location of his tower-temple, which he had already apparently conceived, and to establish there a royal god, or *devarāja*, which idea he may have borrowed from Java (139, 117), in imitation of the Central Mountain and temple of Śiva on Mount Kailasa. So, he went far up the Tonle Sap and the Great Lake to Hariharālaya (believed by Aymonier to have been the Preaḥ Khan, a group of sanctuaries, just northeast of the present Angkor Thom (6, 3, 469-470), but now positively identified by an inscription as the site of the later Roluos¹³ group of monuments (139, 121-122)—a little to the southwest of Angkor. Here a food supply was guaranteed by the proximity of the Great Lake and its abundance of fish and by its location in the rice-yielding flood-plain of the Great Lake.

Hariharālaya, "the abode of Harihara," seems to have been in existence before Jayavarman II made his capital there, as it is not said that he *founded* it and it draws its name from a divinity, in great favor during the early Chenla period, but whose worship seems to have been already declining. This region seems to have been a part of Cakrankapura (Chikring), one of the "kingdoms" conquered by Īśānavarman I early in his reign and where the ruins of temples of an earlier date—Svay Pream, Prei Prasat, Trapeang Phong Prasat Olak—have been found (202, 42; 707).¹⁴

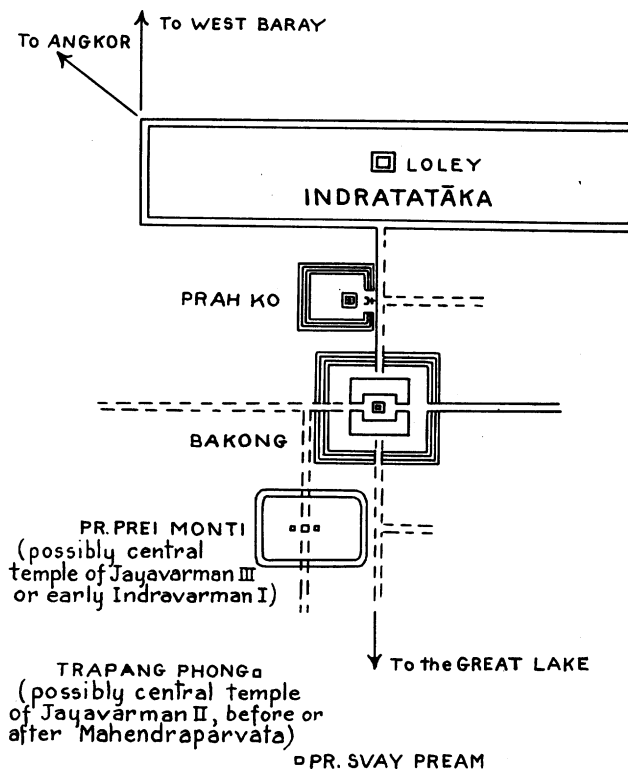
The exact location of the capital and temple of Jayavarman II is uncertain. Coedès points out that the two stages of development of the temple of Trapeang Phong correspond to the two sojourns of Jayavarman II at Hariharālaya and suggest possible locations of the city, one of which was the site of the later temple of Preaḥ Kō (202, 45) (see plan 2).

Trapeang Phong is the name given to a group of four sanctuaries, arranged more or less in form of a square, in old Roluos, near Svay Pream, three or four kilometers southwest of Bakong. Lunet de Lajonquière

¹³ Coedès thinks we may find an echo of the name (Hariha)-rālaya in the name Roluos (139, 121).

¹⁴ Inscriptions at Ak Yom and Phnom Bakheng (634, 64-66) indicate the existence of earlier temples in the Angkor region, which have disappeared.

knew the principal temple and described it under the name of Kuk Prasat (530, 3, 264-265), and Parmentier mentioned it in 1935 under the name of Kuk Prasat, or Prei Prasat (634, 66). The three older temples were a formless ruin, until 1936, when Lagisquet excavated them. Stern thinks their foundations, pilasters, and some statues, lintels and colonettes, link them with the style of Kompong Preaḥ, in the latter part of the eighth century (707, 183).



PLAN 2. Hariharālaya.

JAYAVARMAN FOUNDED THE CITY OF AMARENDRAPURA

Then H. M. Parameśvara went to establish the royal city of Amarendrapura. The *steng an Śivakaivalya* went also to reside in that city in order to serve H. M. Parameśvara. He asked a piece of land of H. M. Parameśvara near Amarendrapura and founded there the *sruk* of Bhavālaya. He brought some of his relatives from the *sruk* of Kuti to establish them there. He gave (these) relatives to a brahman named Gaṅgādhara, founded a Śivalinga and assigned it to some serfs (741, st. 66-69).

Groslier has written a learned article to prove that Amarendrapura was located in the district of Amoghapura (a district which he thought corresponded roughly to the present Battambang) in a region now barren and almost deserted, far to the northwest of Angkor, in the foothills of the Dangrek Mountains. He made much of the fact that Amarendrapura was the only capital founded by Jayavarman II, and thought the great tem-

ple, or monastery, of Banteay Chhmar,¹⁵ which in magnitude and magnificence ranked with Angkor Wat among Khmer temples, represented the capital of Jayavarman (471). Aymonier had presented this theory (6, 3, 470). But recent investigations have shown that this great sanctuary belongs to a much later period of architecture and that the architecture of Jayavarman II, like those of Funan and Chenla, consisted mainly of wood and brick edifices of which little except the ruins remain.

Recent studies in the archeology and epigraphy of that region tend to locate Amarendrapura in the immediate vicinity of the present Angkor Thom region, on the south dike of the West Baray, near the western end (291, 48-49; 202, 43). Here Jayavarman II constructed and consecrated to a linga under the vocable of Gambhiresvara a three-staged, five-towered pyramid-temple, the forerunner of the Khmer terrace temple of the *devarāja*, which culminated in the famous Vishnuite temple of Angkor Wat. Although Jayavarman II is said to have founded his capital there, the region was not new, as inscriptions found in the temple of Ak Yom, undoubtedly in reemploy, are dated in 609 and 704 (634, 65-66; 291, 48-50; 202, 43), and the neighboring temple of Prei Khmeng is dated by its architecture and decoration as belonging to the very beginning of the eighth century (301, 117) (plan 3).

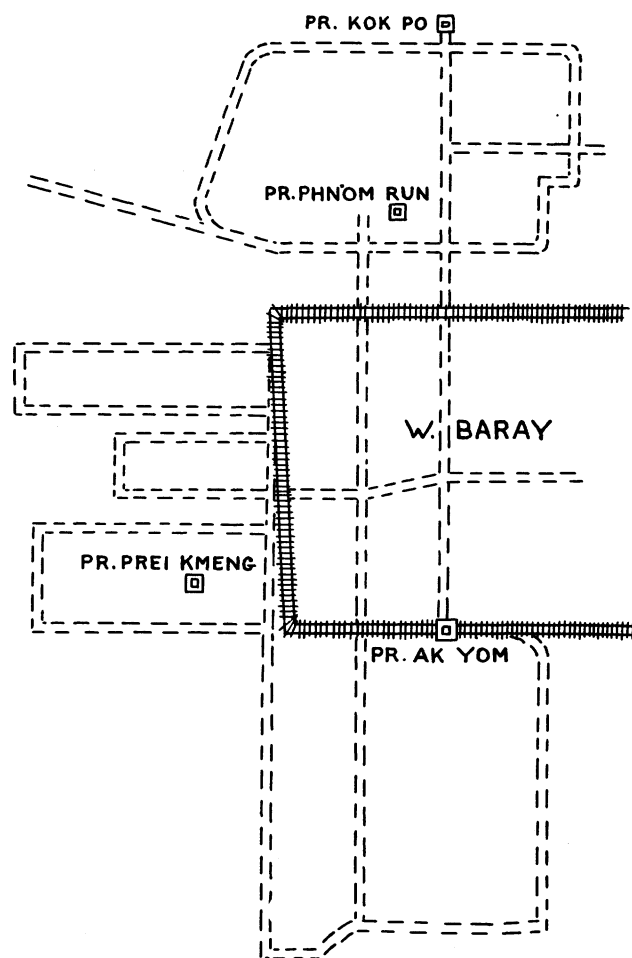
PRASAT AK YOM

In 1932 was discovered, embedded in the south dike of the West Baray near its southwest corner, about twelve miles southwest of the Bayon and due west of Phnom Bakheng and almost cornering the enclosure of Prasat Prei Khmeng a monument different from any hitherto found in Funan or Chenla. This monument known as Ak Yom, one of the largest in pre-Angkorian Khmer Art, consisted of a pyramid in three terraces, with five sanctuaries on the upper terrace, the central one elevated a little and larger than the others. The lower terrace is of earth, with a retaining wall, while the two upper ones are of brick.

Several inscriptions on the doors of the central temple indicate that a temple, dedicated to Gambhiresvara, "the god of the depths," had been constructed there at a much earlier date. Two of these inscriptions, dated 609 and 704, were doubtless in reemploy. The present pyramid-temple—the forerunner of the later Khmer "mountain-temple" (703)—was doubtless built by Jayavarman II in the later years of the eighth century. Its round columns and its lintel place it in the last stage of pre-Angkorean art (291, 48-50; 301, 47-48, 128). A linga was found in the debris and a well, extending from the pedestal in the central temple to the level of the surrounding terrain, twelve meters deep. Information is lacking for a more exact description of this

interesting monument (332, 530-531; 191; 288, 204; 634, 65-66; 291, 48-49).

Coedès is inclined to identify this region—Prasat Prei Khmeng, Vat Khna, Kōk Pō, Ak Yom, etc.—with the city of Amarendrapura, capital founded by Jayavarman, just before he established his capital at Mahendraparvata on Phnom Kulen (291, 48-49; 274, 125-126). Stern thinks it must have been either Amarendrapura or Indrapura (291, 49).



PLAN 3. Amarendrapura.

JAYAVARMAN SEARCHES FOR A NEW CAPITAL

Amarendrapura does not seem to have satisfied Jayavarman's requirements for a new capital and he continued the search. He seems to have started building simultaneously at Hariharālaya, at the old capital of Īśānapura and on Phnom Kulen. The north sanctuary of Prasat Prei Prasat, the main sanctuary of the central group of Sambor-Prei Kuk, and Prasat Damrei Krap on Mount Kulen are of very closely related styles and are considered by Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat as the earliest monuments of the Style of Kulen (301, 128), the beginning of the transition to Classical Khmer Art.

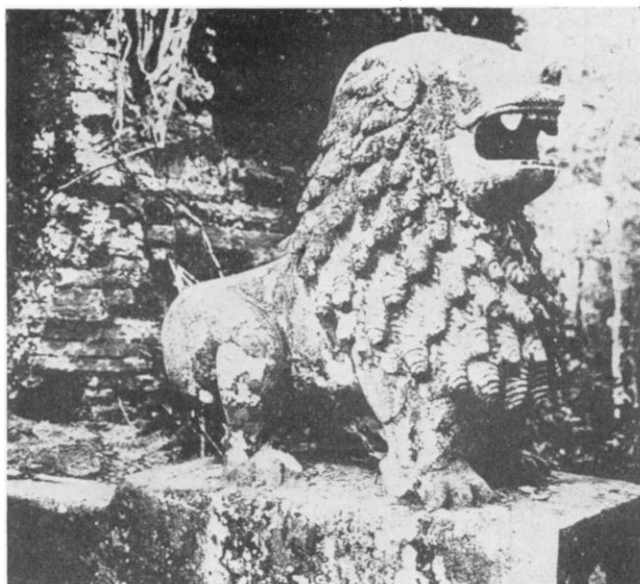
¹⁵ For a description of Banteay Chhmar, see pp. 225-227.

Perhaps, for a time, Jayavarman alternated his capital between these three places and Amarendrapura.

MONUMENTS: SAMBOR C I; DAMREI KRAP;
PRASAT PREI PRASAT

The principal monument of the central group of Sambor-Prei Kuk differs from the other monuments

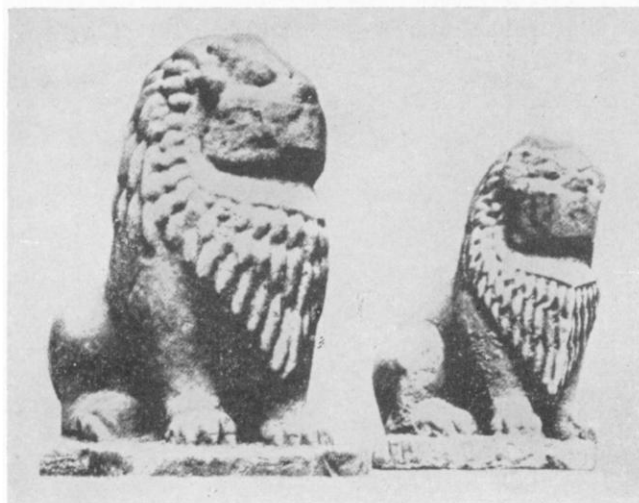
The foundation is said to resemble those of Java. Inside, the temple consists of a single rectangular cella, with corbelled vault. The storeys, now covered with vegetation, appear to have been steep. The dimensions, 8.35×5.56 meters, make it one of the largest temples of this early period. Its colonettes are octagonal, like those of Kulen. Their galb, with filet and fleurons,



a.



c.



b.

FIG. 16. Lions (early): a. Sambor, C, 1; b. Kulen; c. Phnom Bakheng.

of that ancient city (pp. 74-75), both in architecture and in decoration, and is considered to be of a later date. It is a rectangular brick edifice, oriented toward the east and surrounded by two nearly square enclosures. It is on a little mound and on both sides stone stairways lead up to the door or the false door. On both sides of each stairway are seated peculiar little lions, which have been called "poodle lions" (fig. 16a).

show them intermediate between those of the Style of Kompong Preah and those of the Style of Kulen. The lintels are of types II and II intermediate, with garlands and pendeloques. The little lions and the bracket-shaped stones at the bottom of the stairways herald the lion of the Style of Kulen (630, 1, 49-50; 705, 139-141).

Near the extreme southern edge of Mount Kulen

(plan 4), not far to the north and a little west of Beng Mealea, is Prasat Damrei Krap, apparently the first important building of Jayavarman II's great capital and religious center, Mahendraparvata. This monument consists of three brick prasats, and an enclosure, aligned north-south and open to the east. The central prasat, the only one ever completed, is in a good state of preservation. It is a square cella with a high vault, irregularly corbelled. Its three retreating upper storeys give it considerable height. Some of the colonettes of the door and false doors are circular, some are octagonal. The lintels are of type 1. The resemblance between this monument and those of Cham architecture, particularly the towers of Hoa-lai, in what is now southern Annam (612, 2, 534-536), are striking (630, 1, 151). On this subject, Stern says:

The relationship between Prasat Damrei Krap and the Cham monuments is more striking than can be imagined. Certainly, the decoration in sandstone (lintels, colonettes, statues) remain Khmer but even in this decoration light Cham influences infiltrate (knee spread of seated figures, monster and perhaps nāga of the lintels) but the edifice itself and its decoration on brick are Cham. Disposition of pilasters on walls, tripartite divisions of corner pilasters, appliques at the base of the pilasters, cornices and ornaments of cornices with Atlantes analogous to the garudas of Hoa-lai, expanded from the top of the pilasters of the first storey, wavy form of the frontons with internal and external roll, great colonettes of brick of special profile at the false doors . . . , all these elements are Cham, completely, totally Cham. One has the impression of a sanctuary built and decorated by a Cham architect, in which were inserted Khmer elements of decoration in sandstone, undoubtedly sculptured by Khmer sculptors according to the Khmer tradition (705; 136-137).

Prasat Prei Prasat, in the Roluos group has recently been studied. No adequate description of it is available; but its lintels and colonettes seem to assign the principal sanctuary to this period (707; 301, 128; 634, 66).

BRONZE FIGURES OF AK YOM

Recently (since 1933) several bronze statuettes have been excavated at Ak Yom. The oldest parts of this

temple are thought to date from the sixth century and the figures are assigned to the sixth or seventh century. Marchal lists, as now in the Musée Louis Finot, Hanoi, two statuettes of a Brahmanic divinity, four of Lokeśvara and one of the bodhisattva Maitreya. They are all blackened or covered with verd-de-gris, more or less corroded and broken.

The two Brahmanic divinities are primitive and are dated from the earliest days of the temple. They are standing—one very strongly haunched, the other not haunched. The two fore-arms, when not broken, are projected in front, but the attributes held by them are indistinct. The torso is bare; but in one, it is covered with jewelry, necklaces and bracelets. The lower part of the body is draped with a skirt, which extends to the ankles. The hair is coiffed in a conical, pointed chignon (567, 101-102).

The statuettes of Lokeśvara vary in height from about four and one-half to fourteen inches. They are all standing, slender, arms projected in front and, as far as can be distinguished, hold a lotus bud in the right hand and a flask in the left. The bust is naked, and a skirt is draped simply around the lower part of the body to the ankles or the knees. The hair is generally coiffed in a high cone, with the figurine of the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitabha always in the center in front (567, 91-92, 96-97). They are all assigned to the sixth-seventh centuries.

Maitreya is represented by a statuette about fourteen inches high, standing. It has four arms, but the fore-arms are broken and the attributes have disappeared. The torso is naked, very thin and slightly haunched. The skirt falls to the knees. The hair is coiffed in a very high conical chignon, stupa motif, from which curls of hair fall on each side. "The nose is straight and thin, the eyes well opened and turned a little toward the temples. The lips are very thick and the chin is receding" (567, 99).

III. THE KAMBUJA, OR ANGKOR, PERIOD (802-1432)

Jayavarman II established his capital on Mount Mahendra and declared his independence of Java in 802. Then, for more than six hundred years, the capital of the independent Khmer Empire was in the vicinity of the present Angkor.

No inscription of Jayavarman II has come to light; but, from the inscriptions of later reigns, it appears that, at the beginning of his reign, he proclaimed himself King of the Kambuja, of the Sūryavamsa, or Solar line of Kambu-Merā (131). It was during his reign that the name Kambuja appeared for the first time in an inscription of Champa—Po Nagar (II), A.D. 817 (535, 3, 61-64)—and one of his queens carried the significant title of Kambujalakshmi. His successors

called him, "the guardian of the honor of the Solar race of Sri Kambu" (161, st. 20).

An inscription of the reign of Indravarman I (73, st. 3) speaks of that king as "sovereign of the Kambuja." This seems to be the first appearance of that term in Cambodian epigraphy. But after Jayavarman II the expressions "Kambujendra" (supreme King of the Kambuja) and "Kambujeśvara" became part of the official title of the Kings of the Kambuja (131) and at one time, Yaśovarman I gave the name "Kambupuri" to his capital, Yaśodharapura (79, 60, A st. 21).

For these reasons, we have called the period A.D. 802-1432, the Kambuja, or Angkor, Period of Cambodian history.

1. JAYAVARMAN II AND JAYAVARMAN III (802-877)

JAYAVARMAN II FOUNDED HIS CAPITAL ON MOUNT MAHENDRA

The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom continues: "Then H. M. Parameśvara went as *kurung* on Mahendraparvata and the *steng an* Sivakaivalya went also to reside in this city for the service of His Majesty, as it had been already established" (741, st. 70).

Mount Mahendra was identified by Aymonier with Phnom Kulen, (at the source of the Siemreap river, a little to the northeast of the present Angkor Thom)—the mountain which supplied most of the stone for those great monuments. This is the only early identification which has stood the test of time. Aymonier thought, however, that there were no adequate ruins on top of the hill and believed the city to have been located actually at the foot of the hill, near the ruins of the magnificent temple of Beng Mealea (p. 185) and only by fiction on top of the hill (6, 1, 466; 6, 3, 470-471). But this temple, like Preah Khan and Banteay Chhmar, has been proven to be of a much later period of architecture.

Recent excavations have brought to light a number of temples and several statues on the *summit* of Phnom Kulen, many of them dating back to the reign of Jayavarman II, including the central pyramid-temple and its linga (plan 4). This is strictly in accordance with the text of the inscriptions (161, st. 19; 75, st. 12). The palace, of course, was chiefly of wood and has disappeared.

THE OLD AND NEW CHRONOLOGIES

Until recently it was believed that some of the great monuments of Cambodia—Preah Khan, Banteay Chhmar, Beng Mealea—were built by Jayavarman II to mark the sites of his successive capitals—Hariharā-

laya, Amarendrapura, and Mahendraparvata. Aymonier first made these identifications (6, 3, 469-470) and, until a few years ago, they were accepted as articles of faith. The Bayon was later added to the list. But in 1927 there appeared a little volume which was the first blow in the shattering of the old chronology. Philippe Stern, Conservator of the Indo-Chinese Museum of the Trocadero, Paris, who had never been to Cambodia, by a close study of the styles of architecture, sculpture, and decorations, proved satisfactorily that these monuments could not have followed immediately after Primitive Khmer Art and assigned them to much later dates (698).

The destructive part of Stern's thesis met with almost immediate universal acceptance; but his attempts to fix later dates were not so satisfactory. Almost immediately, Coedès, who had been nursing somewhat similar ideas, published a series of articles (138; 139; 143), which fixed the dates of most of the monuments in question and definitely established the capitals of Jayavarman II, with the exception of Amarendrapura. Since then, the researches of Coedès, Goloubew, Parmentier, Marchal, and others have done much to establish a new chronology, while other studies, particularly the excavations of the Mission Stern-de Coral at Phnom Kulen and Roluous in 1936 and the Mission Pierre Dupont at Phnom Kulen in 1937, have revealed a new city on Phnom Kulen and an art transitional between Primitive, or pre-Angkorean, Khmer Art and the art of the later Classical Period (737).

THE PYRAMID-TEMPLE OF RONG CHEN

In order properly to house his royal linga—symbol of sovereignty—Jayavarman erected a pyramid-temple. He had perhaps observed this form of worship and this type of temple in Java and had started to build such

a temple at Amarendrapura before locating his capital on Mahendraparvata. The terraced pyramid was intended to symbolize Mount Meru, the abode of the gods, center of the universe in Hindu cosmology (494; 277, 86-88).

Recent researches, as mentioned above, especially those of Stern, have brought to light some thirty temples in a space five or six miles square on the plateau of Kulen. Most of the temples were, when discovered, shapeless mounds; but excavations have shown something of their plan and construction. One of the most ancient of these ruined temples, Krus Preah Aram Rong Chen, or Rong Chen, near the center of the city, was a pyramid-temple of three gradins, now in ruins. There seems to be little doubt that this was the temple where Jayavarman II established the royal linga. It is the first example in Cambodia of the true pyramid-temple, so intimately associated with the worship of the royal linga, later known as the *devarāja* (706, 156; 704).

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT, A.D. 802

Then a brahman named Hiranyadāma, skilled in magic science, came from Janapada, because H. M. Parameśvara had invited him to perform a ceremony that would make it impossible for this country of the Kambuja to pay any allegiance to Java and that there should be, in this country, one sole sovereign, who should be *cakravartin* (741, st. 70-77).

Having quieted the region and found on Mount Mahendra a satisfactory place for his capital, Jayavarman II decided to declare his independence of Java. So, he invited from Janapada¹ a wise brahman, versed in magic, to make the necessary ritual to establish a *chakravartin* (i.e., supreme) government in Kambujadesa, so it should no longer be dependent on Java.

This brahman made a ritual according to four Tāntric texts. At this period, in Bengal and neighboring territory of northern India, Śivaism was inoculated with Tāntrism, Shamanism, and magic practices, and even Mahāyānist Buddhism was adopting many of the forms and practices of Śivaism (603). Hiranyadāma prepared the ritual for the royal linga probably at the sanctuary of Rong Chen, bestowing upon the king *chakravartin* power, of which the linga was the symbol, a sort of ceremony establishing the divine right of the king.

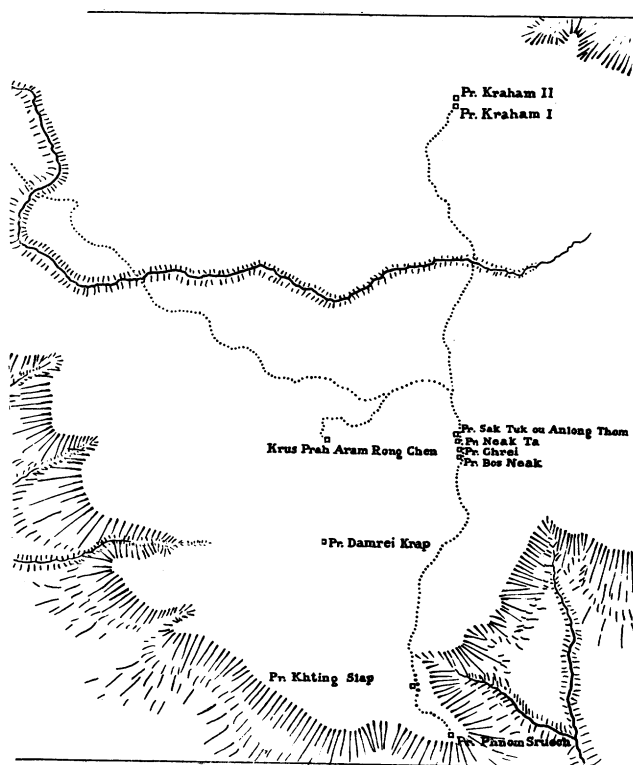
This ceremony took place in 802. It was the Khmer Declaration of Independence. It had the effect of establishing supreme government by divine sanction and of rendering Kambujadesa independent of Java. It

¹ Janapada was formerly believed to be in India or perhaps in Java or Sumatra (103, 350). A recent study by Coedès has made it almost certain that it was one of the hermitages of the Prasat Khna group, in the province of Mlu Pre. An inscription of Prasat Khna gives a list of the redevances of three of these hermitages, one of which was devoted to the *devarāja*. It was administered by the pupils of the line of the *purohita* of Janapada. This *purohita*, in 802, was probably Hiranyadāma (739).

marked the most important date of Khmer history. Many later inscriptions speak of Jayavarman II as the king who established his government on Mount Mahendra in 802.

THE NATURE OF THE CORONATION CEREMONY

What was the nature of the ceremony by which a new dynasty was created in Cambodia and a *chakravartin* king was seated on the throne, thus at one stroke making Cambodia free from Java and the Khmer king sovereign over all the kinglets among the Kambuja?



PLAN 4. Phnom Kulen (Mahendraparvata).

The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says Hiranyadāma brought the memory of four *śāstras*, which he used in preparing the magic formula. These he recited from beginning to end in order to reduce them to writing and to teach Śivakaivalya to make the formula. The *śāstras* were: *Śiraścheda*, *Vināśikha*, *Sam̐moha*, and *Nayottora*. Information is lacking about the exact nature of this ceremony; but the Sanskrit part of the inscription calls these *śāstras* the four faces of Tumburu, these four *śāstras* representing the four mouths of Śiva, represented by the *gandharva* (divine messenger) Tumburu. Finot, who edited this inscription in 1915, first thought these texts were Tāntric (358, 57) and a group of *tāntras* have been found in Nepal which seems to confirm this opinion (163, 273-274).

In one of these *śāstras*—*Śiraścheda*—figures a decapitation ceremony and, according to the Arab legend,

Javanese suzerainty began with the decapitation of the Cambodian king (p. 68).

THE DEIFICATION OF THE KING

Jayavarman thus established the cult of the *devarāja*² as the official religion of the kingdom. Since the coming of the second Kaundinya, it seems, the official religion of Funan and Chenla had been the worship of a Śivalinga³ under the vocable of Maheśvara, set up in a temple on a mountain in the capital. Even the earliest kings of Funan apparently worshipped a Śivalinga in a temple on a mountain. Jayavarman's innovation seems to have been to identify the king with Śiva, a sort of apotheosis of the king during his life. The King-God was conceived to be the eternal abstract essence of the king confounded with the divine essence and worshipped in the form of a linga under the vocable of the first part of the king's name plus *ēśvara* (from *Īśvara*=Śiva). Thus according to the custom, perhaps not established until later, the royal linga enthroned probably at Rong Chen, should have been called *Jayeśvara*.⁴ This conception is well illustrated by a later inscription in which a famous general refused the spoils of his victories and supplicated the king to take them: "Deign," he says, "to make homage of them to your subtle Me, which is *Īśvara* lodged in a linga of gold" (32, st. 27).

This miraculous linga, [says Coedès,] sort of palladium of the kingdom, is generally considered as having been obtained from Śiva by the intermediary of a brahman who gives it to the king founder of the dynasty.⁵ This communication between the king and the god by the intermediary of a priest is made on a holy mountain, natural or artificial, and by this conception we rejoin the old Mesopotamian beliefs (202).

ESTABLISHMENT OF A SACERDOTAL HIERARCHY

This brahman accomplished the ceremony according to the holy *Vināśikha* and installed the *devarāja*. This brahman reduced to writing the four holy texts mentioned above and taught them to Śivakaivalya. "He directed the *steng an* Śivakaivalya to make the ritual concerning the *devarāja*" (741, st. 70-77). Thus, Jayavarman II appointed his old *hotar*, Śivakaivalya, as *purohita* of the *devarāja*, and Hiranyadāma taught Śivakaivalya how to prepare the ritual to create a new *devarāja* (735).

² This deity which Coedès generally calls the God-King, is called *devarāja* in Sanskrit inscriptions and *kamratēng jagat ta rāja* in Khmer.

³ Images of Śiva in any other form are rare in Cambodia.

⁴ This custom seems to have begun with Indravarman, as no *Jayeśvara* for Jayavarman II, or Jayavarman III is mentioned in any inscription yet found (741, 64; 278, 189).

⁵ The sage Bhṛgu is said to have performed the same service for Uroja, founder of the dynasty of Indrapura in Champa in 875, (535, 3, 82-83); Agastya seems to have performed a similar service for Java in 760 (114, 34; 685; 500-503; 92, 34).

". . . H. M. Parameśvara and the brahman Hiranyadāma gave benedictions and imprecations enjoining that the line of Śivakaivalya should officiate for the *devarāja* and that it should be forbidden for others to so officiate. The *steng an* Śivakaivalya, *purohita*, designated all his family to officiate" (741, st. 70-77). Thus Jayavarman II made the celebration of the cult of the *devarāja* hereditary in the head of this family. This raised Śivakaivalya to the position of supreme pontiff and established a sort of sacerdotal hierarchy in Cambodia. As will be seen later, the succession was matrilineal. All the relatives of the *purohita* were made *Yajakas* and were given the exclusive right to perform the sacrifices in connection with the *devarāja*.

HOTARS

The *purohita* of the *devarāja* was also a *hotar*; but there were other *hotars*. A later inscription (Vat Thipdei B)—reveals that Jayavarman II appointed the sage Pranavātman to that post and made the office hereditary, though not exclusive, in his family, following female lines (165, st. 9-15).

An inscription—(380, st. 11)—says the brahman Krishnapāla Amarendra, called also Keśavabhaṭṭa and Mahendrārimathana, who married a sister of the queen, was also *hotar*. Another inscription—(80, A, st. 11)—says he was *purohita*, but this could not have meant that he was *purohita* of the *devarāja*.

JAYAVARMAN II'S WIVES AND RELATIVES

According to the digraphic inscriptions (75, st. 12), Jayavarman II's queen was a niece of Rudravarman, who was ruling at Dviradapura near Lovek in the latter part of the eighth century, and according to the inscription of Baksei Changkrong (161, st. 24) she was the paternal aunt of Indravarman I, who dedicated a funerary tower to her at Preah Kō, under the name of Dharanīndradevī. According to the inscription of Palhal, Jayavarman II seems to have married the svāminī Hyang Amrita, called also Nṛpendradevī, younger sister of the Śivakaivalya who helped Pṛithivīnarendra to subdue the country (130, st. 12 (n. 2), 28). A mutilated stele-inscription says Jayavarman married Kambujalakshmī, called also Prāṇa (80, st. 5; B., st. 9). A pillar inscription says his principal queen was Hyang Pavitrā of Haripūrā (29, B, st. 3) and that from her was descended Śivācārya, *purohita* of Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman I. Another pillar inscription says his wife was Bhās-svāminī and that from her was descended Yogiśvarapaṇḍita, *guru* of Sūryavarman I⁶ (29, A, st. 2-6).

These accounts are not necessarily contradictory. Most of these names are titles. Kambujalakshmī and

⁶ Many of the hereditary sacerdotal families, which furnished ministers, as well as priests, to the kings until the time of Sūryavarman I at least, were descended from the wives of Jayavarman II.

Hyang Pavitrā may have been one and the same person, who, after her death was called Dharaṇīradevī. Bhās-svāmīnī seems to have been of a different family, as the inscription says she was a daughter of a Viṣṇu brahman.

Finot, who translated a stele-inscription found at Prasat Ta Keo—(I)—very similar to that of Preah Vihear (I)—deduced a genealogy from these two inscriptions. According to this genealogy, Piṇsavaṅgrā-mavati had several daughters—one whose name was obliterated in the inscription but who married the brahman Keśavabhaṭṭi and had a daughter named Prabhāvatī; Kambujalakshmī, who married Jayavarman II; Pavitrā, who married one Vindvardha; and Hyang Candra, who married Nādh. Now, as we have seen, a pillar-inscription of Ta Keo—(III)—says Jayavarman II's principal queen was Hyang Pavitrā and as the name Hyang seems to have been a feminine title peculiar to this family (Hyang Pavitrā had a granddaughter named Hyang Karpūrā), there is good reason for thinking that Pavitrā and Hyang Pavitrā are the same and that Jayavarman II married her after the death of Vindvardha, or vice versa. It is even possible (but not probable) that this queen was identical with Kambujalakshmī and/or the unnamed daughter, and that Keśavabhaṭṭa married her after the death of Jayavarman II. (The most probable genealogy of this family is that of the table given on page 96.)

Prithivīndravarman,⁷ brother of Jayavarman II's queen, Dharaṇīradevī, mother of Indravarman I, is spoken of as a king and compared with Indra (461, st. 7, 4). Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman of Dviradapura, is spoken of as a man of great power, founder of a family devoted to the service of king (31, A, st. 8-9). An inscription says that Śivavinduka, brother of Śivalkaivalya and of Jayavarman II's wife, Hyang Amritā, was of great aid to Prithivīnarendra in pacifying the country (130, st. 12-14) (see p. 83). The genealogy of the family of Kambujalakshmī shows that she had three brothers: Praṇavaśarva, or Nṛpendravikrama, who became chief of castes; Śivātman, who was guardian of the sleeping chamber, and Viṣṇuvala, or Lakshmīndra, who had charge of the private treasury. Another inscription (31, A st. 7) says Punnāgavarman, son of Rudravarman of Dviradapura and therefore, cousin of the wife of the king, founded the *grāma* (village) of Saptadevakula and that the descendants of this line became ministers and priests of kings.

OTHER MINISTERS

An inscription already quoted (Preah Vihear (1)) says the king had a servant named Nāsā, who inspired confidence by his good conduct (80, A st. 7); and Nādh became chief of the army and received the titles of Nṛpendravayaya and Prithivīnarendra (80, A st. 8-9).

⁷ Dupont thinks Prithivīndravarman was king of Indrapura.

This may have been the dignitary spoken of in the inscription of Palhal (130, st. A. 14-17).

Another inscription (Trapeang Run—p. 147) tells of one Jayendradāsa, or Jayendravalāba, of Anindītapura, who served Jayavarman II and whose successors served several later kings in various capacities.

JAYAVARMAN II UNITED THE KINGDOM

Jayavarman II seems to have reigned a long time on Mahendraparvata. He is praised by later inscriptions, and the latter part of his reign seems to have been one of peaceful development and organization. He does not seem to have completed the subjugation of Maritime Chenla before 813, for in that year (160, st. 12-17) Prithivīnarendra secured a grant of land for the two previously-named officers who had assisted him in the conquest of Malyang. Another evidence that the two Chenlas were not united before 813⁸ is the statement of the history of the later T'ang, according to Ma Tuanlin, that in the middle of the *yuen-lo* period (806-820), Maritime Chenla brought tribute to China⁹ (584, 484). Upper Chenla at this time seems to have included all of what is now Central Laos (which Jayavarman I seems to have conquered) and the indefinite borderland, inhabited chiefly by Khas, which in the eighth century had apparently been part of Upper Chenla.

A Cham inscription, dated 817, says the Senāpati Pār ravaged the cities of the Kambuja, up to the middle of their country¹⁰ (69, 269, st. 7-8); but no other document mentions such Cham expeditions. Maspero thinks they were mere border raids (576, 106).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF KULEN

A few of the temples on Phnom Kulen are in a fair degree of preservation. Some have been known for some time and described by Lunet de Lajonquière (530) and Parmentier (630; 634). Others were recently brought to light and described by Stern (704; 705) and Dupont (317; 318). So we can get some idea of their architecture.

In plan, they do not differ much from those of the preceding period, but there is more diversity of type. Isolated towers are common, but we find also three prasats aligned and a sanctuary, with an accessory building facing toward the temple, having an enclosure with gopura. The walls were sometimes of brick,

⁸ Dupont thinks the country was not united until the reign of Indravarman I (325), who was king of Indrapura before he came to the throne of Kambajadesa, and that Bhavapura, in the Mun valley, was independent or a vassal under the ancestor of Rājendrarvarman II.

⁹ Pelliot cites another Chinese document crediting this embassy to Chenla (= Kambuja) and giving the date as 813 (663, 215 n. 1).

¹⁰ This seems to be the first mention of the name Kambuja in a Cham inscription—a few years earlier than the first mention in a Khmer inscription.

sometimes of laterite and even sometimes of sandstone. The prasats were generally square and, as far as can be determined by the remains and the representations in the reductions of edifice where they exist, they were relatively high, containing two or three slowly-receding upper storeys and a coronation. Generally, they had a door and three false doors. There seems to have been little regularity about their orientation. One is a true tower-temple, on a sandstone terrace of several feet. In the interior, the tower was generally sustained by a corbelled vault which was concealed by a wooden ceiling supported by a cornice. In some cases, this cornice was replaced by "suspension stones," similar to those found in Cham sanctuaries.

The material of the temple continued to be chiefly brick, with laterite for walls and foundations and sandstone in an auxiliary role, especially for lintels and colonettes (630, 1, 9).

CHAM INFLUENCE

In many of these temples Cham influence was so great, both in style and decoration, as to suggest that Cham architects and decorators were employed. And, to a degree, this is not at all improbable. A disaster like that which happened to Maritime Chenla in the latter part of the eighth century (chapter 7) befell Champa about the same time and doubtless from the same source. The dynasty which had been ruling in Lin-yi disappeared about the middle of the eighth century and we hear no more of that region until the latter part of the ninth century. In the meantime, a new dynasty came into prominence in the south, in the old Huen Wang region, hereafter generally known as Pānduranga. This region was sacked twice by the Malays in the last quarter of the eighth century. It would not be at all surprising if some Cham architects and artists fled to Kambujadesa during that period. The reign of Jayavarman II was a period of transition in architecture and decoration, and Khmer architects and artists were borrowing from every available source and were groping for new styles. They probably welcomed a contribution from Champa (704).

PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS

It is impossible in a book of this kind to describe many of the monuments of Phnom Kulen and, anyway, data are not available for such a task. But attention will be called to a few of the most representative sanctuaries of this period, when Mahendraparvata was the capital of Jayavarman II. Mention has already been made of Daṃrei Krap, of the period before the capital was located on the mountain, and Rong Chen the abode of the *devarāja*.

The earliest monuments seem to have been located on the southeastern corner of the mountain, from where a path doubtless led to Hariharālaya. A road led almost due north, four or five kilometers to the top of the

plateau. Along this road were distributed several early monuments. Near the southern end was Prasat Khting Slap, discovered in 1936. This monument consisted of a sanctuary, an annex and a surrounding wall, with a gopura. A linga indicates that it was dedicated to Śiva. It was oriented to the north. Remains of several ridge-horns and the form of the false door indicate Cham influence (319, 672-673).

About half-way from the edge of the mountain to the center of the plateau and at a point directly east of Rong Chen, four prasats were arranged along the west side of the road—in order, from the south, Bos Nek, Chrei, Nak Ta, and Anlong Tom. They were all dedicated to Viṣṇu and oriented to the west.

At the end of the road are Prasat Kraham I, one of the best-known sanctuaries of Phnom Kulen, and just behind it, Prasat Kraham II, discovered in 1936. They seem to have been square brick towers of the conventional Khmer type, dedicated to the linga and oriented to the east (530, 3, 238; 630, 1, 147-151; 319, 669-670). They seem to belong to the end of the Kulen period (301, 128; 705 144). Prasat Kraham I has been compared with Hoa-Lai in Champa and with Wat Keo at Chaiya in the Malay Peninsula, as probably showing Cham and Javanese influence (327, 1927: 501; 119, 380).

PRASAT NAK TA

Pierre Dupont has made a special study of this monument (320), which is one of the four prasats aligned along the road between Prasat Khting Slap and the Prasats Kraham. It is a redented square brick sanctuary of about eight meters outside dimensions. It is elevated on a foundation, but its floor is below the level of the door-sill. Its corbelled vault seems to have been hidden by a curtain fastened to "suspension stones," like those of Cham sanctuaries, instead of a wooden ceiling supported by a cornice as in most Khmer temples of the period.

The reductions of edifice, pictured on the interpilasters, indicate that the sanctuary had three slowly-retreating upper storeys, which gave it considerable height. It seems to have ended in semi-circular gables. An octagonal coronation-stone has been found. Like the neighboring prasats, it was oriented to the west. Stern thinks this was because these temples faced the central tower-temple of Rong Chen. Dupont thinks the Viṣṇuite temples of the eighth and ninth centuries tended toward this unusual orientation.

One of the lintels of this temple is a remarkable specimen, and shows, in the center of an arch with four blank medallions, Garuḍa holding a serpent in each hand. The colonettes were octagonal. A remarkable statue of four-armed Viṣṇu was found in the debris but has been assigned to the Style of the Baphuon, about a century and a half later (630, 1, 151-152; 319, 670-672). This monument is considered as belonging to the end of the Kulen group (301, 128). It shows the

influences of both Cham architecture and that of the following Style of Roluos.

DECORATIONS; LINTELS, COLONETTES, FRONTONS

The lintels and colonettes of Khmer sanctuaries were of sandstone and able to withstand the ravages of time, while the rest of the temple crumbled. Consequently, most of them have been found in the ruins. Basing his study on these decorations, Stern has delimited what he calls a Style of Kulen, to which he gives as time limits the years 802 and 854, the dates of the reign of Jayavarman II (706, 139–152).

The lintels of this period show great diversity. Sometimes they show a return to past forms, as in the con-

square colonette appeared with this Style and practically disappeared with it. It is rarely found in later edifices. The octagonal colonette appeared about the same time and became a characteristic feature of later Classical Khmer Art (705, 117–118; 301, 118).

The frontons, badly conserved, are sometimes polylobed; the tympana, when they subsist, seem to have enclosed a great personage, alone or accompanied by orants (Cham influence) (301, 118).

STATUARY

The statuary of Style of Kulen did not differ greatly from that of the latter part of the eighth century. Statues of Vishṇu predominated. The classic type of this style is the Vishṇu of Damrei Krap; but, as this

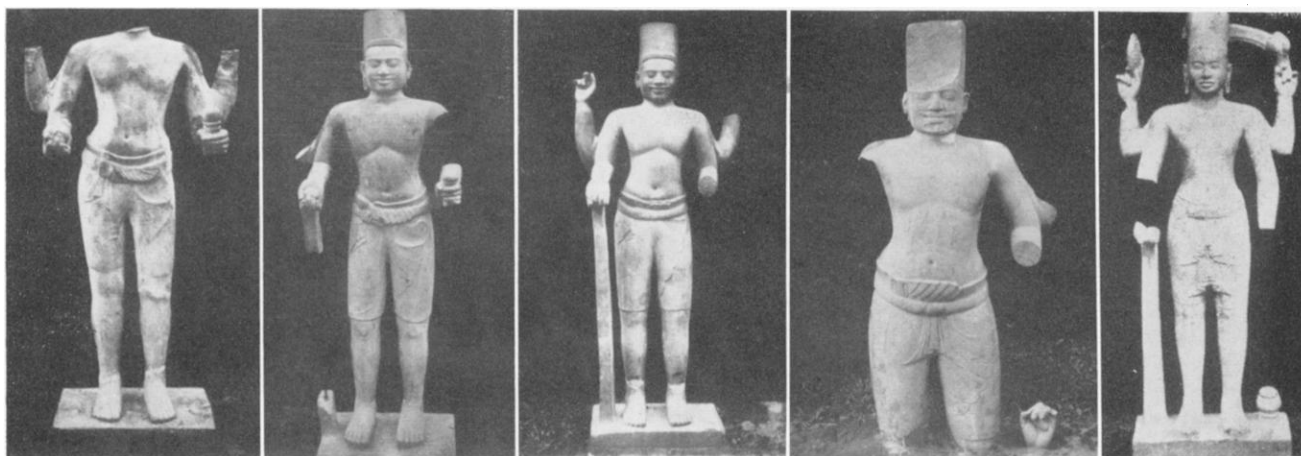


FIG. 17. Style of Kulen: Vishṇus with cylindrical coiffure.

vergent *makaras* at the ends of the arch and in medallions with personage; but these are generally treated differently. Sometimes they show foreign influence, as in the divergent *makaras* (Javanese). Cham influence is found particularly in the arch and Javanese influence especially in the *kāla* (a grimacing lion-like mascaron, evolved in Java, said to be from the Chinese *t'ao-t'ie*) and its combination with the *makara*. This was the Classic Period of Javanese architecture and decoration—whose greatest masterpiece was the great Buddhist temple of Borobudur—and it is not surprising that its influence extended to Cambodia, especially as Jayavarman II may have spent some time in Java. But Khmer originality in invention and combination played its part; for example, in the combination of the *makara* and the elephant.

But the colonettes, according to Stern, show the unity of the Style of Kulen. Stern gives five characteristics of the colonettes of this period. Four of them have to do with the decoration of the colonette and are too technical to be discussed here. The fifth has to do with form. These colonettes were square or octagonal, never round like those of the earlier periods. The

specimen is headless, a better comparison can be made by taking as a type a composite of this Vishṇu and the three Vishṇus of Thma Dap (fig. 17).

A composite of these five statues shows a Vishṇu standing, the four arms holding the disk, the shell, the bowl, and the club—the characteristic attributes of Vishṇu. The bust is bare and carefully modeled. The dress is a sampot whose extremities unite in front in a mass of folds. The coiffure is a cylindrical mitre, the ear-lobes are pierced, but without jewelry, and the figure is supported by the stays, but not the arch of support, of the Chenla period. The clothing forms a pocket on the left hip, a characteristic which appeared with the Harihara of Prasat Andet.

Some innovations of the Style of Kulen are: (1) the face is wide, almost square; (2) the eyes are almond-shaped and half-closed; (3) the eyebrows are ridged and meet in an almost straight line, while those of the eighth century were arched and separate; (4) the eyes and lips were edged with a sort of a rim; and (5) the hair (no longer the coiffure) designs a point on each temple (317, 419–423; 705, 130–135).

THE RETURN TO HARIHARĀLAYA

"Then H. M. Paramēśvara, the king, returned as *kurun* to the royal city of Hariharālaya and the *devarāja* was brought back there also. The *steñ añ* Śivakaivalya and his entire family officiated according to the established order" (741, st. 70-77).

It is generally believed that it was toward the end of his reign that Jayavarman II returned to his former capital of Hariharālaya (6, 3, 472; 573, 31). The reason for this change is not known. It seems probable that Jayavarman II chose the natural citadel of Mount Mahendra partly for better defense against raids of Malay pirates and rival claimants among the Kambuja, and that, now feeling secure, he moved the capital down to a region where the necessary food-supply of fish and rice could be more easily obtained.

Jayavarman II, being now committed to the cult of the *devarāja*, must have provided that deity with a suitable temple at Hariharālaya, but up to the present, no temple has been located which can reasonably be considered as the home of the royal linga during the reigns of Jayavarman II and his successor, Jayavarman III, at Hariharālaya. Stern once suggested that Jayavarman II built the eight towers at the base of the pyramid of Bakong and dedicated them to his ancestors and that he built on the pyramid a central temple in light material, which housed the royal linga during this period. This hypothesis was based on the apparently greater antiquity of these towers (699, 519-524). But this hypothesis was destroyed by the discovery of the foundation-stele of this temple, which says these towers were erected and consecrated by Indravarman I (214, 31-36). Stern then advanced the idea that there was a temple in light material at the center of Preah Kō and that Indravarman built his towers around it (707, 193-194). This hypothesis has also been suggested by Coedès. Coedès now thinks the site of the temple may have corresponded to Prei Monti (plan 2) (278, 176).

THE DEATH OF ŚIVAKAIVALYA AND OF JAYAVARMAN II

The *purohita* Śivakaivalya died at Hariharālaya during the reign of Jayavarman II. In accordance with the rule of the *matrivaṃśa* to which he belonged, he was succeeded by his sister's son, Sūkshmaṇḍu (358, 88). "The *steñ añ* Śivakaivalya died under this reign. H. M. Paramēśvara died also when he was in the royal city of Hariharālaya. The *devarāja* changed residence according to the capitals where the monarch conducted him to watch over the royal power of the monarchs who succeeded each other" (741, st. 76-77).

The death of Jayavarman II, according to the inscription of Tūol Ta Pec, occurred in 850 (740, 13; 334, 493). We have no contemporary data on the reign of Jayavarman II, but the testimony of later inscriptions and recent archeological investigations are sufficient to place him in the front rank among Cambodian

kings. He founded the Khmer Empire and fixed the exalted position of the monarch. He founded his capital in a region where it remained for more than six hundred years, during the entire period of his country's greatness. He established a state religion, which remained for centuries in spite of the personal views of several monarchs, and which is not without influence at the present time. No ruler of Cambodia has equalled him in the extent and duration of his influence. Unlike his successors, he left no inscriptions boasting of his deeds. As an inscription of one of his successors said: "He seated himself on the lions which ornament his throne; he imposed his commands over kings; he established his residence on the top of Mount Mahendra; and with all he had within him no pride" (202, 48).

POSTHUMOUS NAME

As we have seen, Jayavarman II received the posthumous name of Paramēśvara ("Supreme Lord" = Śiva). Thus the custom of granting a posthumous name to a king, of which we had a previous case in Chenla, became fixed at the beginning of the Kambuja period. This custom seems to have come from Śambhupura, where Jayavarman's family seems to have originated. Henceforth, after his death a king is always referred to in the inscriptions by his posthumous name.

THE TRADITION OF THE SACRED SWORD

Georges Maspero says that according to tradition, Jayavarman II left his successor a sacred sword—the Preah Khan—the palladium of the Kambuja, which the Bakō—the descendants of the ancient Brahman keepers—still guard religiously, day and night (573, 31; 712). Coedès, however, points out that the Cambodians have no traditions of Jayavarman II, thinks the sword was not a symbol of royalty in Cambodia at that time, and asks whether the Cambodians did not get the legend of the Sacred Sword much later from the Siamese, along with the names Preah Khan and Jayaśrī, which is the name the Siamese still apply to their Sacred Sword (271, 534). Eveline Maspero takes the opposite view and contends that the sword has long been a symbol of sovereignty of the natives of Southeast Asia most closely related to the Khmers (668, 134).

ACCESSION OF JAYAVARMAN III; PUROHITA; FOUNDING OF BHADRAGIRI

Jayavarman II was succeeded by his son Jayavardhana, who took the regnal name of Jayavarman III. He reigned at Hariharālaya. The location of the pyramid-temple which housed the royal linga during this period has not been determined.

Sūkshmaṇḍu served as *purohita* of the royal linga during the reign of Jayavarman III. "Under the reign of H. M. Vishṇuloka,¹¹ the *devarāja* resided at Hari-

¹¹ Posthumous name of Jayavarman III.

harālaya. A nephew of the *steñ añ* Śivakaivalya, named *steñ añ* Sūkshmaṇḍu was *purohita* of the *devarāja*. His family officiated for the *devarāja* also. He took his relatives (installed) at Bhavālaya and established them again at a site in the *sruk* of Kuti" (741, st. C82–D3).

"The *steñ añ* Rudrācārya, younger brother of the *steñ añ* Śivakaivalya, went to embrace the religious life in the *visaya* of Jeng Vnaṃ (Foot of the Mountains), on the mountain called Thko. The *steñ añ* Rudrācārya asked for this mountain and this land of H. M. Viṣṇu-loka, founded a *sruk* and established his people there. He named the mountain Bhadrāgiri"¹² (741, st. 3–5).

HOTARS, GURU, MINISTERS

Pranavātman continued as *hotar*. An inscription (Preah Vihear I) (C st. 9) says Śikhāśanti was royal *hotar* (probably of Indravarman I). The same inscription (90, A st. 11) says "The brahman Krishṇapāla Amarendra, called Keśavabhaṭṭa, received the name Arimathana and became *purohita* of the King." (The term *purohita* (chief priest) may have been sometimes applied to the chief priest of another god, but the function of *purohita* of the *devarāja* was reserved exclusively to the family of Śivakaivalya). The Viṣṇuite character of the names of Krishṇapāla suggests that he may have been the Chief Priest of the worship of Viṣṇu during the reign of Jayavarman III, a Viṣṇuite king.

The *guru* of Jayavarman III was one Nivāsakavi, of the family of Śreṣṭhapura, who was given the title of Prithivīndrapaṇḍita. In 857, he erected a Hari (Viṣṇu) at Kok Po B and was probably the founder of that temple.

One Vāsudeva, or Nṛpendravallaba, is said by the inscription of Trapeang Run to have been a minister of Jayavarman III and Indravarman I, but in what capacity it is not stated.

THE TRANSITION IN ARCHITECTURE: CHARACTERISTICS

The architecture of this period is a transition between the style of Kulen, which is generally considered as ending in 854, and that of Roluos, beginning with Indravarman I in 877. Most of the monuments were built early in the period and are related, but posterior, to those of Kulen. The principal sanctuary towers of this period were built in already existing ensembles. They were erected chiefly at Hariharālaya and West Baray (Amarendrapura), but also on Mahendraparvata and in other places.

The decorations of this period do not show any special characteristics. The colonettes continued like those of Kulen. The lintels were of three types: (1) the first type showed the *kāla* and *makara* united as at Java;

¹² The location of this mountain is not exactly known, but it is probably in the vicinity of Roluos.

i.e., *kāla* in the center, *makaras* divergent at the ends; (2) the second type showed Viṣṇu mounted on the Garuḍa, the Garuḍa with nose turned up, as at Java, with *nāgas* mounted at the ends; (3) the third type shows Garuḍa alone in the center, ending also in *nāgas* (707, 186–189).

THE TRANSITION: SVAY PREAM; TRAPEANG PHONG

As we have seen, the two earliest temples of Svay Pream were probably the most ancient in the entire Angkor region. These ancient sanctuaries are very ruined; but their parts were used in reemploy during the last years of the eighth century, when Jayavarman II first established his capital at Hariharālaya. The central of these three aligned sanctuaries, was probably built early in the reign of Jayavarman III (707, 186–187).

The principal sanctuary of the Trapeang Phong group was probably built at this time. It is a square temple, 6.30×6.90 meters, on a hill, oriented toward the east. It was built of brick, with stone as accessory and was coated with plaster. It had a principal and four secondary storeys, proportionately high, giving it a unique silhouette; but the upper storeys have crumbled. It had a door and false doors below and corresponding niches above. On the walls of the principal storey, *devatās* (apsaras) appear under arcatures (niches) in the interpilasters (fig. 18) (Ak Yom had arcatures without apsaras, and apsaras under arcatures may have existed in some of the ruined temples of Kulen). On the second storey appeared reductions of edifice instead of niches with figures. The colonettes were generally octagonal, but sometimes round. This edifice resembled earlier architecture in (1) reductions of edifice on interpilasters and doors, (2) the use of birds with wings deployed in the decoration of the cornice. It resembles the later Style of Preah Kō in (1) divergent *makaras* with *mascarons* in the lintel, (2) colonettes generally octagonal, and (3) apsaras in niches (530, 3, 264–265; 619, 40–48, 88–89; 707, 186–187).

The Prasat Prei Khmeng, one of the oldest sanctuaries of the West Baray region, was still flourishing at this time, for a later inscription (p. 144) annuls a donation given to it by Jayavarman III in 860.

THE TRANSITION STYLE KŌK PŌ

Exactly to the north of Ak Yom, across the southern end of the later West Baray, was the Viṣṇuite temple of Prasat Kōk Pō (plan 3). It consisted of four sanctuaries scattered in the end of an enclosure, without apparent arrangement. The most ancient—C—was contemporary with Ak Yom. It seems to have been part of the ancient capital city of Amarendrapura and is oriented toward the west. The other three are oriented

Inscriptions of Ta Kev (I) and Phnom Preah Vihear (I) (80)
(29B) (380, 298).



to the north, with their backs to Ak Yom and seem to belong to a later conglomeration called Svetadvīpa by the inscription.

An inscription of the following reign (p. 103) says Nivāsakavi (Prithivīndrapaṇḍita), *guru* of Jayavarman III, erected a Hari (Vishṇu) in sanctuary B in

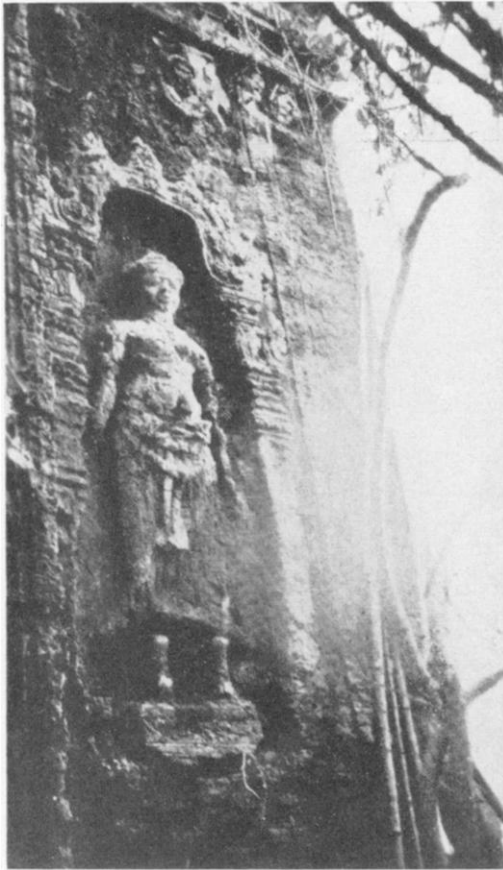


FIG. 18. Trapeang Phong: *Devatā* under arcature.

857, and this date is taken as that of the foundation of that edifice. Sanctuary A is thought to be of the same date or a little later. Sanctuary B was originally a square edifice (several additions have been made in front). Its inner dimensions are 3.10 × 3.10 meters.

Sanctuary A is slightly smaller. They are of brick with stone as accessory. The walls have crumbled, but colonettes and lintels have been found in the debris. The colonettes are octagonal with large bare spaces. The lintels, like those of Trapeang Phong, belong to type II intermediate, with *mascaron* at the center and divergent *makaras*, strongly stylized, at the end (fig. 73). They are considered among the most beautiful in Khmer Art (619, 42–45; 566; 707, 187; 286).

KUTISVARA

The central sanctuary of the Kutisvara group, near the later temple of Banteay Kdei, apparently the earliest sanctuary of that region, was probably built during this period,¹³ on the land given to Śivakaivalya at Kutī. The group (with two later temples) consisted of three sanctuaries, on different foundations, aligned north-south and facing the east, on a little mound probably surrounded by a moat.

This central sanctuary was a square brick edifice, apparently of the conventional design of the period. Its lintels were of Type III with convergent *makaras*. The colonettes were octagonal, the spaces between the rings decorated with triangular designs. A *snānadronī* in the interior indicates the presence of a linga (564, 333–337; 364, 64–65).

JAYAVARMAN III'S DEATH; POSTHUMOUS NAME

We do not know much about Jayavarman III. Inscriptions speak of him as having conquered his enemies (whoever they were) and as having ruled his people wisely. Several inscriptions speak of him as a great elephant hunter and he seems to have lost his life in the chase (139, 116; 161, st. 22–23).

Jayavarman III died in 877. He received the posthumous name of Vishṇuloka, which indicates that he was Vishṇuite—one of the few Vishṇuite kings of Cambodia. He was the first king of Cambodia of whom we know the pre-coronation name, the coronation name, and the posthumous name.

¹³ Parmentier thinks this edifice was built by Jayavarman II.

2. THE REIGN OF INDRAVARMAN I (877–889)

ACCESSION OF INDRAVARMAN I

Indravarman I succeeded Jayavarman III in 877. He seems to have been a cousin of his predecessor. An inscription of his reign says his maternal grandfather was Rudravarman (who has been identified with the Rudravarman who ruled at Dviradapura in the last few years of the eighth century), that his father was Prithivīndravarman, of a *kshatriya* family, and his mother's maternal grandfather was King Nṛpatindra-

varman (71, st. 3). In an inscription of his son and successor, Rudravarman is said to be the younger brother of Jayavarman III's maternal grandmother, and Bergaigne, who translated the inscription and prepared the genealogy, pictured Prithivīndravarman as the cousin, and Indravarman I as the second cousin, of the wife of Jayavarman II (76, st. 11). But an inscription of the tenth century (161, st. 24) says Indravarman I was a nephew of the queen of Jayavarman II. Coedès

reconciles these inscriptions by considering Prithivindravarman as brother and Indravarman I as nephew of the wife of Jayavarman II¹ (161, 485). (See genealogical table, p. 63.)

Indravarman I claimed the throne through the family of his mother, "where kings succeeded each other" (see above). He said nothing about his relationship with either of his immediate predecessors. However, as has been seen, this Rudravarman's descendants, who were relatives of the wife of Jayavarman II, held office under that king, and, as will be seen, Indravarman I dedicated temples to Jayavarman II and his wife, Dharaṇīndradēvi. So, his relationship with his predecessors seems to have been close.

Dupont thinks Indravarman I's ancestors were vassal rulers of Indrapura, which was not an organized part of the Khmer Empire until his reign. Indrapura seems to have first appeared in history in 598, when Bhavarman I granted it as a hereditary fief to one Narasiṃhagupta (p. 45). An inscription of the reign of Īśānavarman I (p. 49), says that Narasiṃhagupta held this fief under three kings—Bhavarman I, Mahendravarman, and Īśānavarman I. Dupont thinks that, during or after the reign of Jayavarman I, Indrapura was absorbed by Śambhupura and thereafter had no king (325, 39); but it has been seen that a century after Jayavarman I, Jayavarman II began to rule there and that his family had apparently ruled there before him (p. 82). According to the genealogies of the inscriptions (which, however, may have been invented), Indravarman I was descended, through both his father and his mother, from Nripatīndravarman and his wife was a granddaughter of Rājendravarman I (see genealogical chart, p. 63) who seems to have united the three dissident kingdoms of the mid-eighth century (p. 64). Perhaps Indrapura became again a vassal kingdom after Jayavarman II abandoned it to rule at Hariharālaya.

GENEALOGIES; WIFE OF INDRAVARMAN I

It is worthy of note that this and most of the succeeding genealogies, are matrilineal in character. This recognition of matrilineal succession, especially in families devoted to religious matters, runs through all Khmer history.

None of the inscriptions of Indravarman I tells anything about his wife. But the inscriptions of his son and successor (76, st. 16) give her the name of Indradēvi and build up an elaborate genealogy for her, connecting her with the ancient kings of Chenla and Funan. According to this genealogy, she was the daughter of Mahīpativarman (apparently the predecessor of Jaya-

varman II and probably the king who lost his head to the Mahārāja) and the granddaughter of Rājendravarman I, who ruled over united Chenla about the middle or latter part of the eighth century and is so generally accepted as a king of Kambujadesa that historians are agreed in calling the next king of that name Rājendravarman II.

PUROHITA, GURU, HOTARS, MINISTERS

Sūkshmaṇḍu, who had served as *purohita* during all the reign of Jayavarman III, continued to serve in the same capacity under Indravarman I, while the family served the *devarāja* as usual. "Under the reign of H. M. Īśvaraloka,² the *devarāja* resided at Hariharālaya. All the members of the family officiated for the *devarāja* in the established order" (741, st. 5-10, p. 111).

The *guru* of Indravarman I, and apparently his chief adviser, was Śivasoma. According to an inscription indited by him, he was grandson of one King Jayendrādhipativarman, who was maternal uncle of Jayavarman II (p. 64). The *guru* of the heir apparent (Yuvarāja?), Pince Yaśovardhana, was Vāmaśiva,³ grand nephew of Śivakaivalya, who held the title of *upādhyāya*⁴ (preceptor).

Pranavātman seems to have continued as hereditary *hotar*; but there were other *hotars*. An inscription says Śikhāśānti was royal *hotar* and helped his brother-in-law, Rājendrapaṇḍita, to get a piece of land, on which he erected a linga of gold, in 881 (80, C, st. 9-11). Another inscription mentions a Vāsudeva, of the family of Punnāgavarman, who it says was a minister of Indravarman (I) (31, A st. 17-18). As already noted, another inscription mentioned a Vāsudeva of another family, who was minister of Jayavarman II and Indravarman I (see chart, p. 157). Amritagarbha, great-grandnephew of Prithivindrapaṇḍita (p. 104), was the head of the sacerdotal family which exercised the functions of chief priest of the temple of Kōk Pō (p. 104), which was Vishṇuite. He erected the temple of Kōk Pō D and probably Kōk Pō A (pp. 102-103).

THE REFORMS OF ŚIVASOMA, FOUNDATION OF A ŚIVĀSRAMA

Some changes in ecclesiastical organization seem to have taken place during the reign of Indravarman I, which Coedès attributes to Śivasoma, with the assistance of Vāmaśiva, who was his disciple. Śivasoma was second cousin of Jayavarman II and thus probably of the royal line. He was a disciple of the Bhagavat Rudra⁵ and had learned the *Sāstras* from the mouth of the Bhagavat Śaṃkara (215, st. 39-40), who

¹ In his latest book, Coedès says that Indravarman I does not seem to have any tie of relationship with either of his predecessors (278, 187-188); but in his "Tableau Genealogique," at the end of his book, he pictures Rudravarman and Nripatīndravarman as his maternal ancestors, without connecting them with the kings of those names of the line of Bālāditya.

² Posthumous name of Indravarman I.

³ Vāmaśiva had the title of Vrah Guru (741, st. 10-13).

⁴ *Upādhyāya* is elsewhere translated as preceptor of the heir apparent (741, 73B).

⁵ Probably Rudrācārya (p. 112).

Coedès thinks was the great Hindu philosopher, Śaṅkarācārya, who had just restored orthodox Brahmanism in India (278, 187; 215, 37). Śivasoma's fame seems to have overshadowed that of the *purohita* of the house of Śivakaivalya, and when Sūkshmaṇḍu died, his nephew, Vāmaśiva, seems not to have succeeded to the title of *purohita*, but performed the functions of *guru*, *upādhyāya*, and *hotar* (741, st. 5–10), while the post of *purohita* seems to have been vacant.

During this reign, a Śivaite monastery (Śivāśrama) was founded.

The *steṅ aṅ* Śivasoma and the *steṅ aṅ* Vāmaśiva together established the Śivāśrama and founded a sanctuary there.⁶ The *steṅ aṅ* Śivasoma was called by the people the old lord the Śivāśrama. When the *steṅ aṅ* Śivāśrama died, the *steṅ aṅ* Vāmaśiva was possessor of the Śivāśrama. The people called him the lord of the Śivāśrama, which he already was (741, st. 5–10).

INDRAVARMAN'S CAPITAL; HIS BUILDINGS

Indravarman I continued to reign at Hariharālaya. We do not know what temple was used to house the *devarāja* during the first four years of his reign until the completion of the Bakong in 881. As has been related, Stern has suggested a sanctuary in light construction on the site of the later Preah Kō.

At the very beginning of his reign, it seems, Indravarman I decided to make a bigger and better capital, at least better temples to house the *devarāja* and the other divinities connected with the royal worship. "When he received royal power, he made this promise: 'In five days, I will commence to dig' . . ." (71, st. 7). The resulting pond, known as the Indratatāka, "Pond of Indravarman," was a rectangular body of water, with its long axis east-west, just to the north of the Bakong (plan 2). It was doubtless designed to hold a reserve supply of water for the use of the city and its temples and the irrigation of the surrounding rice-fields—probably the first of the irrigation works which were to be such an important feature of the later Yaśodharapura and vicinity.

Just south of this pond and to the north of the first Hariharālaya (plan 2) Indravarman I built the first two of three sanctuaries, more imposing than those of any of his predecessors. The first two—Preah Kō and Bakong—were completed and dedicated during the early years of his reign, in 879 and 881, respectively. (The third, Loley, was completed and dedicated by his son and successor in 893.) These three temples are generally referred to as the Roluos group and their architecture and decorations diverge sufficiently and constitute a sufficient advance to justify their being considered a new style, designated as the Style of Roluos (707) or of Preah Kō (301, 118–119, 129), or the first stage of what has been called the Art of Indravarman (619).

⁶ The location of this Śivāśrama is not given, but it was probably near Hariharālaya.

These three groups of temples, whose outer enclosures were nearly contiguous, were aligned north-south over a space of about three kilometers, fifteen to eighteen kilometers southeast of Angkor Wat. From south to north, the groups were: Bakong, Preah Kō, Loley, and Parmentier thinks that is the order in which they were begun, but that the Bakong, because of its greater size, was not completed until after Preah Kō. There seems to be little doubt that the prasat of the pyramid of the Bakong, which sheltered the Royal God, was the determining factor of the three groups.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STYLE OF ROLUOS: ARCHITECTURE

The buildings of these groups were sufficiently alike to warrant a general description. They were of brick, with stone as accessory—for colonettes, lintels, niches, and in other places where carving was necessary. The temples were arranged in groups of six or eight on the same terrace, but each on its own pedestal of brick or stone. A characteristic feature, which appeared here for the first time in Khmer architecture as far as known, is that the groups of temples were surrounded by concentric enclosures,⁷ the two inner ones, in this case, with walls of laterite, with gopuras (entrance towers) or false gopuras at each entrance, the outer enclosure consisting of a moat and embankment of earth, with a wooden palisade. The accessory buildings were mostly within the second enclosure.

The temples were square, with a redent on each face. The rectangular plan, with gables at the ends, disappeared during the Kulen period, except for some accessory buildings, such as libraries and galleries, which were beginning to appear in stone. The temple usually consisted of the principal body and four upper storeys. The principal body had a door, opening to the east, and false doors on the other three sides. The interpilasters of the principal body were provided with niches, carved in stone, with an overhanging arch (arcature) sheltering a human figure, male or female according to the divinity sheltered by the temple. Gone are the reductions of edifices—the beautiful flying-palaces of earlier art. The superstructures were staged in slowly-retreating pyramids and gave the appearance of height, with niches taking the place of false doors on each storey and mortises in prasat or other motifs at the corners.

Inside the temple, the floor was low, generally a few feet below the level of the ground. The corbelled vault, with successive drums corresponding to the storeys, was hidden by a ceiling, doubtless of wood. Wooden beams sustained the inner side of the wall, above the entrance (619, 1–41; 655).

⁷ Enclosures (not concentric) date back at least to Banteay Prei Nokor (p. 76).

ARCHITECTURAL INNOVATIONS

Two architectural innovations of this period were the gopura and the library.

The gopura, or entrance pavilion, in masonry, came in with enclosing walls of brick or stone.⁸ Generally, the walls were cut at the intersection of the axes of the central temple (not necessarily at the center of the walls). At these intersections were gopuras. Sometimes there were false gopuras on the north and south, and even sometimes on the west, but there was always a true gopura on the east, unless (rare case) the temple was not oriented in that direction.

At first, these gopuras were square, like the temple, with two openings and a square hall. They were surmounted by pyramids of four stories, like the sanctuary and sometimes attained greater dimensions than the central sanctuary. The early gopura sheltered the guardian deity of the temple (530, 1, xxi-xlii; 631, 161).

These buildings of a special type, like those found today in connection with Siamese and Laotian pagodas, have always been called libraries by the natives, but were believed to have been also a sort of sacristy (530, 1, xxx-xxxi). An inscription has proven them to be libraries (125). They are found in the inner enclosure in front of the temple and oriented toward it, one on each side, if two; if only one, always on the right side of the temple.

Libraries in light material probably ran back to the earliest days of Funan; for the earliest Chinese visitors, in the third century, say the Funanese had libraries of books. They seem to have first appeared in masonry during the reign of Indravarman—at Preah Kō and Bakong. They were always rectangular with gabled ends, and at first with a single vaulted hall (see above). "In Cambodia, the libraries always had a curved roof of Indian type. . . . In the earliest days, the side aisles, when of masonry, were merely rudimentary and the doorway . . . had no porch" (631, 160).

In what is probably the very earliest library in masonry found in Cambodia (Preah Kō?) is illustrated a principle which ran through the whole history of Khmer architecture: that Khmer temples, when not symmetrical, were right-handed; i.e., the right side was often a little larger or contained elements not on the left; e.g., if there was only one library it was always on the right, which (as the temples were regularly oriented toward the west) generally meant the south side.

THE STYLE OF ROLUOS

DECORATIONS

The principal decorative features of the Style of Roluos, or of Preah Kō as it is called by Mme de Coral

⁸ The sanctuary of Prasat Khting Slap, on Mount Kulen, had an enclosing wall with a gopura. It may have been of this period, however, and not earlier.

Rémusat, were: (1) the *kāla*-head with divergent *makaras*, which, introduced from Java, appeared first at Roluos; (2) the appearance of personages heavily jewelled, which was also a Javanese influence; (3) the frequency of Vishṇu on his *vāhana*, Garuḍa; and (4) the replacing of reductions of edifices by *dvārapālas* and Apsaras under arches in the interpilaster spaces of the walls (286; 292).

The door remained the principal ornamental feature. The colonettes were nearly always octagonal, but round colonettes were still found occasionally. "The leaves become very decorative and make some colonettes of this epoch the most beautiful of all Khmer art" (301, 58). "The lintels of the Style of Preah Kō, particularly those of Lolei, are the highest and perhaps the most beautiful of all Khmer art: height, richness of decoration, fineness of chiseling, fantasy of inspiration in the details—nothing is lacking in them" (301, 51). The horizontal branch of foliage, sometimes straight, sometimes wavy, has definitely replaced the arch. The most common motif was probably the *kāla*- or *rāhu*-head with divergent *makaras*. The *kāla*-head was sometimes mounted by a human figure, armed with a sabre, with garlands issuing from its mouth on both sides and hanging in pendants below. The garlands carried horsemen. Sometimes a Garuḍa, mounted by Vishṇu, and rosaces take the place of the *kāla*-head and the garlands and the branch ends in triple- or quintuple-headed *nāgas*, lotus with *Gajasimha* or other motif (286; 619, 1-41; 301, 50-51).

Frontons were beginning to become prominent, but the frontons of this period are badly conserved. The border seems generally to have affected the dragon, ending in divergent *makara*-heads. The tympana generally carried personages under arches (301, 69).

SCULPTURE

Sculpture—both human and animal—became more prominent. *Dvārapālas* (masculine guardians), under the form of Devas (divinities) or *Asuras* (demons), and female personages under the form of *devatās* (deities) or *apsaras* (celestial dancers) appeared in the interpilasters, under arches which ended in *makara* heads. A *dvārapāla* in relief at Lolei was chosen by Stern as the type of the period (699, 516). The clothing was partly folded. The high cylindrical tiaras were replaced by jewelled diadems, with a chignon in cylinder or storied cone. They were richly jewelled on the throat, body, and arms (301, 98-99).

The lions were seated, a little more developed in size and naturalness than the "poodle lions" of Sambor-Prei Kuk and Phnom Kulen. They seem to show a Javanese influence, particularly in the treatment of the mouth (301, 112).

The bull Nandi, mount of Śiva, probably first appeared at Preah Kō, and gave its name to that monu-

ment.⁹ It has its front legs folded under it, its neck is short and stout and its hump is well developed (301, 114–115) (fig. 28a).

The *nāga*-balustrade appeared for the first time at Bakong. The *nāga*'s body was on the ground, the neck heavy, its seven heads short and separated and each coiffed with a little diadem (301, 106–107, 119) (fig. 50A).

THE TEMPLE OF PREAH KŌ¹⁰

The temple of Preah Kō consisted of a group of six towers on a terraced pyramid, surrounded by four enclosures. The outer enclosure measured about 450×800 meters and consisted of a moat, probably surrounded by a palisade of stakes. It enclosed two basins. The other three enclosures were surrounded by walls cut by gopuras on the east and west axes. The third enclosure, about 215 meters square, was also preceded by a ditch. The second enclosure, about 95 meters square, enclosed a single library on the right, and annexes. The first enclosure, 60 meters square, was at the base of the pyramid.

The central towers were arranged in two rows of three each, on a terrace. They were of plastered brick, of which some of the coating has been preserved. The towers in front are a little larger than those in the rear and the middle tower in front is a little larger than those on the sides. The front towers contained statues of Śiva under the vocables, from north to south, respectively, of Rudreśvara, Parameśvara, and Prithivindreśvara; i.e., Jayavarman II, founder of the dynasty (under his posthumous name) in the center; Rudravarman, maternal grandfather, and Prithivindravarman, father, of Indravarman I, on the north and south, respectively. Similarly, the three temples of the second row contained statues of Gauri, wife of Śiva, under the vocables, from north to south, of Narendradevī, Dhāraṇīndradevī, and Prithivīndradevī, representing, respectively, the wives of Rudravarman, Jayavarman II and Prithivindravarman (619, 7–17; 566; 163, 40).

The recently-discovered foundation stele of Preah Kō indicates that it was completed in 879.

THE TEMPLE OF BAKONG

The temple of Bakong consists of (1) a central pyramid, 60 meters square at the base and 15 meters high, with two brick towers on each side of the base and twelve small stone prasats on the fourth gradin, (2) a laterite wall with four gopuras, enclosing the pyramid and its edifices, (3) a second enclosure, vacant, surrounded by a large moat, crossed by causeways at the east and west, (4) another laterite enclosure, outside the moat, cut by gopuras, and (5) a moat with em-

bankment, with causeways on the four sides. This outside enclosure measured 650×850 meters. All these enclosures were rectangular, elongated on the east-west axis (619, 17–33; 655).

The central pyramid consisted of five gradins, faced with sandstone and mounted by a stairway on each side. On the stairway of each gradin was a pair of seated lions, and, diagonally across each corner of each gradin, was an elephant. The elephants were half size, but the lions diminished proportionally from bottom to top, with the height and width of each gradin and the width of the stairway. An inscription speaks of the erection, by Indravarman, of a *stone* sanctuary of Īśa (Śiva) (76, st. 15). Recent investigations have led to the conclusion that Indravarman I commenced a stone temple, which was completed by one of his successors or which was torn down and rebuilt. This sanctuary has recently been reconstructed. It is a redented square temple of four upper gradins, rising to a height of more than ten meters (205; 327, 1940: 485–486).

The eight small temples around the base of the pyramid were conventional brick edifices of the type of the period. It has been supposed that, like those of Preah Kō, they contained images of Śiva, under the traits of the ancestor of the king and under the vocables of the first part of the ancestor's name plus *-śvara*, if a male, and *-devī*, if a female, according to the custom which came into vogue during this period, or possibly with Jayavarman II. These temples are badly ruined; but, as well as can be determined, the niches of the interpilasters of the eastern temples contain male images and those of the western, female images. The foundation-stele of the temple seems to indicate that these little temples sheltered lingas and the twelve little stone prasats contained statues (214, st. 24–28). The door-frames contained Sanskrit inscriptions, five of which are said to be in a fair state of preservation.

Of the enclosures, nothing of interest remains except the two causeways across the inner moat, which contained balustrades in *nāgas* on the ground, which later, on blocks or held by giants, form such a familiar sight on the causeways of the moats of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom (fig. 50a).

The foundation-stele of this temple, recently discovered, indicates that the monument, including its small temples and prasats, was built by Indravarman and that the temple was dedicated and its *devarāja* installed, under the vocable of *Indreśvara*, in 881 (214).

IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLUOS GROUP

The Roluos group, particularly the pyramid of Bakong, was one of the great landmarks of Khmer architectural history. It marked the beginning of the first period of Classical Khmer architecture. Compared with the later great monuments of that architecture, such as Angkor Wat, the Bayon or Banteay Chhmar, the Bakong is insignificant enough; but compared with

⁹ The name Preah Kō = sacred ox (655, 10).

¹⁰ Called Preakon, or Prea Kou, by Doudart de Legree and Garnier, and Bakou, or Baku, by Aymonier and Bergaigne.

anything which had preceded it, it was immense. It was not the first Khmer pyramid-temple. We have seen a beginning of this type of temple at Ak Yom, dating back probably to the beginning of Jayavarman II's reign, before 802, and the ruins of a more perfect type at Rong Chen; but the Bakong was much more vast and elaborate than these. Concentric enclosures and the use of the *nāga* as balustrade, as well as gopuras and libraries in durable material, were new and important developments in Khmer architecture and decoration.

PRASAT KŌK PŌ D

The last of the four sanctuaries of the Kōk Pō group in the West Baray region—probably the old Amarendrapura (map 3)—was built at this time. This little edicule, less than two meters square on the inside, was of brick, with stone as accessory. It has crumbled, but the lintels and colonettes have been found. The colonettes were octagonal and the interannular spaces were nearly filled with triangular leaves. The lintel was almost identical with those of Preah Kō—central Garuḍa with garland terminating in triple-headed *nāga* (566, 373–374).

OTHER WORKS OF CONSTRUCTION

The foundation-stele of Bakong, after mentioning that monument (214, st. 23–28) and before mentioning the Indratatāka (*ibid.*, st. 36), indicated a long list of the works of Indravarman I (*ibid.*, st. 29–35), constructed before the end of the fifth year of his reign (A.D. 881). These works include a Śiva, accompanied by Umā and the Gaṅgā (st. 29); a Viṣṇu, erected to the benefit of Jayavarman III, the Viṣṇuite king (st. 30); a Harihara, consecrated by a son of the king (st. 31); an Indrāṇī, erected to the benefit of the wife of King Indraloka (the posthumous name of the unnamed king mentioned in the inscription of Vat Tasar Moroi (Sambor) as the great-grandfather of the queen who made a foundation in 803 (st. 32); a victorious Umā of Mahishāśura, fashioned by Indravarman in person and consecrated by the women of the palace (st. 33), and the consecration of a linga, probably in the temple of Āmrātakeśvara near Sambor (st. 35).

Indravarman I seems to have built a *vimāna*, or dome, to the tower of Śiva at Bayang, which is called Śivapura. He also made several donations to this sanctuary, including a sacred pond and two *āśrama*, or monasteries, known as Indrāśrama (588, 255–262).

An inscription, dated between 878–887, celebrates the erection of a Bhadreśvara, at Prasat Kandol Dom, about three hundred meters west of Preah Kō, by Śivasoma, guru of King Indravarman I (215).

INSCRIPTIONS

MODIFICATION OF SCRIPT; PREAH KŌ

During the two centuries between the close of the reign of Jayavarman I and the beginning of that of

Indravarman I, no inscriptions of great importance have come to light. Bergaigne has called attention to the improvement of the technique in the meantime, particularly in the roundness of the letters and the smooth grace of the curves (71, 304). This modified script, said to be derived from Pallava script (p. 55), may now properly be called Khmer script, a term which may, however, be a little confusing because most of the important inscriptions are in the Sanskrit language.

Only a few inscriptions of the reign of Indravarman I have come down to us. They are important because they are the earliest inscriptions of the Kambuja period and the earliest long inscriptions of Cambodian epigraphy and because they give a genealogy running well back into the troubled eighth century.

The inscription of Bakou (Preah Kō) is dated 879, the third year of the reign of Indravarman I. The pillars of all the doors of the six towers of this temple (called Bakou by Barth and Bergaigne) are thought to have contained inscriptions, or probably the same inscription; but only one has been conserved entire. This inscription is found also in the interior of the towers. (The integral repetition of this inscription seems to belong to the later reign of Yaśovarman I and is treated there.) Perhaps the inscription of Indravarman I covered only the right face of the door pillar, as was the case at the Bakong. This inscription, in Sanskrit, contains the date of the accession of Indravarman I, 877 (st. 5) and that of the inscription itself, 897 (st. 9). It contains the genealogy of Indravarman I, given in previous paragraphs. It is dedicated to the consecration of statues to Śiva and Gauri (71, 297–310). The foundation-stele inscription of this monument was discovered in 1932. This inscription is in two parts, A and B, on opposite sides of the stele. Inscription A, in Sanskrit, includes all the data of the pillar inscription and a long eulogy of Indravarman I, with the enumeration of the donations made to the sanctuary. It is dated 879. A notable feature, soon to become common in Cambodian epigraphy, is that it fixes the date of the monument by astronomical data.¹¹ (214, 18–29).

BAKONG; BAYANG (III)

Aymonier, who collected the stampages of the first Sanskrit inscriptions of this region and sent them to Bergaigne for interpretation in 1882, found identical inscriptions on five of the eight towers of Bakong and thought they were originally carved on the other three towers also. This inscription, in Sanskrit, only, was found on only the right face of the door pillars. It is short and ends abruptly. It contains an invocation to Śiva, a genealogy and panegyric of Indravarman I similar to that of Preah Kō, but it does not identify the eight ancestors, to whom the towers were dedicated.

¹¹ Inscription Preah Kō B, in Khmer, dated 893, belongs to the next reign.

It gives the date of the accession of Indravarman I, but it does not give the date of the inscription nor that of the founding of the temple (72). The foundation-stele inscription of this monument was found in 1935. It includes all the information given in the pillar-inscription, gives the date of the accession of Indravarman I, 877 (A, st. 3), that of the foundation of the monument, A.D. 881 (A, st. 23) and valuable information regarding the foundations and donations of Indra-

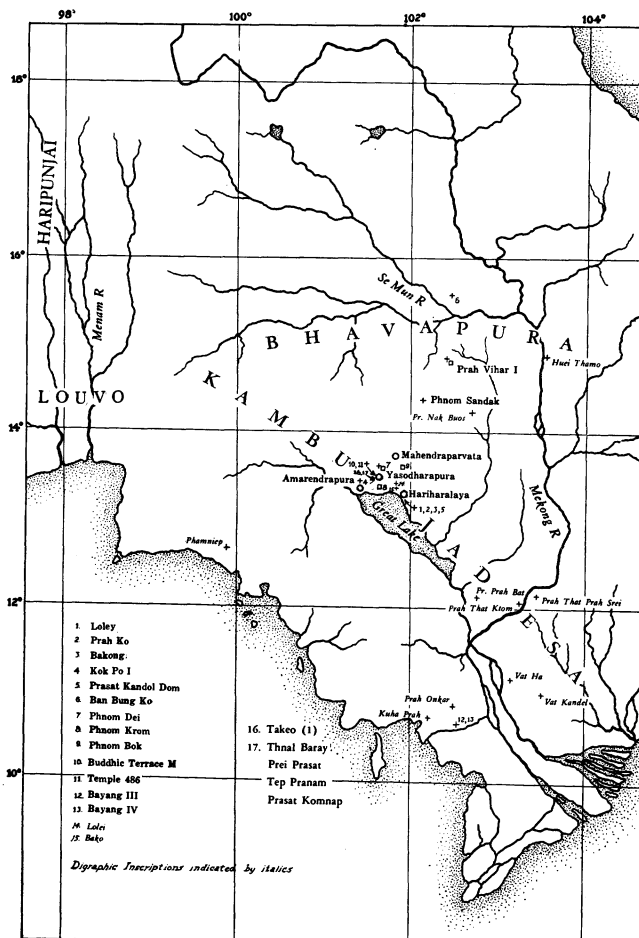
those of the inscription of Preah Kō. It qualifies Indravarman I as "sovereign of the Kambuja" (73, st. 3), which is perhaps the first appearance of that term in Cambodian epigraphy.

KŌK PŌ (I); PRASAT KANDOL DOM

The oldest inscription of Prasat Kōk Pō, which I will call inscription Kōk Pō (I), is undated but gives 883 as a last date and is apparently of the reign of Indravarman I. It consists of sixteen Sanskrit stanzas and twelve Khmer lines, forming in all twenty-two lines. This inscription is carved (identically) on both pillars of sanctuary B. It gives the genealogy, in matrilinal lines, of a sacerdotal family, which seems to have exercised the functions of chief priest of the sanctuary. It begins with an invocation to Vishṇu, gives a eulogy of Jayavarman II, goes on to one Nivāsakavi, son of Svāmin of the family of Śreṣṭhapura. This Nivāsakavi was *guru* of Jayavarman III, and was given the name of Prithivīndrapaṇḍita. He erected an image of Hari (probably in sanctuary B) in 857. The daughter of the daughter of the sister of this Prithivīndrapaṇḍita married a certain Jayendravarman, and their son, Amṛitagarbha, erected Kōk Pō D, possibly also Kōk Pō A, in 883. The daughter of the sister of Amṛitagarbha had two sons, Keśava and Amṛita, who protected this sanctuary. The Khmer part of the inscription limited itself to the donations of Jayavarman III to the god Pundarikāksha, of Śvetadvīpa (279, 387–393), which seems to have been the Sanskrit name of Prasat Kōk Pō or vicinity.

The inscription of Prasat Kandol Dom, a little to the west of Preah Kō, contained the same text, in Sanskrit and Khmer respectively, on the two door-pillars. It commemorates the foundation of a Bhadrēśvara there by Śivasoma, *guru* of Indravarman I. The interest of this inscription lies chiefly in the genealogy of Śivasoma, who seems to have been its author. The inscription says Śivasoma was the grandson of Jayendradhipātivarman, who was "king" and maternal uncle of Jayavarman II (p. 98) and that he learned the shastras from the mouth of Bhagavat Śankara. Of interest also is its statement (st. 20) that Indravarman's command was like a crown of jasmine on the proud heads of the Kings of China, Champa, and Java (215, 37–46). This, of course, is a very much exaggerated boast. It is not known that Indravarman I exercised any kind of sovereignty over even Champa, and he certainly exercised none over either Java or China.

An inscription of Ban Bung Kē, near Ubon in the central Mun valley, dated 886, relates the erection during the reign of Indravarman, by one Somāditya, of a stone image and the donation of a domain and rich gifts to "the Master of all the munis, named Trailokyānātha, in view of helping to free mankind from the conditions of birth and of death" (694, 62–64). This inscription is of interest for two reasons: It shows that



MAP 9. Inscriptions of Indravarman I and Yaśovarman I.

varman I; but it does not enlighten us about the names of the statues of the towers (214, 31–36).

A stele inscription of the Bayang (III)¹² had for its object the commemoration of a *vimāna* (dome) of a tower—apparently the construction of a new sanctuary. It mentions two monasteries (Indrāśrama) and a sacred pond, which seems to have been founded by Indravarman I. It is undated, but gives the date of the accession of Indravarman I and seems to have been of his reign. Its invocation to Śiva, its genealogy and panegyric of Indravarman I are almost identical with

¹² For inscription of Bayang (I), see p. 46; for Bayang (II), see p. 52.

the Khmers occupied the valley of the Mun at this time, and it applies to Buddha the vocable Trailokyānātha, "Savior of the Three Worlds," a vocable also applied to Rāma and Viṣṇu (Kṛishṇa).

RELIGIONS; CULT OF ANCESTORS

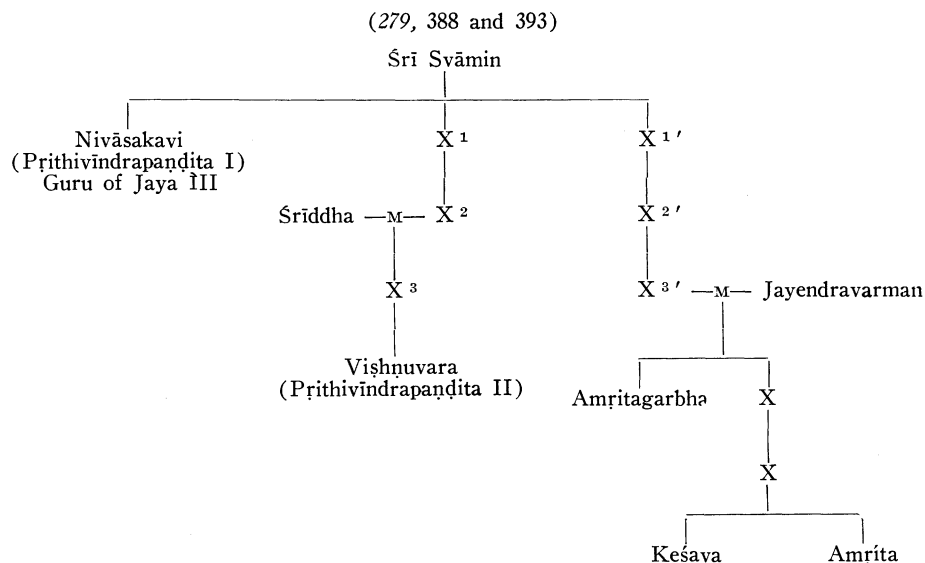
Practically all the inscriptions and foundations of Indravarman I were Śivaite. The Bakong was dedicated to the *devarāja* and its towers and prasats were related to the worship of the linga. The same was true of Preah Kō, Bayang, and Prasat Kandol Dom. However, one of the donations mentioned in the founda-

temple to the *devarāja* (king associated with Śiva) during the life-time of the king and his tomb after his death.

EXTENT OF INDRAVARMAN I'S EMPIRE, HIS DEATH

Although he had but a short reign, Indravarman I seems to have been an able and active king. The inscriptions praise him for his virtue and his warlike powers. Modesty was not a notable characteristic of Khmer kings, and the inscriptions of Indravarman I's own reign give him a full mead of praise. "Lion among

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF NIVĀSA KAVI (INSCRIPTION OF KŌK PŌ)



Note. Any pair of these (1-1', 2-2', 3-3') may represent the same person, which would fix the relationship of Prithivindrapāṇḍita II and Amṛitagarbha, who may have been brothers, sons of Jayendravarman and grandsons of the Śriddha. The inscriptions simply say that these persons (1-1', 2-2', etc.) are daughters, grand-daughters, etc. of the Svāmin.

tion-stele of Bakong is a Viṣṇu dedicated to the memory of the Viṣṇuite king, Jayavarman III; another is a Harihara, consecrated by a son of Indravarman I, and a donation was made, in the Mun valley, to the Buddha under the vocable of Trailokyanātha.

A peculiar form of ancestor-worship, of which traces were found at Sambhupura during the Chenla period (p. 82), appears to have become fixed during this reign, if not earlier. The six temples of Preah Kō sheltered images of ancestors or predecessors of the king, worshipped under the vocable of the first part of the name of the ancestor plus the suffix *-eśvara* or *-devī*.

It may be noted that two of the foundations of Indravarman I mentioned in the foundation-stele of Bakong—those of Jayavarman III and Indraloka—were to the memory of deceased ancestors or predecessors.

According to recent investigations of Coedès (209), the Bakong was the funerary temple, or mausoleum, of Indravarman I under the vocable of *Indreśvara*¹³—a

¹³ This seems to be the first known instance in Khmer epi-

graphs" (Bakou, 71, st. 10), "prince endowed with all the merits" (*ibid.*, st. 6), "hero unique" (Bayang, 73, st. 14)—these are some of the fulsome epithets applied to him. "It seems that the Creator, tired of creating so many kings, has made this King, Śrī Indravarman, to suffice alone for the three worlds" (Bakou, 71, st. 8). Even the inscriptions of his successors did not overlook him. "When he mounted the throne, . . . the diadems of kings fell from their heads at his feet, as the stars fall from the sky at the rising of the sun" (161, st. 25).

Although the inscriptions mention no specific conquests by this monarch, an inscription of the first years of his successor says his kingdom extended from the sea to China, and a current inscription shows that in his reign Khmers occupied at least the lower part of the Mun valley. He seems to have caused or directed a revival of architectural interest and is the only king

graphy of the *devarāja's* being designated by the first part of the king's name plus *-eśvara* (p. 90).

of Cambodian history who has given his name to a style of architecture or art. (See note, p. 261.)

Indravarman I died at Hariharālaya in 889. He

received the posthumous name of *Iśvaraloka* (358, 88). He was succeeded by his son, Yaśovardhana, who took the regnal name of Yaśovarman (741, st. 42).

3. THE REIGN OF YAŚOVARMAN I (889-900+)

ACCESSION, GENEALOGY

Prince Yaśovardhana succeeded his father in 889 under the name of Yaśovarman I (248). Recent investigations have dealt rather severely with the pretensions of this monarch. Until recently, he has been considered the greatest of the Cambodian kings—a great warrior and builder. He was credited with being the founder of Angkor and the builder of the Bayon, the walls and gates of Angkor Thom and other great buildings of that type. This was due partly to the natural tendency on the part of early students of the subject to connect the first inscriptions which came to light with the most prominent edifices, but also—and largely—to the pompous tone and pretensions of the inscriptions of this monarch. Investigations of the past few years have assigned the Bayon and similar buildings and the walls and gates of Angkor Thom to much later periods and have shown that the capitals and buildings of Yaśovarman were of much more humble proportions. Nothing is known of the conquests of Yaśovarman I beyond some pompous phrases of his inscriptions, and if he was the founder of a capital which included part of what was later enclosed within the walls of Angkor Thom, the center of his city was well outside of the limits of the later capital and he was not the founder of any of its present buildings (see plan 5).

In his genealogy, as previously stated, Yaśovarman I all but ignored his claim to the throne through his father, Indravarman I, or through Jayavarman II, the founder of the dynasty, and built up an elaborate family tree, connecting himself through his mother with the ancient kings of Funan and Chenla. His mother, Indradevī, according to the inscriptions, was the daughter of Mahipativarman, who is called “King” and praised in the inscriptions as “first of warriors in combat” (76, st. 4) (but who was probably the young predecessor of Jayavarman II who was beheaded by the Maharaja of Zābag). His maternal grandmother was Rājendradevī. Mahipativarman was the son of Rājendrarvarman I, who seems to have been the supreme ruler of Maritime Chenla during the middle and later part of the eighth century and in whom were united the ancient lines of Vyādhapura, Śambhupura and Aninditapura. At the same time, the complacent genealogists did not neglect the opportunity to connect Yaśovarman’s maternal grandmother, as great-granddaughter, to Agastya, a brahman of Aryadeśa (North India), who played a prominent part in the establishment of Aryan culture in South India and possibly also in Java (685; 421; 114, 2, 35–36).

CAPITAL; GURU, HOTARS, MINISTERS

Yaśovarman’s first capital was at Hariharālaya, where his three predecessors had reigned and died. His old *guru*, Vāmaśiva, was now chief of service of the *devarāja* and lord of the Śivāśrama. He held the exalted title of *vrah guru*, but he seems never to have held the title of *purohita*. The King ordered him “to guard all the means of subsistence of the sanctuaries founded by his line since Indrapura, at the *sruk* of Bhadrāgiri near Amarendrapura, at the *sruk* of Kuti in Pūrvadiśa and at the *sruk* of Bhadrāgiri in Jeng Vnam.” All the family officiated for the *devarāja*, as usual (741, st. 10–13).

Śikhāśiva, grandnephew and successor of Pranavātman, exercised his hereditary function of *hotar* (165, st. 10–11). Śikhāśanti, who served as *hotar* under Indravarman I, probably continued under Yaśovarman I. Vāsudeva, of the family of Saptadevakula, continued to serve Yaśovarman I, as he had his predecessors. Saṃkarshaṇa, successor of the Vāsudeva of Trapañ Run, seems to have served Yaśovarman I in some capacity. According to the much mutilated inscription of Preah Vihear (I), one Sālaṃ was minister of war and erected a *linga* in 893 (p. 96). According to an inscription, dated 910 and found in reemploy in the Phimeanakas, Satyāśraya, or Satyādhipativarman, astrologer-minister of Yaśovarman I, erected an image of Kṛṣṇa in that year (81, 549).

THE TEMPLE OF LOLEY, 893

Near the beginning of his reign, Yaśovarman I built or completed the temple of Loley, the third and last of the great group of Roluos (plan 2). This temple, erected on an island in the Indratatāka, consisted of four brick towers, similar to those of Preah Kō on the same terrace. Six towers were originally planned, but two were never completed (138, 93; 655).

The temple inscription of Loley, dated 893, shows that these towers were dedicated to the worship of the king’s ancestors—the front towers to Śiva, under the vocables of Indravarmesvara, in honor of the king’s father, and Mahipatesvara, in honor of his maternal grandfather; the rear towers, to Gaurī, or Bhavānī, *śakti* of Śiva, under the vocables, respectively of Indradevī and Rājendradevī, the king’s mother and his maternal grandmother (619, 33–42; 655; 74, 319–321).

This monument, although built, or at least completed, during the reign of Yaśovarman I, belongs, by its architecture, decorations, and sculpture, to the preceding

reign. Its inscriptions too, are exactly like those of the other monuments of the Roluos group and have nothing in common with the new inscriptions, of which many were being carved during the year in which it was completed.

YAŚODHARĀŚRAMA AND YAŚODHARATATĀKA

In the first year of his reign, according to the so-called Digraphic Inscriptions (p. 107), Yaśovarman erected a great *āśrama* (monastery), called Yaśodharāśrama (st. 36), the "Monastery of Yaśovarman," and dug a great pond, called Yaśodharatātāka (st. 35), the "Pond of Yaśovarman." The inscriptions of Thnāl Baray say that Yaśovarman founded one hundred monasteries (B, st. 6) and was known as the "Conservator of the Monasteries" (st. 3).

At these monasteries were erected identical stele inscriptions (the Digraphic Inscriptions) commemorating the event and announcing the establishment of a Yaśodharāśrama (st. 36). Twelve of these inscriptions have been found, in various parts of the kingdom, from Treang and Ba Phnom on the south to Basak, in what is now Laos on the north, from Thbong Khmum, east of the Mekong, to Battambang on the present Siamese border. It was at first supposed that these inscriptions celebrated a single monastery, which they called Yaśodharāśrama, located somewhere in the vicinity of Angkor, as well as a local *āśrama* dedicated to the tutelary deity of the place where the inscription was erected. Barth proposed to locate the Yaśodharāśrama somewhere at the southeast corner of the East Baray. Aymonier would identify it with the Bayon. In a recent study (1932), Coedès called attention to the stele inscription of Loley (p. 107), which says that Yaśovarman "made to all the cardinal points 100 (i.e., many) *āśrama*" (st. 46). He thinks a large Yaśodharāśrama at Angkor never existed, but that in many places, wherever the Digraphic Inscriptions were erected, were founded small monasteries, all carrying the name of Yaśodharāśrama (149, 111–112).

The Yaśodharatātāka has been identified as the East Baray, east of the Siemreap river, by the inscriptions at the four corners of it, known as the inscriptions of Thnāl Baray, the "causeway of the Baray." This immense artificial lake, now dry, was surrounded by a dike, 1,800×7,000 meters, elongated east-west (555, 165–166). It must have been intended first as a reservoir to supply water for irrigation and later for the many temples which were founded near it. When it was dug, the Siemreap river must have been turned from its course and conducted in straight lines along the western part of the north dike and along the west side of the Baray.¹

¹ Parmentier (640) credits Yaśovarman I with the construction of the West Baray also; but this seems to be an error (pp. 144, 165).

BRAHMĀŚRAMA, VAISŃAVĀŚRAMA, SAUGATĀŚRAMA

During the first years of his reign, Yaśovarman I founded, apparently just to the south of the East Baray, monasteries for the devotees of Brahmā (Brahmāśrama), Viṣṇu (Vaiṣṇavāśrama), and the Buddha (Saugatāśrama). The charters of foundation of all these monasteries have been found. The inscription of Prei Prasat, which commemorates the foundation of the Brahmāśrama, was found, near the edicule which sheltered it, near the southeast corner of the East Baray. Bergaigne and Barth considered it as one of the steles of the Thnāl Baray and thought it might be the charter of foundation of the Yaśodharāśrama (78, 412–413). The inscription of Tep Pranam, commemorating the foundation of the Saugatāśrama, was found in the temple of that name, near the Royal Palace of Angkor Thom (159), but probably came from an edicule discovered near the other two (714). The stele of Prasat Komnap, commemorating the erection of the Vaiṣṇavāśrama, has been found between Prei Prasat and Pre Rup (*ibid.*).

The monasteries, undoubtedly of wood, have wholly disappeared.

The lack of a Śivāśrama in this group was doubtless due to the many Yaśodharāśrama erected in various parts of the kingdom by Yaśovarman I and to the Śivāśrama erected by his predecessor, probably at Hariharālaya.

INTRODUCTION OF A NĀGARĪ ALPHABET

One of the most curious and interesting, if not important, facts of the reign of Yaśovarman I was the introduction of a form of the *nāgarī* alphabet of North India. Heretofore, as we have seen, the inscriptions of Cambodia had probably been written in South India characters—what we have called Pre-Pallava, or Vengi, and Pallava (pp. 25, 55). Early in the reign of Yaśovarman I, there appeared in Cambodia a new alphabet which seems to have been derived from the *nāgarī* script of Magadha. This alphabet had been in use in Java since the latter part of the eighth century, and the *nāgarī* alphabet introduced into Cambodia at this time seems to have resembled that of Java more than that of Magadha.

For some time, the old University of Nālandā, in Magadha (the present Behar), North India, had been a center of Mahāyāna influence (46, 1, 170), where Buddhist doctrines, mixed with Śivaism, Shamanism, Tantrism, magic practises and what not, were elaborated (603, 103–113). Protected by the Pāla dynasty (A.D. 750–1060), of Bengal, its influence extended over all Southeast Asia (485, 1, 100–101). The Mahārajas of the Śailendra dynasty, all-powerful in the Archipelago, were enthusiastic worshippers of this religion, and a member of this dynasty had built a monastery at Nālandā and was mentioned in an inscription

there. Many religious teachers flocked from there to Southeast Asia. The first great Buddhist monastery at Champa was established in A.D. 875 (535, 3, 74-88; 735).

This influence was not wholly Mahāyānist; for, at that time, a peculiar syncretism was taking place at Nālandā between Mahāyānism and Śivaism and the two creeds were working side by side in perfect harmony. Śivaic teachers also came to Java, possibly including a rishi named Agastya, patron saint of the Tamil culture, namesake of the *rishi* of that name mentioned in the Vedas (685, 471-472). The influence exerted by this movement in Cambodia during the reign of Yaśovarman I seems to be seen in the claim of descent from Agastya, in the erection of a Buddhist monastery and in the introduction of *nāgarī* script.

This new super-ornamental script, like the affected style of writing which accompanied it, seems to have come in with Yaśovarman I and to have disappeared early in his reign (76, 349-352).

THE DIGRAPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

As we have seen, the so-called digraphic inscriptions were scattered throughout Cambodia. The inscriptions were in Sanskrit, but each in two different scripts. The same inscription was made in *nāgarī* and the usual Khmer (Pallava) alphabet, one on each side of the temple door. Eleven of these inscriptions contain fifty stanzas each, and are identical except for stanza 36, which gives the name of the divinity honored in the place. This, in every case, is Śiva, except that of Val Kandal (Ba Phnom), which is Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu). These "stone hand-bills," as Bergaigne called them (76, 347), were not dated, but they announced the establishment of a Yaśodharāśrama in 889 (map 9).

Each inscription consisted of two parts: (1) the *prāśasti*, in honor of Yaśovarman I consisting of (a) an invocation to the gods of the Trimūrti (st. 1); (b) the *vamśa*, or genealogy (2-16), and eulogy (12-35) of the king; and (2) the *śāsana*, or ordinance of donation (36-49). The genealogy is long and complicated and is evidently an attempt to connect the king with every personage of consequence in the early history of Cambodia. The only historical information it gives is that, during the first year of his reign (A.D. 890), Yaśovarman dug a pond (Yaśodharatātāka) and built one or more hermitages (Yaśodharāśrama). The *śāsana* gives rules of conduct for the guests of the hermitages.

A twelfth digraphic inscription, the stele of Loley (77), is much longer than the others. The genealogy is identical with that of the other eleven, and the edict of donation, in seventy-five stanzas, adds little except a mention of China, some data on the hierarchy and personnel of the hermitage and mention of a pond, Taratātāka, "the pond of the pearls," near the Yaśodharatātāka.

This digraphism, as Barth pointed out long ago, like

the flowery language and integral repetition which accompanied it, seems to have arisen from a mode of affectation rather than from any purpose of utility. The closest resemblance to these fashions is said to be found in the inscriptions of the Pallava kings on the Rathas and other temples of Śāluvankuppa and Kañcīpura (76, 346-355). It came into South India a short time before from the north.

INSCRIPTIONS IN NAGĀRĪ CHARACTER ONLY

The twelve inscriptions mentioned above are in both *nāgarī* and Pallava script. Several other inscriptions are in *nāgarī* characters only. Such are the so-called inscriptions of Thnāl Baray (79), found at the four corners of the East Baray, which are identical in every respect. They record the foundation of the Yaśodharatātāka (D, st. 22), mention the foundation of 100 *āśrama* (B, st. 6) and say that Yaśovarman was called the "Conservator of the *Āśramas*" (D, st. 3). They do not give many data on the history of Cambodia, but they show a great familiarity with the Hindu classics.

The steles of Prei Prasat, Tep Pranam and Prasat Komnap celebrate the foundation of the Brahmāśrama, the Vaisṇavāśrama and the Saugatāśrama. They resemble those of the Thnāl Baray and differ from each other only in the regulations of the different monasteries (149; 189; 714).

A mutilated stele-inscription found in the temple of Preah Vihear (I) and a worn stele-inscription found in the debris of the porch of the south library of Ta Keo (I) (189; 380) are in *nāgarī* character only. For certain reasons which will appear later, Coedès thinks these inscriptions are later copies of originals, which, like other inscriptions of *nāgarī* only, bear A.D. 893 as a last date. These inscriptions contain genealogies of the wives of Jayavarman II and their descendants, continued later in some cases into the reign of Sūryavarman I. We have seen how this family has furnished brahmins and ministers to Jayavarman II, Jayavarman III, Indravarman I, and Yaśovarman I. The events and donations recorded by these inscriptions took place, as far as the locations have been identified, in the vicinity of Angkor or a little to the north and west. The original inscriptions are older than the temples where they were found and evidently had no connection with them. Copies of them, with later additions, were placed in these temples during the reign of Sūryavarman I (p. 150).

INSCRIPTIONS CONTAINING REPETITION OF TEXT

Inscriptions, in Pallava script only, are sometimes repeated integrally, in many copies, in the same temple. These inscriptions, which apparently belong to the early years of the reign of Yaśovarman I, seem to be confined to the three sanctuaries of the Roluos group.

The door frames of the four towers of the temple

of Loley, which was completed by Yaśovarman I in 893, contain identical inscriptions, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmer, and the same inscription is repeated many times, in Khmer, on the false doors and pillars of the interior of the temple. This inscription dedicates the towers to the father and mother and the maternal grandparents of the king. It gives the date of the temple, 893. This inscription, especially the Khmer version, enumerates the donations to the temple. The character of the writing is the same as that of the other inscriptions of the Roluos group (74).

The same disposition is found in the six towers of the temple of Bakou. This inscription gives the date of the foundation of the temple, 881; but it is thought that the repetitions may have been made during the reign of Yaśovarman I. The Khmer part (IV) found in the interior of the towers, is dated 893 (214, 28–31).

There are reasons for thinking that the same inscription was carved, in Sanskrit only, on the door-frames of the eight towers of the temple of Bakong. The text is uncompleted and contains only eight stanzas. The repetition of texts in this inscription seems to indicate that these repetitions were the work of Yaśovarman I and the unfinished condition of all the copies suggests that the Bakong was abandoned abruptly on the removal of the capital to Phnom Bakheng (72, 312).

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS IN PALLAVA CHARACTER

The inscriptions in *nāgarī* script, as we have noted, seem to belong only to the early years of Yaśovarman I. They are all either dated in 893 or carry that as a last date. Inscriptions in Pallava script continued in vogue after this fleeting fashion had disappeared.

The pillar inscription of Phnom Dei, in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 893, indicates that the sanctuary erected there was consecrated to the almost-forgotten cult of Harihara. The object of the inscription was to precise the boundaries of the domain of this divinity (134).

The undated Sanskrit inscription of Phnom Sandak, about twenty-five miles north of Chok Gargyar, had for its object to commemorate the restoration of that temple by a monk, whose name is not given, but who was a disciple of Śivasoma and had been named by Yaśovarman I as instructor in the domain of Indra-varmeśvara (75).

An undated slab inscription of Buddhist Terrace M, of the southwest quarter of Angkor Thom, in Sanskrit and Khmer, gives a panegyric of Yaśovarman I and mentions foundations of that monarch, including one to the Yaśodharatātāka (381; 263).

A flag-stone inscription found in Temple 486, Angkor Thom, in Sanskrit and Khmer, relates the erection of a statute of Vishṇu and a foundation in favor of this sanctuary by a maternal uncle of Yaśovarman I named Śrī Samaravikrama. This event is undated, but seems to have occurred during the reign of Yaśovarman I.

It praises Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and other gods (382).

A stele inscription of Bayang (IV) commemorates the foundation of a *sālā* (=resthall) in the plain at the south of Phnom Bayang by an ascetic named Amara-bhāva who had been named "Chief of the North Indrāśrama" by Indravarman I, which was renewed by Yaśovarman I. The inscription mentions the making by him of a golden statue of Śiva destined to be carried in processions (225, 256–259).

ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW CAPITAL

From the very beginning of his reign, Yaśovarman I seems to have decided to build a new capital, and the location of the Yaśodharatātāka and the monasteries mentioned above seem to point to Kuti reign. Finot thinks it was as early as the second year of his reign (890) that Yaśovarman laid out the city which the inscriptions call Yaśodharapura (408, 49–52). The foundation-stele of the monument says it was dedicated in 893.

On the Central Mount (*Yaśodharagiri*), he erected a holy temple (*Vnam Kantāl*) in which Vāmaśiva, established the *devarāja* in the form of a Śivalinga. "Then His Majesty Paramaśivaloka established the royal city of Śrī Yaśodharapura and brought the *devarāja* from Hariharālaya to this city. Then His Majesty Paramaśivaloka erected the Central Mount. The lord of the Śivāśrama founded a holy linga in the center" (741, D st. 24–29).

BAYON ONCE BELIEVED TO BE CENTRAL MOUNT

From 1901, when Aymonier published his résumé of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (6, 2, 250–277), until 1923, it was taken for granted that Yaśodharapura was Angkor Thom and that the *Vnam Kantāl*, the shrine of the *devarāja*, was the Bayon (358, 89, n. 4). In the course of some excavations during the latter year, Parmentier discovered that the Bayon was originally a Buddhist shrine. Finot, then Director of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, advanced the theory that the Bayon was conceived, and at least partly built, in the early part of the ninth century by Jayavarman II, who, during his sojourn in "Java," was supposed to have been inoculated with Mahāyāna Buddhism, and particularly with the worship of Lokeśvara, of whom many images were found at the Bayon and elsewhere in Angkor Thom (394). But, as we have seen, the studies of Stern and Coedès in 1927 and 1928, definitely placed the date of the Bayon at a much later period and left us free to regard Jayavarman II as—what his posthumous name and the event of his reign indicate him to have been—a worshipper of Śiva (735).

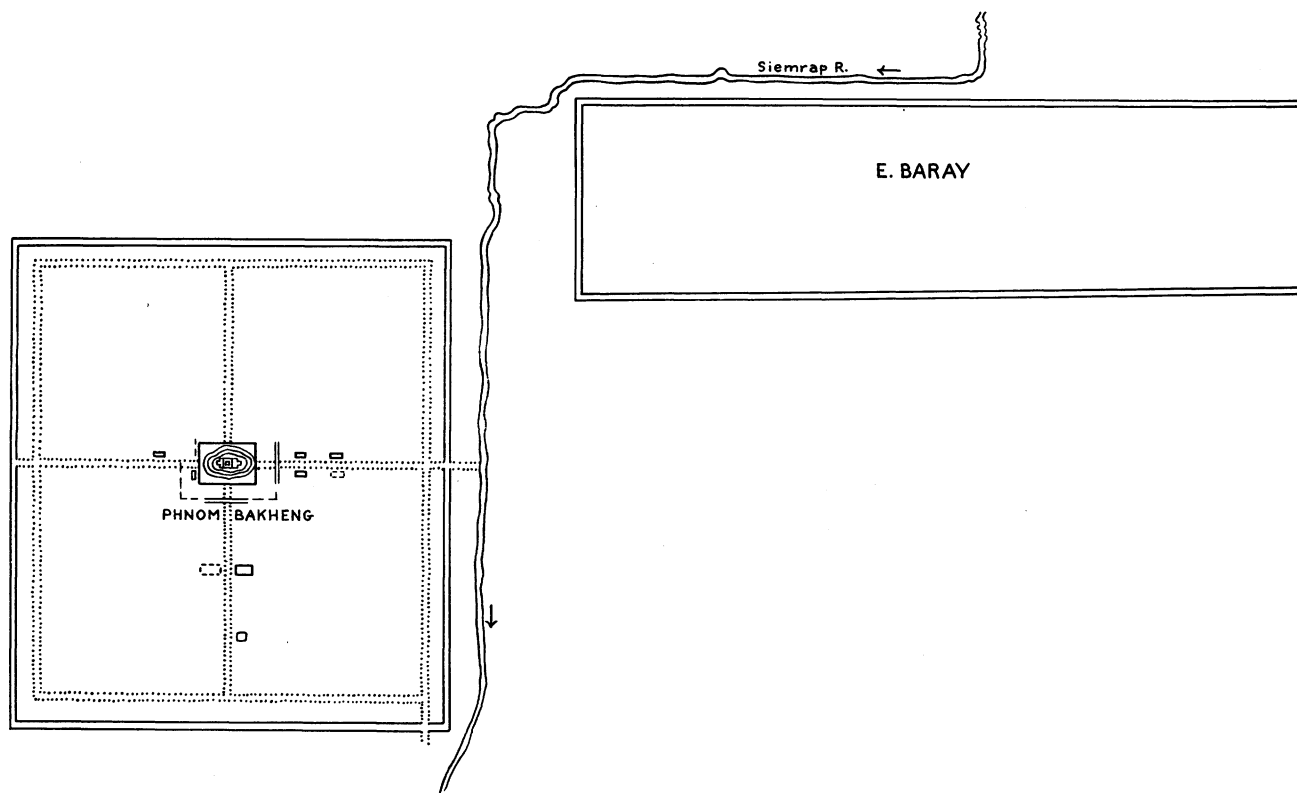
Stern, however, still believed Angkor Thom to be Yaśodharapura and suggested that the *Vnam Kantāl* was the Phimeanakas (698, 55–56), which, curiously, is located at the intersection of a line running west from

the center of Yaśodharatātāka and one running north from the Phnom Bakheng, all of which he believed were built by Yaśovarman I (*ibid.*, 54–56). But Finot showed that the Phimeanakas was erected at a later period (408, 57–59).

MOUNT BAKHENG THE CENTRAL MOUNT

It was the sagacity and labors of Victor Goloubew in 1932 and 1934, which fixed the location of the *Vnam Kantāl* of the first Yaśodharapura at Phnom Bakheng, a hill arising a few hundred meters to the west of the

across the later Angkor Thom between the Bayon and the Baphuon. This moat doubtless enclosed a wooden palisade, of which, of course, all traces have disappeared. The city of Yaśodharapura thus included the site of Angkor Wat and more than half that of Angkor Thom, but its center was outside of the enclosure of the later city. Axial causeways, twelve to thirteen meters wide, ran from the base of the mountain to the limits of the city in the directions of the four cardinal points. The one running to the west passed in front of the temple of Ak Yom and along the southern boundary



PLAN 5. The Yaśodharapura of Yaśovarman I.

road running from the south gate of Angkor Thom past Angkor Wat. The city, whose levees of earth can be traced, encloses an area of about sixteen square kilometers, considerably more extensive than the walled enclosure of Angkor Thom.² It was probably, however, largely an agglomeration of villages and markets, interspersed with rice-fields. Its western and southern boundaries, extending far beyond those of Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat, are still represented by a double line of dikes, which once enclosed a moat two hundred meters wide, surrounding the city, but which is now dry and is used for rice-fields. The eastern limit reached to the Siemreap river, which was straightened for the occasion. The northern boundary cut

of the later West Baray; that to the north, later connected first the Phimeanakas, then the Baphuon, with Mount Bakheng (plan 5).

Besides the immense moat which surrounded it, about eight hundred artificial water ponds have been discovered in the city. They are either square or rectangular and are arranged according to a geometric pattern, around the base of the central hill and along both sides of the axial avenues, where remains of pottery and tile indicate that the houses of the people, in light material, were located.

THE TEMPLE OF PHNOM BAKHENG

Yaśovarman I chose the Phnom Bakheng for his Yaśodharagiri, "Mountain of Yaśovarman," as it is called in the inscriptions, the site of the *Vnam Kantāl*,

² The walls of Angkor Thom enclose an area of about nine square kilometers.

the central temple of the *devarāja*, in imitation of Mount Meru, the legendary center of the Hindu cosmos (p. 89). He was doubtless influenced also by the proximity of the Siemreap river, to take the place of the sacred Ganges, which has played such an important part in Indian legend and religious history.

The hill, natural instead of artificial, rising to a height of 65 meters, contained five gradins, faced with masonry. The base of the hill was surrounded by a moat and an artificial levee, 440×650 meters, elongated east-west. Stairways with lions led to the top on the four sides. At the base were gopuras in laterite and from the stairways causeways continued to the outer limits of the city. The gradins, along the stairways, contained sixty little towers and thirty-six brick towers were arranged around the base.

On the summit was an artificial plateau, of 100×200 meters, elongated east-west. The hill slopes toward the east and the temple was oriented in that direction. On the summit were five square sandstone towers, arranged in a quincunx, on the same level, and open to the four cardinal points—both of which were novel features in Khmer architecture—and the arrangement at least was an important step in the development of the pyramid-temple. The central tower, more important than the others, housed the *devarāja*, under the name of *Yasodhareśvara*, as shown by an inscription of a later reign (p. 142).

These towers have been partly destroyed and an enormous and ugly modern Buddha has been spread over the upper plateau. Enough remains to show the inner walls, with a niche which sheltered a god, and bas-reliefs showing scrolls, apsaras, and celestial dancers. Little can be said about the lintels, but fragments show that the colonettes were of the regular octagonal type. The frontons show a panel of scrolls with heads of the thirty-three gods of the Indian pantheon (647; 445; 447; 450).

OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS OF YASOVARMAN I

This king seems to have had a passion for building sanctuaries on isolated hills and crowned nearly every hill in the vicinity of his capital with a temple. In 893, according to an inscription found there, he consecrated a tiny temple on Phnom Dei, or Purandraparvata as it is called in the inscription, to Śankara-Narāyāna (Harihara.) This mountain is north of the East Baray, near Banteay Srei. It is about three hundred meters high and the slope is very steep. The sanctuary is a square edifice of brick, with stone as auxiliary (134).

THE PRASAT PHNOM KROM

On a hill about one hundred and twenty meters high, between Phnom Bakheng and the lake, this consisted of three square sanctuaries in sandstone, the central one a little larger than the others, aligned north-south on a single laterite terrace oriented to the east and

west; four annexes in a parallel line in front, the two center ones in sandstone, the others in brick, oriented to the east; and a series of long halls, in laterite, near the walls, all enclosed by a laterite wall which has a gopura-like entrance at the east. The central sanctuary has a principal storey and three slowly-receding upper storeys preserved. The outer walls contain *devatās* in niches instead of flying palaces, while, above, the *devatās* are replaced by seated figures. The two true and two false doors, like the double orientation, were unusual. The lintels are not well preserved, but apparently consisted of a lion's head in the center, garlands, and divergent *makaras* at the ends. The colonettes were octagonal, with large bare spaces. Inside, the floor was lower than the ground and the vault was corbelled with successive drums. It was apparently dedicated to the Trimūrti—Vishṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā (619, 52–57; 431; 327, 1938: 425).

THE PRASAT PHNOM BOK

East of Preah Khan and north of Roluos, this is on a hill more than two hundred meters high. It consisted of three square stone sanctuaries, apparently on a common foundation, and other monuments having the same disposition as those of Phnom Krom—two true and two false doors, niches with *devatās*, octagonal colonettes, corbelled vaults with redents and drums. The towers are much more ruined, but their ruin has preserved the decorations. A well-preserved lintel shows a lion's head, carrying a little personage in the center and divergent *makaras* at the ends. The fronton contained the 33 heads of the Hindu pantheon, similar to those of Phnom Bakheng. Three heads of the Trimūrti, a linga and a beautiful statue of Vishṇu have been found there (619, 48–51; 428). A broken linga found on the gradins of this monument is the largest known—4 meters high and 1.2 meters in diameter (431, 373 n.).

PREAH VIHEAR

In spite of its distance from the capital and its apparent inaccessibility, the architect of this period found what is probably the most remarkable site in Cambodia for the location of a temple. The Dangrek Mountains run for about 4,000 kilometers, almost directly east-west, but very slightly concave toward the north, forming the watershed between the drainage basins of the Tonle Sap and the Se Mun. This range averages about 300 meters in height and during much of its extent forms an abrupt wall at the north of the great valley of Cambodia. Toward the north it slopes more gradually toward the Se Mun. Near the center of this wall a triangular promontory, about 150 meters long and 160 meters wide at the base, projects southward. This promontory rises abruptly about 525 meters above the plain to the south and the view is magnificent. On clear days, the bluish outline of Phnom Kulen,

some 100 or more kilometers to the south, may be discerned (656, 1, 277).

On this overhanging cliff, apparently about A.D. 893, was begun one of the most remarkable sanctuaries of Khmer architecture—the Sivaite temple of Preah Vihear. This sanctuary, instead of being built in concentric enclosures, as was coming to be the mode of the time, was stretched out in successive courts, connected by causeways, over a distance of more than 800 meters from the principal sanctuary, on the edge of the cliff, down a gradual slope (through 5 gopuras and a succession of steep stairways and sloping causeways bordered by boundary stones), to the plains to the north. These gopuras marked changes of level. The ones nearest the temple were surrounded, in front and on

the south, the first enclosure turns its back to it in a blind gopura. But it was probably visible from the tower of the central sanctuary (656, 1, 270–342).

ART: THE STYLE OF BAKHENG

Parmentier classifies these monuments and their decorations as belonging to the Art of Indravarman (619). Madame de Coral Rémusat and Stern give a special Style of Bakheng, which covers the art of this period, except Lolei, which belongs to the Style of Roluos.

The tendency of the architecture of this style, of which the Bakheng was the only perfected type, was to build large towers in sandstone, on natural emi-

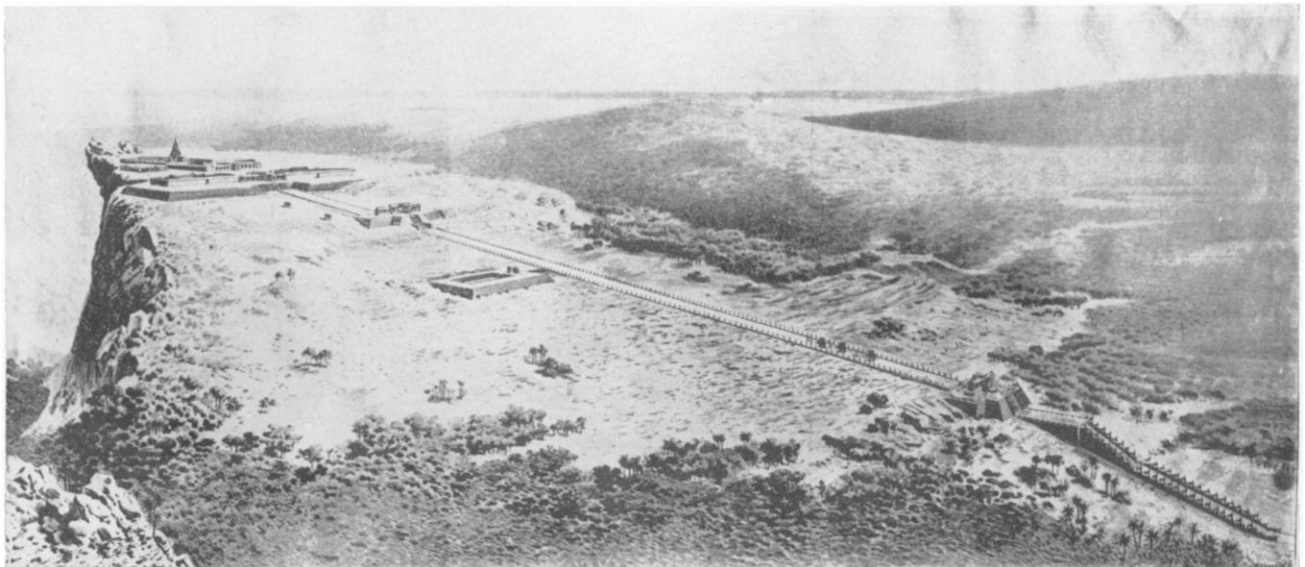


FIG. 19. Preah Vihear: birds-eye view.

the east side at least, by a wall carved in the rock. The enclosures were thought to be completed where possible, by wooden palisades. Below the fourth gopura, near the base of the projecting cliff, a steep path on the east side, descended by rugged inclines and steep stairways, to the plains of Cambodia (fig. 19).

A dilapidated stele inscription, later found in the central sanctuary, probably did not have anything to do with the monument at this time. Nevertheless, Parmentier, who has made the most extensive study of the subject, believes that the central sanctuary, its east and west galleries, its false gopura and the gopuras of enclosures I-V, were built at this time—all in light construction; also the causeways of enclosures III, IV, and V (plan 15) with the whole system of stairways and inclines, very crude and steep at first. The central sanctuary was probably erected on a redented, square foundation and its retreating upper sections rose to a considerable height.³ In spite of the marvelous view to

nences, with terraces faced in stone. The decorations did not differ greatly from those of the preceding period. The lintels, of which that of Phnom Bok seems to be the most perfect type, are simpler than those of Lolei. Leaves seem to be invading the interspaces of the octagonal colonettes. The borders of the frontons, redented or polylobed, end in *makara*-heads. The tympanons contain complicated scenes and groups of personages, in spite of the invasion of the foliage.

Human sculptures developed, but became more stylized. The clothing was entirely pleated, generally with the upper border turned over a belt. The “drapery in pocket” and the “fall in double anchor,” which appeared at the end of Pre-Angkorian Art were more and more stylized. The body, male or female, was nude above the waist. The superciliary arches were horizontal and sharp. The eyes and lips were bordered with a double trace. The mustache was prominent and the hair and beard formed a point on the chin and at the temples. The ear-lobes were pierced with large

³ It was later rebuilt in stone (p. 162).

holes. The coiffure always carried a diadem, accompanied sometimes by a cylindrical cone with falling curls or horizontal tresses, sometimes by a cone staged with jewelry.

The *nāga* did not appear in the sculptures of this period. The lions, which were abundant, were seated like those of Roluos and Kulen, but were taller and better proportioned. They were, perhaps, the most natural lions of Khmer art. The curls were smaller and became stylized. The mane was pointed, both on the breast and the back (301, 12–13 and pl. 2) (fig. 16c).

RELIGIONS

Although the worship of the *devarāja* was the state form of religion, there is an abundance of evidence that other forms of Brahmanic worship, as well as Mahāyāna Buddhism, were tolerated and protected during the reign of Yaśovarman I.

We have seen that monasteries were built all over the kingdom under his name—Yaśodharāśrama. These were generally dedicated to Śiva; but one—at Ba Phnom—was dedicated to Viṣṇu. An inscription dedicated the erection of a statue to Viṣṇu. Another inscription commemorated the erection of a statue to Harihara. Monasteries were also established for devotees of Brahmā and Buddhā as well as for those of Śiva and Viṣṇu. An inscription praised, in one instance, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, and other gods. Statues of the Hindu Trimūrti were found at Phnom Krom and Phnom Bok. And frontons of Bakheng and Phnom Bok represent heads of the entire thirty-three deities of the Hindu pantheon (p. 110). It would be difficult to find, in all Khmer history, a reign in which tribute was paid to more deities than during that of Yaśovarman I.

FOUNDATIONS IN NORTHWEST CAMBODIA

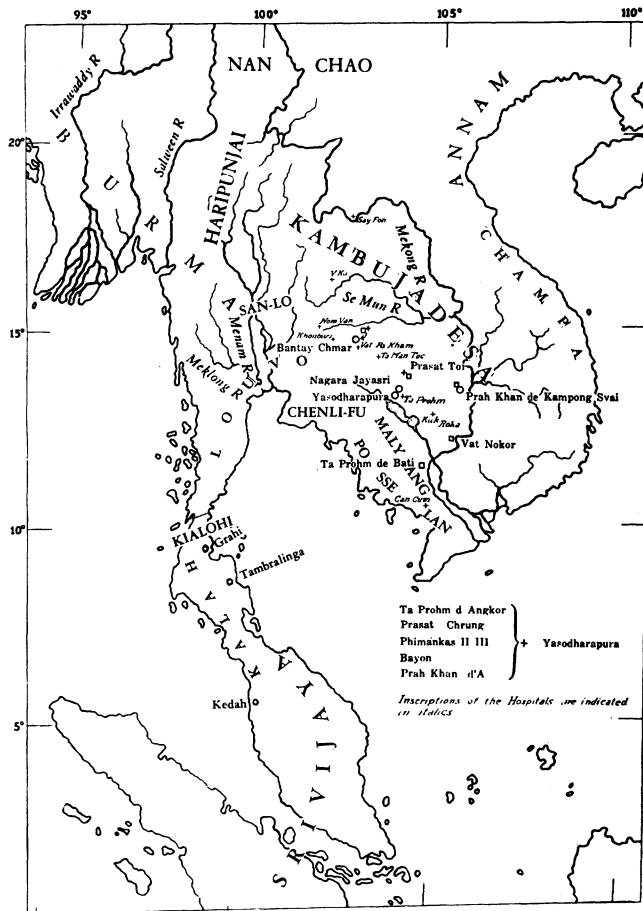
The history of the family of Śivakaivalya shows how the reign to the northwest of the Great Lake was being organized during this reign.

Yaśovarman I gave Vāmaśiva a piece of land near Bhadrāgiri (p. 105), which belonged to the *Steng an Rudrācārya*, the ancestor,⁴ and Vāmaśiva founded there the village of Bhadrapaṭṭana and Bhadrāvāsa. The king gave him a linga of more than two coudees, which had been erected at the Vnam Kantāl (p. 108), which he erected at Bhadrapaṭṭana, and a statue of Bhagavatī, which he erected in the country of Bhavasa, in the *sruk* of Bhadrapaṭṭana. The king gave him all the necessary cultural material, goods for offering, slaves, a rice field at Ganeśvara, *praman* (district) of Amoghapura. This rice field also was attached to Stuk Ramsi.

Then the king designated a religious named *Steng an Śikha*, disciple of the lord of the Śivāśrama, to found a sanctuary in the *sruk* of Bhadrapaṭṭana. He engaged

two *bhūtāsas* of the *praman* of Jeng Vnam (Foot of the Mountain) to establish the *sruk* and built the sanctuary. The king consecrated Bhavālaya and three other *sruks* to Bhadrapaṭṭana.

Yaśovarman I gave the *Steng an Hiranyaruśi*, *Steng an* of Vnam Kansā, younger lord of the Śivāśrama, who was also doyen of the *ācāryas*, of the king, the land of Stuk Ransi, in the *visaya* of Amoghapura and he established a *sruk* there, provisioned it and made a foundation.



MAP 10. The Khmer Empire under Yaśovarman I.

The lord of the Śivāśrama and the *Steng an* of Vnam Kansā brought three nieces, daughters of the same mother from the *sruk* of Kutī, in the *visaya* of Pūrva-diśa and established them, two at Stuk Ransi and one at Bhadrapaṭṭana. Hereafter, the branch of the family at Stuk Ransi and Bhadrapaṭṭana did not share in the functions of the original branch of the family at Kutī, which alone served the *devarāja*. Some were *ācārya-pradhāna*, who were also *ācārya-homa*, officiating in the holy area of the sacrifice, remaining as functionaries of the royal service, dependent on the means of the family. This branch of the family furnished the *ācāryas* of various categories of the royal services (741, D st. 13–29).

⁴ Rudrācārya is called "the ancestor" (i.e., of the family) as Śivakaivalya formerly was (741, 114, n. 1).

YAŠOVARMAN AS WARRIOR; EXTENT OF
EMPIRE

More inscriptions have come to light covering the reign of Yaśovarman I than that of any other king of Cambodia; and no king has been more fulsomely praised by them. "Best among Kings" (Loley—74), "unique bundle of splendors, whose power was mortal to his enemies" (Dig. Ins.—76, st. 16); "Vanquished by this King, who made Justice flourish, Injustice fled, one does not know where" (*ibid.*, st. 24); "In seeing him, the creator was astonished, and seemed to say to himself: 'Why did I create a rival for myself in this King?'" (*ibid.*, st. 26); "In combat, looking at this King whose brilliance was difficult to support, his proud enemies inclined their heads before him, like so many lotuses, saying: 'It is the sun'" (*ibid.*, st. 31); "He broke into three pieces, with a single stroke of the sword, a large iron rod, as if to punish it for rivaling his arm" (*ibid.*, st. 33); "In all the sciences and in all the sports, in the arts, the languages and the writings, in dancing, singing and all the rest, he was as clever as if he had been the first inventor of them" (Loley—st. 51)—The boastful lapidists reached a new high in sycophantic fawning.

With all these and many more fulsome plaudits about his excellence as a warrior, we know nothing about any wars waged by him. It was formerly supposed that the reference to a war with Champa in the inscription of Banteay Chhmar (6, 2, 346–346) referred to the reign of Yaśovarman I. We now know that the temple of Banteay Chhmar was not built until several centuries later and that the king referred to in that inscription was Yaśovarman II, who ruled about the middle of the twelfth century.

Still, withal, Yaśovarman must have been a strong king. The stele of Loley, dated 893, the fifth year of his reign, gives us the boundaries he inherited: "The earth which he protected was bounded by the frontier of Cina [China] and the sea" (77, st. 56). The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong, A.D. 947, and the map of Georges Maspero for the year 960, probably represent the limits of the territory he handed over to his successors. This inscription says he was "supreme master of the territory which had for its limits Sūksma-Kāmratā [apparently the Mon Kingdom of Thatōn or Rāmānyadeśa], the Ocean, Cina [China] and Campa [Champa]." Maspero's map extends the boundaries on the north to include the Sip-song Panna, now in the Chinese province of Yunnan, at the northwest to include the Keng Tung country, now a part of the Burmese Shan states, and on the southwest to Grahi—the old P'an-p'an—in the Malay Peninsula (map 10). These lack little of being the Khmer Empire's widest boundaries. If Yaśovarman I did not extend these boundaries, at any rate he held them for several years, while at home his levees of corveable workmen, by hundreds of thousands, were engaged in the servile

task of building temples and monasteries, digging artificial lakes, and changing the course of a river.

DEATH OF YAŠOVARMAN I; THE LEPER
KING STORY

We do not know the exact year of the death of Yaśovarman I, but an inscription of the Phimeanakas (I) (p. 105) and an undated inscription indicate that he died before 910 or early in that year.⁵ He received the posthumous name of Paramaśivaloka (358 89).

Most of the activity of Yaśovarman I's reign seems to have taken place during its first years, or at least the work was consecrated then. This may have loaned credit to the legend, supported by Aymonier and others, that during his later years Yaśovarman I became a leper and retired to a neighboring valley and that no later king took his name (6, 3, 487, 88). This legend is without foundation. More misinformation has probably been written about Yaśovarman I than about any other king of Cambodian history, and this legend has gone the way of the belief that he was the greatest of the builder kings of Cambodia and that he conquered Champa. The asexual statue of the so-called Leper King carries an inscription which seems to identify it as Dhārmarāja, God of Death and Judgment (p. 232). The so-called Terrace of the Leper King is known to have been built several centuries after the death of Yaśovarman I and, as has been said, investigators have brought to light a Yaśovarman II.

ESTIMATE OF THE REIGN OF YAŠOVARMAN

Our estimate of Yaśovarman I has passed through three stages. Among the first inscriptions brought to light in Cambodia were those of his reign—many, long, flowery, and bombastic. He had given his name to a great capital. It was natural that he should be given credit for Angkor Thom, the Bayon and other important works and be rated as the greatest of the builder-kings. A later inscription, believed to be contemporary, attributed to him the conquest of Champa. It was but natural that he should be given high rank among the warrior-kings of Cambodia.

In the course of investigations, however, it was discovered that Angkor Thom and the Bayon belonged to a much later period, and that it was a later Yaśovarman who warred against Champa. Yaśovarman I's work seemed to be reduced to the construction of the temple of Loley, no conquests, and his boastful inscriptions. It was not until recently that the extent of the capital he built, with its central temple on Phnom Bakheng was brought to light.

These temples and others now assigned to his reign, judged by the period in which they were built, restore Yaśovarman I to a respectable place among the builder-kings of the Kambuja. Beyond doubt, his most marvellous achievement was in the conduction and conser-

⁵ Coedès says he ceased to reign in 900 (278, 194; 140, 13).

vation of a water-supply. The digging of the immense East Baray, the changing and control of the course of the Siemreap river and the wonderful system of moats, reservoirs and pools with which he provided his new capital, constitute a remarkable achievement. And if we know nothing definite about his conquests, later documents testify that at any rate he maintained boundaries near the widest extent the Khmer Empire ever had, while at home he employed many hundreds of thousands in the forced labor of constructing these public works.

Withal, Yaśovarman I showed a toleration, an eclecticism, a progressivism, quite lacking in some greater kings. All religions were tolerated and monasteries were established for all the great forms of worship. He seems to have welcomed foreign ideas. He is the only king of Cambodia who, in his genealogy, boasts of immediate descent from a brahman of another country. He was influenced by the wave of Mahāyānism which swept over the Archipelago at that time. Even his adoption of the *nāgarī* script and repetition of a text in inscriptions, vain and bombastic as they may be, show a cosmopolitan sympathy found in few kings of the Kambuja.

Although Yaśovarman I probably reigned only a little more than 10 years, and his dynasty lasted less than 30 years after his death, he left a profound impression on his successors. He gave his name to a capital, Yaśodharapura, which he himself sometimes called Kambupuri (79, st. 21). Yet years later, when kings of new dynasties established new capitals which included only part of the old, so great was the force of his memory that these kings could not give their names to their capitals, although Jayavarman V succeeded in having his capital, or part of it, called Jayendranagarī for a time (p. 125). Even Jayavarman VII, although he called the moat and walls of his rebuilt capital Jayasindhu and Jayagiri (138, 88) and gave the city which he established close by (Preah Khan) the name of Jayaśrī (p. 223), did not venture to change the name of the capital.⁶

All things considered, Yaśovarman I still merits a place beside the greatest kings of the Kambuja Period.

⁶ In 1605 the name Sreiyaśothor was still part of the name of the royal title at Phnom Penh, although Angkor Thom had been abandoned as capital nearly two centuries before that date (327, 1923: 129).

4. THE SONS OF YAŚOVARMAN I AND THE SOJOURN AT CHOK GARGYAR (900+ -944+)

ACCESSION OF HARSHAVARMAN I

Yaśovarman's sons, Harshavarman I and Īśānavarman II, seem to have reigned successively after the death of their father. There is no certainty about the date or method of the coming or departure of either of them, and, from first to last, there seems to be a great deal of obscurity about the events of their reigns.

Both of these kings received their full mead of praise in the inscriptions.

He¹ had a well-beloved son, Śrī Rudraloka,² who caused the joy of the universe and whose feet were lighted by the splendor of the garlands of rubies covering the diadems of the kings of the four cardinal points. Clever at arms, resplendent with glory, (firm as a) pillar in meditation, active to serve others, endowed with a powerful energy, closed to evil (161, st. 30-31).

Then his younger brother, born of the same mother, Śrī Paramarudraloka,³ victorious, surpassing Kāma by his beauty, dissipating the fogs, possessing all the talents, was a moon among kings (*ibid.*, st. 33).

PUROHITAS, HOTARS, MINISTERS

Like Vāmaśiva, his nephew, Kūmarasvāmin, lord of the Śivāśrama, is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions as *purohita*, but he was *hotar* and officiated during the reigns of the two brothers. He was also doyen of the *ācārya* (*ācārya pradhāna*) and head of the family

(*pradhāna ta kule*). Coedès thinks the family had become so large that a reorganization was necessary.

Under the reigns of H. M. Rudraloka and H. M. Paramarudraloka, all members of the family officiated for the *devarāja* according to the established order. The *steṇ añ* Kūmarasvāmi, nephew of the lord of the Śivāśrama, doyen of the *ācārya*, was doyen of the family; he established the *sruk* of Parāśara, on a piece of land in Stuk Ransi and organized a service of loans, which H. M. placed under the authority of the family (741, D st. 29-31).

Sikhāśiva, of the family of Pranavātman, who had served as *hotar* under Yaśovarman I, continued to serve under his two sons (165, st. 10), Manaśśiva, nephew of Vāsudeva of the family of Saptadevakula who served under Yaśovarman I, served under Harshavarman I and Īśānavarman II (31, A, st. 20-21). Saṃkarshaṇa, of the family of Aninditapura, continued to serve under the two sons of Yaśovarman I. Hyang Karpūrā, granddaughter of Hyang Pavitrā of the family of Haripūrā, who was a wife of Jayavarman II (pp. 90), was given in marriage by Harshavarman I to the penitent Divyantara (29, B, st. 3-4).

RELATIONS WITH THEIR UNCLE, JAYAVARMAN

A Khmer inscription at Vat Chakret (II), at the foot of Ba Phnom dated 912, partly illegible, refers to a prince called Śrī Jayasinhavarman. The writing of this inscription is so different from that of the other

¹ Yaśovarman I.

² Harshavarman I.

³ Īśānavarman II.

monuments of the same epoch, so negligent and incorrect, that Bergaigne, who edited the Sanskrit part of the inscription, was tempted to suggest that it was not written by the king, but by this Prince Jayasimhavarman (82, 552). Thus, even at the beginning of Harshavarman I's reign, that king's control of events in some parts of his kingdom seems uncertain. Was this prince trying to cause disaffection in the old Funan region, so long neglected by the Kambuja?

The two royal brothers seem to have been involved during a great part of their reigns with their uncle, Jayavarman, husband of Yaśovarman's sister. Perhaps he was the Jayasimhavarman of the Vat Chakret inscription and was regent of the young princes during their minority, or during the latter years of the reign of Yaśovarman I, of which we know little. Barth thinks he was Viceroy at Chok Gargyar (83, 560 n.). At any rate, Jayavarman seems to have revolted and to have set up a new government at Chok Gargyar in 921. The inscription of Prasat Kravan mentions a Jayaviravarman, with one Mahīdharavarman and a Virendrādhīpativarman, as founding and doting that sanctuary in that year (6, 3, 14–16); while apparently later, in the same year according to the inscription of Prasat Thom (83, 145), Jayavarman revolted, was victorious and returned to Chok Gargyar, with a *purohita* and established a *devarāja* there (358, 90–91). This is a little confusing, as the old *purohita* seems to have continued to serve the two brothers at Yaśodharapura as chief priest of the *devarāja*, apparently until 928.

THE BROTHERS RULE AT YAŚODHARAPURA, 921–928

Harshavarman I seems to have returned to Yaśodharapura and to have continued to rule there; for the inscription of Tuol Pei (Residence of Kompong Thom) speaks of Harshavarman I as ruling there in 921–922 (145, 17). The inscription of Tūol Kul, in the Khan of Mon (Baṭṭambang) shows that Īśānavarman II was ruling there in 925 (334, 493). How long the system of rival kings existed we do not know, but it seems to have lasted from 921 to 928. The inscription of Prasat Nang Khmau, in the Province of Bati (near Phnom Penh), says that Jayavarman IV came to power in 928 (6, 1, 183; 68, 65). Perhaps this date marks the death of the legitimate king, Īśānavarman II, after which Jayavarman IV reigned supreme.

ARCHITECTURE

There was little building during the reigns of the two brothers, partly because of disturbed conditions and probably also because of lack of money. It may be noted that most of the building at Chok Gargyar was done after 928, when the country was finally reunited under Jayavarman IV.

The Prasat Kravan, a little to the south of the south-

west corner of the East Baray, was built in 921—the year Jayavarman IV established himself at Chok Gargyar. This monument consisted of five brick towers in a row—a very unusual arrangement. They were arranged north-south and opened to the east. The central tower was the most important. The type of architecture and decoration was, in general, that of the Art of Indravarman. The monument was dedicated to Viṣṇu. Of principal interest are the bas-reliefs on the inner walls—another unusual feature at this period, although bas-reliefs had already appeared at Phnom Bakheng. These bas-reliefs show Viṣṇu and his śakti, Lakṣmī, in several legendary scenes and poses (fig. 20) (619, 57–59; 649; 301, 83; 6, 3, 14).



FIG. 20. Prasat Kravan: bas-reliefs.

Harshavarman I may have erected the sanctuary of Baksei Chamkrong, at the foot of Phnom Bakheng near the south gate of Angkor Thom, as a funerary temple of his parents—at least he erected some statues there. An inscription of later date (A.D. 947) says: "For the exercise of dharma and following the example of his fathers, he [Harshavarman] erected here, at the foot of Mount Indra [Indrādra=Phnom Bakheng], golden images of two *Īśvaras*, as well as those of Viṣṇu and two *devīs*." These images are believed to represent, respectively, Īśvaraloka (Indravarman I), Paramaśivaloka (Yaśovarman I), Viṣṇuloka (Jayavarman III) and the wives of these kings (138, 94). The consecration—probably also the erection—of the present monument seems to have taken place later.

INSCRIPTIONS; RELIGIONS

A Sanskrit inscription, dated 910, found in the Phimeanakas (I) but undoubtedly in re-employ from an earlier sanctuary, was doubtless indited during the reign of Harshavarman I as it speaks of Yaśovarman in the past tense (81, 549). After homages to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā and a eulogy of Yaśovarman, it relates the erection and dotation of an image of Mādhava, i.e., of Viṣṇu-Kṛishṇa, invoked under the vocable Trailokyanātha, by an astrologer—minister of Yaśovarman, Satyāśraya.

The Sanskrit stele inscription of Vat Chakret (II), dated 912, which mentions Jayasinhavarman, records a donation to a temple of Śiva, designated under the name of Adrivyādhapura. This is the inscription on which Coedès bases his identification of Vyādhapura with Ba Phnom (140, 127–128).

Three pillar inscriptions of Prasat Kravan, all in Khmer, are dated A.D. 921. They tell of the foundation there in that year of a Trailokyanātha (Vishnu) by Mahidharavarman and Jayavīravarman and of a Tribhuvaneśvāmi (Vishnu) by Virendrādhīpativarman (6, 3, 14–16; 158, 69).

The inscriptions of Tūol Pei, A.D. 921–922 and Tūol Kul, A.D. 925 have been mentioned to show that the brothers were ruling on those dates. The Sanskrit inscription of Vat Thipdei A, on a pillar of a temple of that name, a little to the northwest of the West Baray, relates the erection of that temple by Śikhaśiva in 910 and also of three splendid lingas of Śambhu on Bhadrāgiri (165; 6, 2, 379) and three lingas near the pond of Yaśodhara (165; 6, 2, 379). This inscription is undated, but it must have been made after 925, for it contains a eulogy of Īśānavarman, as well as eulogies of Harshavarman and Yaśovarman.

The inscriptions and temples of this reign show that the donations and foundations were chiefly to Śiva under the form of the linga, but they were also made to Vishnu and to Kṛishṇa, an avatar of Vishnu, under the vocable of Trailokyanātha. Harshavarman I seems to have continued the worship of ancestors, apparently begun by Indravarman I.

DEATHS OF HARSHAVARMAN I AND ĪŚĀNAVARMAN II

We do not know the exact dates of the deaths of these two kings, but they seem to have expired about 925 and 928, respectively. The former received the posthumous name of Rudraloka; the latter, that of Paramarudraloka (358, 90).

JAYAVARMAN IV ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AT CHOK GARGYAR, 921

In 921, “this Śrī Jayavarman, victorious,” “having no other supporter in his race than himself,” left Yaśodharapura, taking with him the Royal God and its chief priest, Īśānamūrti.

Under the reign of H. M. Parameśvarapada,⁴ His Majesty left the royal city of Yaśodharapura to be *kuruṇ* at Chok Gargyar, taking also the *devarāja*. The members of the family officiated for the *devarāja* according to the established order. The *steṇ añ* Īśānamūrti, grandnephew of the lord of the Sivāśrama (and) *ācārya pradhana* was doyen of the family residing himself at Chok Gargyar. He asked for a piece of land at Chok Gargyar, established the *sruk* called Khmvan, and there he assigned some slaves. He made the cultural resources of this sanctuary situated in Chok Gargyar to depend on the parents of the *steṇ añ*

⁴ Jayavarman IV.

founder of the linga of this (sanctuary),—(parents installed)—at Stuk Ransi (741, D st. 31–34).

It seems clear that Jayavarman IV was a usurper, who temporarily conquered Yaśodharapura and abandoned it or was driven out and established a new capital at Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker). The brothers, Harshavarman I and Īśānavarman II, seem to have reconquered Yaśodharapura and to have reigned there several years, while Jayavarman IV was reigning at Chok Gargyar. There seems to have been two royal gods and two chief priests; for, as we have seen, Īśānamūrti established the royal god at Chok Gargyar in 921, while Kumārasvāmi officiated for the *devarāja* under Harshavarman I, who was ruling at Yaśodharapura in 922, and Īśānavarman II, who was ruling there in 925 and perhaps until 928.⁵

THE GENEALOGY OF JAYAVARMAN IV

We know nothing of the genealogy of Jayavarman IV. The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong (st. 35) says his wife was a sister of Yaśovarman I. The foundation-stele of Pre Rup (st. 280) says her name was Jayadevi. The inscription of Prasat Damrei (st. 19) says he had an elder brother, “born of the same mother,” named Rājendravarman, to whom the king seems to have consecrated the Prasat where the inscription was found (161).

Jayavarman IV was apparently a usurper. As the husband of Yaśovarman I’s sister, and possibly regent during the minorities of Yaśovarman I’s two sons, he tried to seize the throne from the two brothers and succeeded them on their death.

CHIEF ECCLESIASTICS AND DIGNITARIES

Īśānamūrti served Jayavarman IV as chief priest of the *devarāja* and as *hotar*, but seems never to have held the title of *purohita*. The *hotar* of the family of Pranavātman, Śikhaśiva, continued to serve the sons of Yaśovarman I; but this family did not serve under Jayavarman IV and his son. Instead, these kings were served by one Śivācārya⁶ (apparently a protégé of Śikhaśiva), who had first served under Īśānavarman II. This brahman was a Śivaite *ācārya*, issue of a pure Vishṇuite family who, before his baptism, bore the name of Hrishikeśa (385, st. 35–36).

Manaśśiva and his two brothers of the family of Saptadevekula, served under Jayavarman IV (31, A st. 20–21). Ravinātha, nephew of Saṅkarshaṇa, was also in his service. One Virendrārimathana is mentioned as assisting in the erection of the *devarāja* in 921 (145, 15).

⁵ The existence of two God-Kings would not seem so strange if, as Stern thinks, the *Kamrateng jagat ta rāja* was a ritual, which could transform any linga into a God-King (703).

⁶ Not to be confused with the Śivācārya of the inscriptions of Vat Thipder B, Ta Keo B, and Sdok Kak Thom (736).

THE CITY OF CHOK GARGYAR

When Jayavarman IV established his capital at Chok Gargyar, he seems to have deposited the *devarāja* on the pyramid in the rear of Prasat Thom, which was created for it. Coedès thinks the pyramid and the Prasat were begun in 921 (216, 71). Barth, who first studied the inscription of Koh Ker, thought some of the dates go back to 919 (83, 556).

A later inscription (161, st. 35) says Jayavarman IV "founded by his own power, a city which was the seat of the prosperities of the universe." This city, Chok Gargyar, called also Lingapura in the inscriptions, was located in what is now a barren, almost deserted region known as Koh Ker, about one hundred miles north and little east of Angkor.

The monuments of Chok Gargyar may be considered in three groups. (1) the Rahal, or artificial lake, Prasat Thom, with its pyramid wrongfully called the "Prang," and the ruins of the walled capital; (2) a row or rows of towers to the east of the Rahal and oriented to it; and (3) several towers along a road running approximately south from the south end of the Rahal and oriented regularly. The whole region occupies an area about 5 × 7 kilometers, oriented north-northwest—south-southeast.

THE RAHAL AND THE WALLED CITY

The Rahal is an artificial freshwater reservoir, about 560 × 1,200 meters in dimensions, oriented north, 15° west. Its orientation was determined by the configuration of the land and in turn determined the orientation of the walled city and most of the temples. It is an expansion, partly dug, of the valley of a small affluent of the Stung Sen, which flows into its northeast corner from the north and out of its southeast corner toward the southeast (see plan 6).

The purpose of the Rahal was evidently to provide a supply of water for the irrigation of the rice-fields which then doubtless dotted the valley. Several ponds to the north, northeast and west, seem to be the remains of irrigation works (656, 1, 15–20).

To the north and west of the Rahal, oriented like it and originally apparently almost contiguous to it, are the ruins of a walled enclosure, apparently about 1,200 × 1,200 meters in dimensions, which seem to be those of an ancient city, doubtless the capital of Jayavarman IV. It seems to have included Prasat Thom within its walls. Aside from that, it does not seem to have contained any important temples.

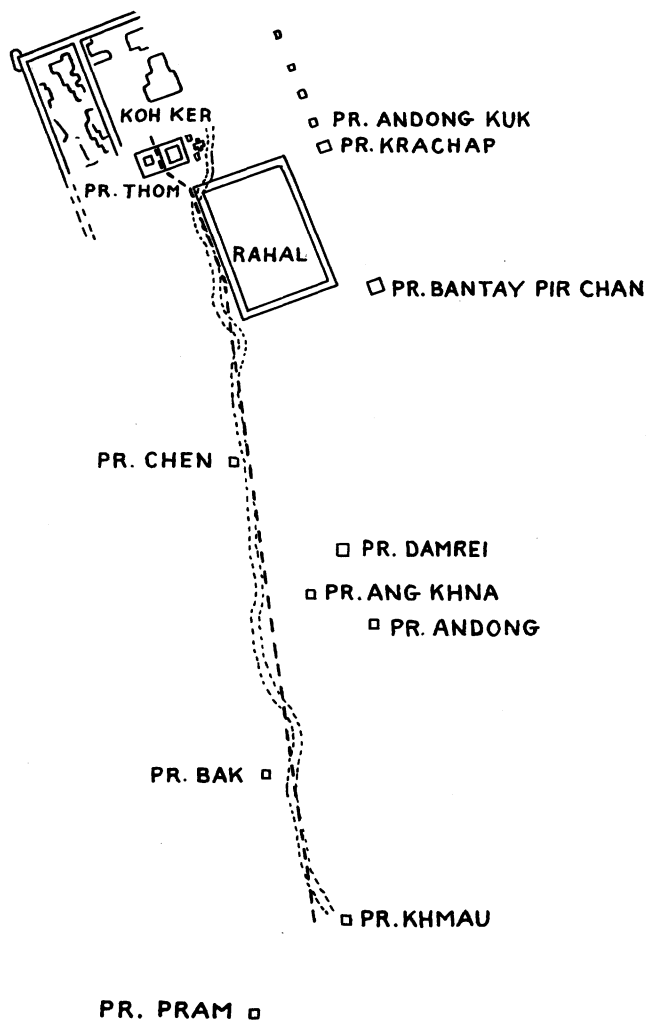
PRASAT THOM

THE PALACES AND THE OUTER GOPURA

Approaching it from the east, 15° north, to which direction it is oriented, this monument consists of (1) two buildings of the type known as "palaces," some 170 meters in front and on either side of the axis of

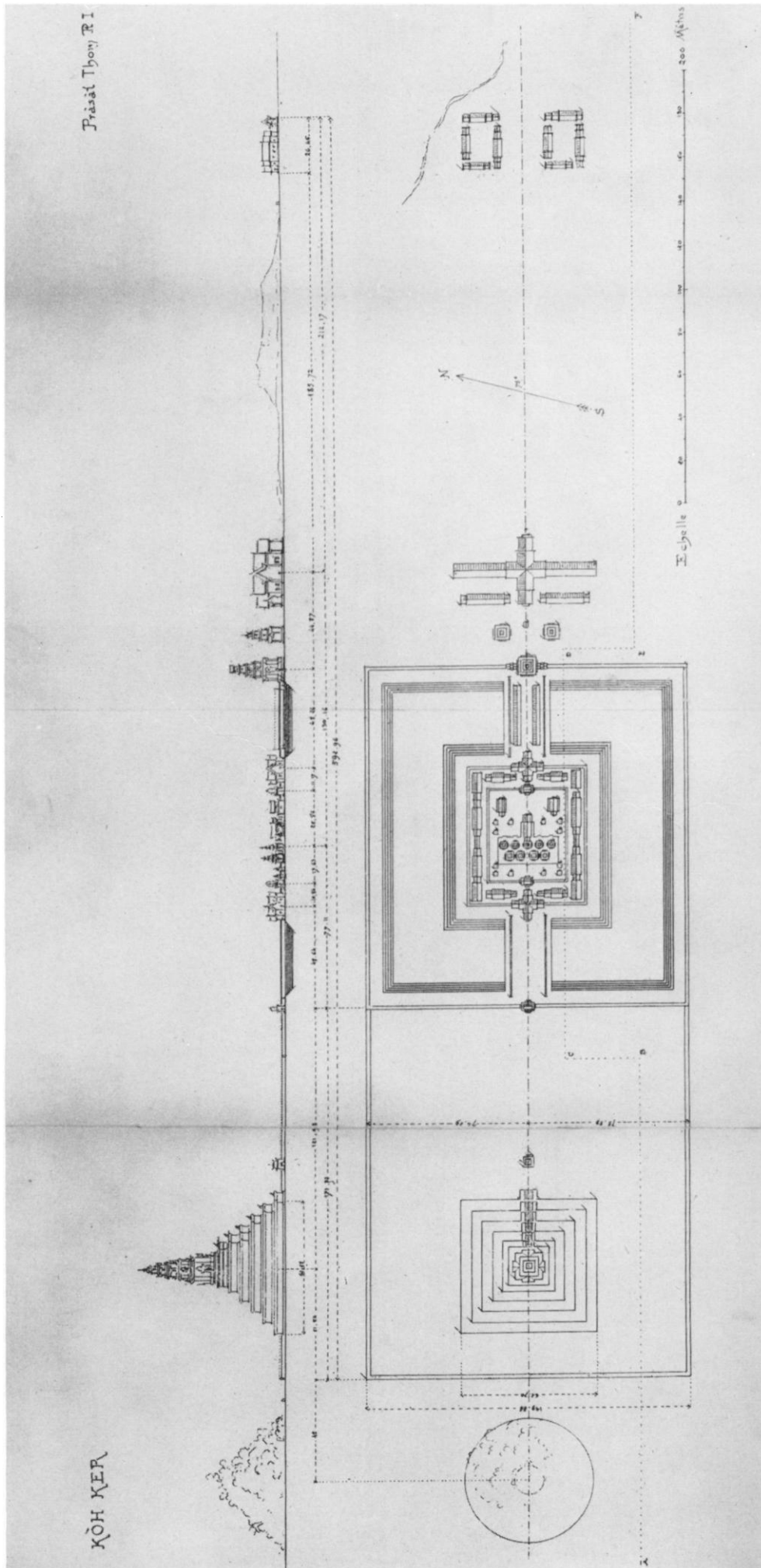
the monument; (2) ruins of a large gopura in front of the temple, indicating possibly a fourth enclosure and (3) the central monument, with its three enclosures (plan 7).

These so-called palaces deserve a special study because they seem to be the earliest found in Khmer architecture. Each of these palaces is made up of four long rectangular galleries, surrounding a long rectangular



PLAN 6. Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker).

lar court which, however, they do not quite enclose. Each gallery is divided into three sections, slightly telescopic and some contain one or more open porches, each supported by two rows of square stone pillars. The two palaces are not exactly symmetrical (plan 8). They are lighted by windows with balusters. Those perpendicular to the road are lighted on the east side; those parallel to it, on the south. The eastern pair, separated from the others by a wider space, are considered galleries of honor. Each has a porch facing that of the other across the road. The southern galleries have porches at both ends. The northern and western



PLAN 7. Prasat Thom—general plan.

galleries have no porches. These galleries are of laterite, with angular roofs and gables. They are believed to be contemporary with the oldest parts of Prasat Thom (656, 1, 38-39). Whether they were residences of the king is a mooted point. To this day, the kings of Cambodia build their palaces of wood. Parmentier thinks their presence at a capital, where the king had his own palace independent of any temple, seems to indicate that they were for the use of honored guests or a place of religious retreat for the king (*ibid.*, 107).

The gopura of a possible fourth enclosure is a cruciform building, with equilateral wings, preceded and followed, in the axis of the monument, by open porticos supported by heavy square stone pillars. It is in sandstone and its four wings are lighted on both sides by large windows with balusters. The lateral wings join long galleries, which open toward the temple and are supported on that side by round stone pillars. They face, across a narrow court, long galleries, with porticos at each end, lighted toward the court by windows with balusters (*ibid.*, 37-38).

Two large unsymmetrical laterite towers stood between these galleries and the outer enclosure of the monument, one on each side of the entrance.

THE PRASAT AND THE PYRAMID

The central monument consists of two rectangular enclosures, joined end to end, and surrounded by a laterite wall. The front rectangle circumscribes two smaller enclosures. The rear rectangle contains the pyramid, sometimes called (wrongly) "the Prang."

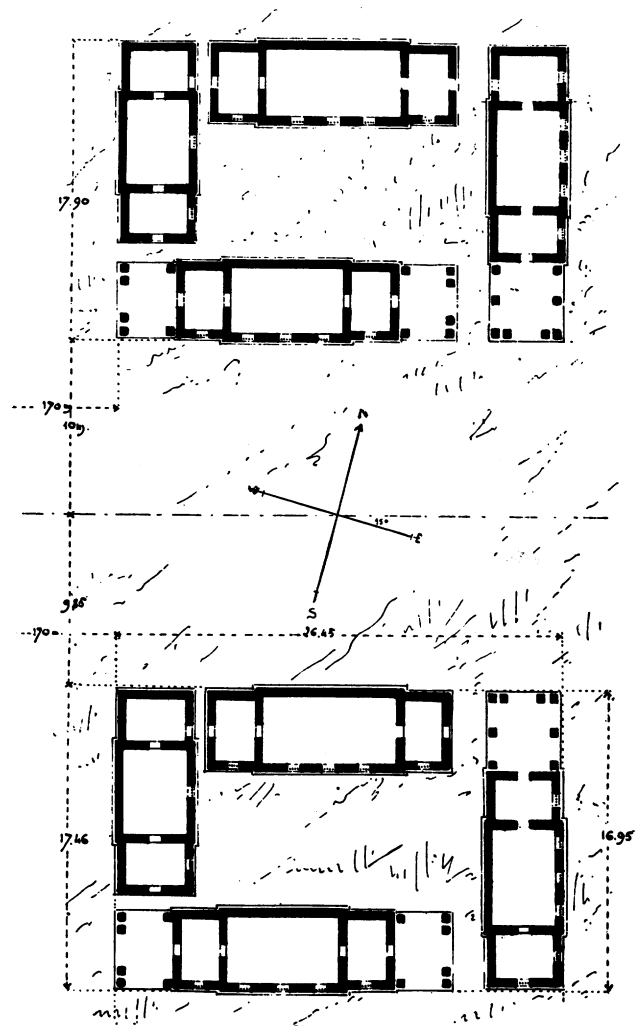
This laterite wall forms the outer, or third, enclosure. Its last gopura, in red brick, generally known as Prasat Kraham, the "Red Prasat," is an important monument in itself. It is a true prasat, with redented square base and four retreating storeys. As may be seen from the plan (plan 7), it is the tallest building of the group, except the pyramid.

Parmentier suggests that it may be later than the central sanctuary. It sheltered an enormous statue of dancing Śiva, of which only debris remains. Its partition-walls and stairways carried lions—seated, standing, and lying—and peculiar genie with animal heads. Its lintels are of type III and the scenes seem to be mostly Vishnuite (656, 1, 33-35).

Between the third and second enclosures is a wide moat, crossed by causeways on the east and west. On each side of these causeways is an enormous seven-headed *nāga*, facing outward, its tail, slightly lifted, at the inner end of the bridge. Behind each *nāga*, on a block of sandstone, is an enormous Garuḍa, which seems to be in the act of pursuing the *nāga*. This is one of the first appearances of the Garuḍa associated with the *nāga*, which becomes such an important motif in later Khmer Art, and one of the few occasions on which they appear separate.

The second enclosing wall, also of laterite, opens at

east and west by a gopura of the usual type, but much smaller than that of the outer enclosure. The space between the second and third enclosures is occupied by a series of long halls, almost surrounding the second enclosure. These halls are of laterite and were pierced with windows. They were doubtless covered with light materials, a disposition found later in the temples of Rājendravarman II and at Banteay Srei.



PLAN 8. Prasat Thom—palaces.

The inner wall, of sandstone, encloses two libraries of the usual form and disposition and twenty-one sanctuaries, all of brick. Nine little prasats are arranged in two rows of five and four, with a long hall in front, on a common terrace. The twelve little towers are arranged in groups of three around the corners of the terrace. All twenty-one prasats seem to have housed lingas (656, 1, 20-33).

The rear rectangle contained a square pyramid of seven stages, dressed in sandstone, sometimes called a "Prang." It was 55 meters square (530, 1, 376), and 36 meters high (636, 1, 108), with stairways on the east

side only, facing the entrance from the Prasat (fig. 23). This pyramid is believed to have been the pedestal of the *devarāja*. The temple was dedicated to Tribhuvanēśvara, who was probably the *kamrateng jagat ta raja*, which the inscription tells us Jayavarman brought here.

Behind this rectangle is a hill, as high as the pyramid now known as the "Tomb of the White Elephant," where Parmentier thinks the *devarāja* may have rested before the pyramid was built (656, 1, 108).

MONUMENTS OF CHOK GARGYAR

NORTHERN GROUP

The monuments on the east side of the Rahal and its northern affluent were arranged roughly in rows parallel to the reservoir and stream. They consisted of



FIG. 21. Prasat Thom (Koh Ker): single pyramid temple.

several isolated sanctuaries and two groups—one of five and one of nine.

A row of isolated sanctuaries, called D-K by Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 366–371), began at the northeast corner of the Rahal and extended northward along the eastern side of the stream toward which all but one open. They are large, redented square towers of sandstone and enclosed enormous lingas, one—in triple section—2.35 meters high.

Prasat Krachap, east of the northeast corner of the Rahal, consisted of (1) four square sanctuaries and one rectangular sanctuary arranged in a quincunx on a common platform, all oriented toward the reservoir, and (2) two rectangular enclosures, open at both ends, the inner one with galleries supported by square sandstone pillars covered with wood. An inscription (p. 122) says this prasat was consecrated to Tribhuvanadeva in 928 by Jayavarman (656, 1, 56–60; 216, 59).

Prasat Bantay Pir Chan—erroneously called Dong Kuk by Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 346–366)—consisted of nine sanctuaries in a group, two libraries

and two enclosures, the inner one with a monumental gopura. The central sanctuary, in laterite, was much larger than the others and faced toward the Rahal. The other eight, in brick, were arranged two on each side of the central sanctuary and faced away from it. The two libraries were oriented like the monument—an unusual disposition. An inscription (p. 122) says this prasat was consecrated in 937 by King Jayavarman to Prajāpatiśvara (Brahmā) (656, 62–65; 216, 55).

SOUTHERN GROUP

The southern group consisted of several monuments, along both sides of, and at various distances from, a highway running south from the west side of the Rahal, apparently to join, near the site of the later Beng Mealea, the road to Angkor. These monuments consisted of single sanctuaries or groups of three, generally oriented to the east. The sanctuaries were usually square and of brick, but some of the smaller ones were of laterite and at least one is rectangular. The groups, and some of the single temples, had one or more laterite enclosures with gopuras.

Prasat Daṃprei, Ang Khna, and Prasat Andong were grouped, at some distance from the road, to the south of the southeast corner of the Rahal. Prasat Daṃprei is noted for the large caparisoned elephants, facing outward at the four corners of the foundation and the fine seated lions on each side of its four stairways. An inscription says Jayavarman VI erected a linga here in honor of an elder brother, Rājendrarvarman (p. 122). At Ang Khna nearby, was found a group of lingas and a stone carved with peculiar scenes. An inscription at Prasat Andong consecrates that temple to a linga.

Along the highway, and closer to it, were, from north to south, Prasat Chen, Prasat Bak, Prasat Neang Khmau, and Prasat Pram. An inscription of Prasat Chen (p. 122) says it was dedicated by Jayavarman IV to Śrīpati (Viṣṇu). This is in keeping with a sculpture found there "which evokes immediately the memory of the *Ramāyāna*" (216, 55–69, 71). The little monument of Prasat Bak—the Monument B of Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 357–358)—at the west of the highway and oriented to the northeast, contained a large stone elephant-head and was evidently dedicated to Ganeśa (p. 122). Prasat Nang Khmau was a tall laterite tower, with square base, still in a comparatively good state of preservation. It is east of the highway and was oriented to the west. It was dedicated to a linga. It has a remarkable lintel, whose center-piece is a three (four)-headed Brahmā in a niche. Prasat Pram consisted of three redented square brick towers and two libraries, enclosed by a laterite wall whose gopura, in light construction, has disappeared. The monument is on the west side of the road and oriented to the east (656, 53–94).

CHARACTERISTICS

The monuments of Chok Gargyar carried on the evolution in the spirit of Angkor, but with local variations. Brick still predominated as material, but the use of laterite, and especially of sandstone, was increasing. The square form, generally redented, was the most common, but rectangular buildings for uses other than libraries and galleries were by no means rare.

The terraced pyramid-temple, which appeared at Mahendraparvata, if not at Amarendrapura, was found here in the pyramid, taller and more slender than previous tower temples. The use of concentric enclosures with gopuras, so prominent at Hariharālaya, was renewed here at Prasat Thom and some other sanctuaries, but not in connection with the terraced-pyramid. The arrangement of towers in quincunx, which began with Phnom Bakheng and was to be the favorite pattern for some time, while not present at Prasat Thom, was found at Prasat Krachap. The evolution of the galleries, dimly hinted at in the Bakong, Phnom Krom, and Phnom Bakheng, makes considerable advance in the almost continuous series of galleries between the first and second enclosures of Prasat Thom.

A notable characteristic of the architecture of Chok Gargyar was its development in size. Compared to what had preceded them, the sandstone towers of the northern group were enormous and sheltered some of the largest lingas known in Cambodia (656, 1, 108). Lunet de Lajonquière called attention to this development which, given the limitations of Khmer architects, extended the use of wooden carpentry (530, 1, 380). The pyramid was 36 meters high, compared with 15 meters for the Bakong. Its linga was probably the largest known. Parmentier thinks it was 4.5 meters high⁷ and weighed 24.3 metric tons. Jayavarman IV boasts in three inscriptions of his exploit in raising it to the top of the pyramid. The extreme point of this pyramid probably reached the height of 65 meters (656, 1, 109-110). This is higher than any tower of Angkor Thom and about equal to the height of Angkor Wat.⁸

DECORATIONS AND SCULPTURES

Mme de Coral Rémusat, following Stern, recognizes a distinct Style of Koh Ker, closely related to that of Bakheng. Some of the lintels of this style are remarkable. They are generally bent in the center, where they contain a scene or a personage, often Vishṇu or one of his avatars, but sometime Indra or even Brahmā. The lintel is often enclosed between two decorative bands, the upper one generally consisting of a row of heads or of personages in bust in niches. The colonette is octagonal and not overloaded. The borders of the fronton were generally like those of Bakheng, redented

and polylobed, derived from the Indian horseshoe arch; but triangular frontons appeared also, apparently independent of the art of India and inspired by the wooden architecture of the north. They usually ended in spiral scrolls, perhaps a stylization of *makara*-heads. Sometimes these scrolls were incurved. The tympana generally corresponded to the lintels, personages mixed with floral decorations. At the center was generally a single personage, a divinity generally mounted on his *vāhana* (301, 51, 59, 69; 636, 1, 99).

Human sculptures in the round were like those of Bakheng. They included (1) *dvārapālas*, holding a trident with long handle, clothing long, and (2) *apsaras* with striped clothing. Unusual specimens were the five-headed dancing Śiva of Prasat Kraham; the statues of the divinities of the sun, the lotus, and the rosary, of the east gopura of the second enclosure of Prasat Thom, and the statues of the double Śiva and the wrestlers, of the west gopura of the same monument. Human figures in high relief included a series of bust figures in niches and the representations of the nine planets and the eight great gods and eight mothers sculptured on the edge of a stone at An Khna.

The animal sculptures of Chok Gargyar are very interesting. The *nāga* appears, rampant on the ground, across the causeways of Prasat Thom. It is very crude and its seven heads, each wearing a two-horned diadem, arise fan-like at one end of the causeway, while its tail rises slightly at the other. Behind it a Garuḍa, wings outspread and arms upraised, seems to be pursuing it with long strides. This is the first appearance together of a combination later to be united into a single motive. Other notable animal sculptures of Chok Gargyar were the caparisoned elephant of the foundations of Prasat Daṅrei; the lions of the partition walls of the same monument; the seated, lying and standing⁹ lions of Prasat Kraham; the Nandi with Śiva and Umā of the west gopura, of the second enclosure of Prasat Thom; and the animal-headed human figures which adorn the partition-walls of the gopuras of Prasat Thom.¹⁰

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF
JAYAVARMAN IV

The inscriptions of Jayavarman IV came mainly from Chok Gargyar. They show that the temples of that city were erected between 921 and 937 and that many donations were made from about 928 to 932.

Several inscriptions, in Sanskrit or Khmer, more or less illegible, are found at Prasat Thom, chiefly on the walls and pillars of the gopuras. One of these, in Sanskrit, dated 921, mentions the erection of the god Tribhuvaneśvara by Jayavarman IV (p. 415). Another, in Khmer, of the same date, enumerates the donations of two dignitaries to the *devarāja* (*kamrateng jagat ta*

⁷ See p. 198.

⁸ The central tower of Takeo, however, reached the height of 70 meters.

⁹ Lying and standing lions are otherwise practically unknown in Khmer sculpture (656, 1, 34-35).

¹⁰ Some of these figures may be of a later period.

raja). Several other Khmer inscriptions, dated from 928 to 932 or undated, record donations chiefly of land and slaves to the same deity (216, 48–52, 68–71; also 83, 555–560; 145).

A Sanskrit inscription on a door pillar of Prasat Krachap, dated 928, consecrates this temple to Tribhuvanadeva. Several Khmer inscriptions at this temple record so many donations of land and especially serfs as to cause comment by Coedès. Among the places mentioned in the donations are Bhīmapura, Amoghapura, and Ugrapura (216, 52, 71 n. 2).

From several ruined inscriptions of the door pillars of Prasat Banteay Pir Chan the information is gained that Jayavarman IV consecrated this temple to Prajāpatiśvara (Brahmā) in 937, and that several donations were made to it (216, 54, 71).

Door inscriptions of a gopura of Prasat Chen, undated, yield the information that Jayavarman IV consecrated that sanctuary to Śrīpati (Vishṇu) (216, 55, 71).

An inscription of Prasat Nang Khmau, Province of Bati, gives A.D. 928 as the year Rājendravarman succeeded Īśānavarman (68, 65; 6, 1, 183).

An undated Sanskrit inscription on a door of a gopura of Prasat Daṃrei records that Jayavarman IV placed a linga in that temple, apparently consecrating it to an elder uterine brother, named Rājendravarman (st. 19). This inscription also records the erection of a massive linga, at a height of 81 coudees (=about 36 meters)¹¹ (216, 56–61, 71).

An undated Sanskrit inscription on the door-pillar of Prasat Andong, after invoking many gods and the legendary kings of Cambodia and giving a eulogy of Yaśovarman I, Harshavarman I, Īśānavarman II, and Jayavarman IV, records that a brahman, whose name ended in *-śarman* and who had served the above named kings, installed a linga in that monument during the reign of Jayavarman IV (st. 41). This inscription also records (st. 28) the erection of a linga of Śambhu at a height of 9×9 coudees¹¹ (*ibid.*, 61–68, 71).

RELIGION

The foundations and donations of the reign of Jayavarman IV include all the gods of the Brahmanic trinity. The *devarāja* which he established at Prasat Thom was probably larger than any which preceded it and was placed on a higher pyramid. He boasts of it in three inscriptions. Some new deities or vocables were introduced at this time. The *devarāja* was es-

tablished at Prasat Thom in 921 under the vocable of Tribhuvaneśvara. The temple of Prasat Krachap was dedicated to Tribhuvanadeva in 928. The inscription of Prasat Kravan mentions the erection of the gods Tribhuvaneśvāmi and Trailokyanātha near Angkor in 921, while the inscription of Chong Ang (Jen Ong), A.D. 922, mentions the erection of a Tribhuvanakanātha (145, 16).

Other lingas were established—one (at Prasat Daṃrei) in honor of a deceased elder brother; one (Prasat Andong) in honor of several kings. These are two of the monuments which mention the erection of the *devarāja*. The third (Baksei Chamkrong) was dedicated to the worship of ancestors. Was that also the purpose of Prasat Andong?

One temple (Prasat Chen) was dedicated to Vishṇu. One (Prasat Bak) was apparently dedicated to the worship of Ganeśa. And if Buddha was entirely neglected during this reign, the Prasat Banteay Pir Chan, established by Jayavarman IV in 937, is probably the only monument dedicated exclusively to Brahmā in all Cambodian history.

HARSHAVARMAN II, 941–944

Jayavarman IV died in 941 (272, 14). He received the posthumous name of Paramaśivapada (246, 110).

His son Harshavarman II succeeded him. He reigned at Chok Gargyar. Ātmaśiva, nephew of Īśānamūrti, was *purohita* of the *devarāja*. “Under the reign of His Majesty Vrahmaloka (Harshavarman II), the members of the family officiated for the *kamrateng jagat ta raja* as before. The *steṅ añ Ātmaśiva*, nephew of the *steṅ añ Īśānamūrti*, was Chaplain of the *kamrateng jagat ta raja* and *ācārya homa (hotar)*, as chief of the family” (358, 91).

A slab inscription found at Prasat Bayang (V) commemorates the erection on the mountain of the monastery Girīndrāśrama by a *yogin* named Nityavyāpi. This inscription praises Jayavarman IV and Harshavarman. It is dated 941, which seems to indicate that Harshavarman II was on the throne on that date (225, 260–266, 271).

Harshavarman II's reign was of short duration. He was succeeded in 944 by his cousin, Rājendravarman, son of an elder sister of his mother and of Yaśovarman I (Pre Rup—217, st. 37). Whether Harshavarman died or was overthrown we do not know. Later inscriptions refer to him by the posthumous name of Vrahmaloka (358, 91), or Brahmaloaka (278, 196).

¹¹ These references are to the linga of Prasat Thom.

5. THE REIGN OF RĀJENDRAVARMAN II (944-968)

ACCESSION; GENEALOGY

Rājendravarman II came to the throne in 944 (217, st. 37). According to the inscription of Pre Rup, he was the son of an elder sister of Yaśovarman I and, therefore, cousin of Harshavarman II (217, st. 280). The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong says that Jayavarman IV married a sister of Yaśovarman (161, st. 35) and that Rājendravarman was a brother, "elder by age and virtue" of Harshavarman II, son of Jayavarman IV (st. 40). The inscription of Mebon says Rājendravarman was the son of Mahendradevī, wife of a King Mahendrarvarman (st. 13). Finot, who edited that inscription, concluded that Mahendrarvarman must be a name Jayavarman IV took before he came to the throne (383, 310). Coedès advanced the hypothesis that Rājendravarman may have been a son of Mahendradevī by a first husband, Mahendrarvarman, and that Harshavarman II may have been her son by a second husband, Jayavarman IV (140, 135-137).

The recently-discovered foundation-stele of Pre Rup¹ shows that Rājendravarman was son of Mahendradevī, elder sister of Yaśovarman, and Mahendrarvarman, descended from a niece of Bālāditya of the old Aninditapura line (217, st. 6-13), while Harshavarman II was a son of a younger sister of Yaśovarman, Jayadevī, and Jayavarman IV.² Coedès, who edited the inscription, gives a revised genealogy of Rājendravarman II (217, 74) (see genealogical table at end of chapter).

In the light of recent investigations, Coedès thinks Mahendrarvarman was of a line of chiefs of Bhavapura, cradle of Chenla, which had maintained an independent existence since the death of Jayavarman I (278, 196). The genealogical tables of both Coedès and Dupont picture Mahendrarvarman as descended, on his father's side, from Sarasvatī, sister of Bālāditya, through the father of Vedavatī, who had married (Vedavatī's mother) a niece of Nṛpatindravarman (278; 325). Dupont thinks that, at the time of the division into Upper and Lower Chenla, probably on the accession of Pushkarāksha of Aninditapura to the throne of Śambhupura (between 706 and 716), Bhavapura, including the Mun valley and what is now Siamese Laos, became Upper Chenla (apparently under the father of Vedavatī). Thereafter, it had few recorded relations with Lower Chenla, which became Kambujadesa. He thinks the Jayasimhavarman mentioned in the inscription of Phu Khiao Kao found near the present Korat, dated about the time of the division, may have been a king of Bhavapura, and (what seems less probable) that a king Narapatisimhavarman mentioned in

an inscription found at Ayuthia as reigning at Canaśapura in 937—seven years before the accession of Rājendravarman II (273) may also be of the dynasty of Bhavapura³ (325, 40-46, 53).

RĀJENDRAVARMAN II PRAISED BY THE INSCRIPTIONS

Naturally, a king who paid so much attention to his genealogy, would be praised lavishly by his inscriptions:

(He) surpassed other kings by his royal power (Baksei Chamkrong, st. 40). His beauty, naturally charming, giving joy to thousands of eyes, much surpassed the beauty of Smara (Love), which excited the great anger of Śiva (*ibid.*, st. 42). From his infancy, he was complete in talents (Mebon, st. 18). Like the grace of spring in the gardens, like the fulness of the moon, so arose, ravishing, splendid, the beauty of fresh youth (*ibid.*, st. 24).

Always in movement, attractive, omnipresent, strong, large, opposing order to the turbulent, his glory seemed made of great elements (*ibid.*, st. 99). Eloquence, valor, beauty, grace, depth, sweetness, goodness, these (virtues) and still others, he was the sole depository of them; and by the Creator he was created still superior in energy and intelligence, (*ibid.*, st. 100). A mango tree, sterile since its birth, obeyed his order to produce fruits (*ibid.*, st. 199).

It was play for him to break into three a large bar of iron, by striking it lightly with a single stroke of his sword, as (if he had struck) a banana stalk. What use to talk (of the stroke of his sword) in the body, made of flesh of the enemy (Pre Rup, st. 23).

PROBABLY A DISPUTED SUCCESSION

Rājendravarman's accession does not seem to have been accomplished without trouble. He seems to have had a better claim to the throne than Harshavarman II; but Jayavarman IV had usurped power and had been able to secure the succession of his son. Harshavarman II, who was very young, reigned only two or three years, when he was succeeded by Rājendravarman.

Some of his inscriptions seem to show that Rājendravarman II had to fight his way to the throne.

Having obtained his throne and dispersed his enemies . . . (383, st. 53); The earth up to the ocean was so completely rid of his enemies by him, that still today his glory, going alone on all sides, does not falter (Mebon, st. 149). The condition of Kshatriya (warrior), born of the arm of the Uncreated (Brahmā), which his enemies disputed him he seized (proved?) it in battle by the force of his arm, which had no other known origin (than his arm), and which had not yet been manifested elsewhere (217, st. 76).

PUROHITA, HOTAR, GURU, MINISTERS

Rājendravarman's *purohita* was Ātmaśiva, who was a nephew of Īśānamūrti and who had served under

¹ It was discovered in October, 1934.

² The inscription of Pre Rup speaks of the youth of Rājendravarman (217, st. 27, 52-53), while that of Baksei Chamkrong says he is older than Harshavarman (161, st. 40). Harshavarman II seems to have had an elder brother named Rājendravarman.

³ Thus these kings, of names somewhat similar and unknown in Cambodian history, may have been the first and last kings of the later Bhavapura, or Upper Chenla. But this is very speculative. The first king of this presumed dynasty seems to have been the father of Vedavatī and the last Mahendrarvarman, father of Rājendravarman II.

Harshavarman II. It has been seen that the family of Pranavātman did not serve under Jayavarman IV or his son. The *hotar* during that period, as has been seen, was Śivācāryā a protégé of Śikhāśiva, and he continued to serve for a while under Rājendravarman II. But, apparently, early in the reign of the new king, a representative of the family of Pranavātman, in the person of Śaṅkara, grand nephew of Śikhāśiva, became royal *hotar*. The inscription of Vat Thipdei (II) (165, B. st. 12) says Śaṅkara was *purohita* also, but this seems to be an error.

These were representatives of the old houses of Sivakaivalya and Praṇavātman who had served kings since Jayavarman II; but early in the new king's reign, two other houses which had furnished hereditary functionaries—Saptadevakula (Lovek) and Aninditapura (Trapeang Run)—became important and a third assumed important hereditary functions. Manaśśiva, of the family of Saptadevakula, who had served under Rājendravarman II's four predecessors, served also under Rājendravarman II and gave that king as wife his charming and scholarly niece, Prānā. Ravinātha, of the family of Aninditapura, who had served under Jayavarman IV and Harshavarman II, continued to serve Rājendravarman II. Paramācārya, of the house of Haripurā, descendant of one of Jayavarman II's wives, Hyang Pavitrā, was given charge of the hereditary function of chief of Jalāngeśa and Kapāleśa,⁴ a charge which on his death descended to his son (Takeo B, st. 5, 9).

Rājendravarman II's *guru* during the early part of his reign was Rudrācārya, disciple of Śivasoma (Ātmaśiva), who received the title of Nṛpatindrāyudha (129, st. 20–25; see also 238, 61). During the latter part of this reign, these functions seem to have been taken over by Yajñavarāha, who, as will be seen, built Banteay Śrei and made many other foundations during this reign and the next.

But Rājendravarman II's chief secular ministers seem to have been Rājakula Mahāmantrin and Kavindrārimathana. The former seems to have filled the functions of regent and prime minister, chief administrative officer, through whom orders were issued in the king's name and also chief judge of the highest court (6, 1, 333; 2, 283; 3, 13; 238, 54–55). Aymonier says his name became legendary and lingers in the names of many mountains of the interior (6, 2, 304).

Kavindrārimathana was a great Buddhist minister who directed most of the building. When Rājendravarman returned to Yaśodharapura, the charge of building a new capital and palace was given to "this minister, dear to the gods, who knew the arts like Viśvakarman" (160, C, st. 34).

⁴ Kapāleśa means "Lord of the Skulls" = Śiva, who is often pictured with a necklace of skulls. Barth thinks Jalāngeśa is a local name of Śiva (28, 112, n. 11).

THE RETURN TO YAŚODHARAPURA

Some time early in his reign, perhaps at the very beginning, Rājendravarman moved the capital from Chok Gargyar back to Yaśodharapura.

Then His Majesty Śivaloka came back to reign in the city of Śrī Yaśodharapura and brought with him the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja*. The members of the family officiated for the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* as before. The *steñ añ* Atmaśiva was chaplain of the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* and *ācāryahoma* as chief of the family (358, 91).

Although Rājendravarman brought the capital back to Yaśodharapura, it is believed that he did not deposit the *devarāja* in the temple of Vnaṃ Kantāl on Phnom Bakheng, for that temple remained unfinished. Parmentier thinks

he erected, as center of the new city, the pyramid of Phimeanakas, analogous to the "Prang" of Koh Ker and constructed it at the crossing of the axis of the temple of the Bakheng and the East Baray. The Phimeanakas in its first form arose to only half its present height, part which a fine gallery crowns and, in the traditional square, he installed a sanctuary in light construction, of which the elongated proportions motivated the rectangular form of the pyramid (640).

THE SECOND YAŚODHARAPURA

Among the great works with which Rājendravarman II is credited, was the restoration of the old capital of Yaśovarman.

He restored the holy city of Yaśodharapura, long deserted, and rendered it superb and charming by erecting there houses ornamented with shining gold, palaces glittering with precious stones, like the palace of Mahendra [Indra] on earth (160, A st. 13). Early in his reign, he instructed his minister, Kavindrārimathana, to build him a palace. This minister, dear to the gods, who knew the arts like Viśvaharman,⁵ was charged by this king to make at Yaśodhara a charming palace (*ibid.*, C st. 24).

As long as it was accepted that the original Yaśodharapura was the present Angkor Thom and that its Vnaṃ Kantāl was the Bayon (p. 108), the question of the restoration of the capital and the location of its center was not so difficult; but the discoveries that the Central Mount of the original Yaśodharapura was Phnom Bakheng and that this was not the Central Mount of the new capital, raised new problems. The great number of sanctuaries built at this time in the region around Pre Rup, just to the south of the East Baray, and the character of that temple led some writers to believe that this region was the center of Rājendravarman II's new capital and that the terrace-temple of Pre Rup was its Vnaṃ Kantāl (703; 700). But the accepted opinion at present seems to be that this region was simply a religious center (564, 346) and that the earliest Phimeanakas was the abode of the *devarāja*, with the palace, in light material, in front of it or behind it and probably with a much reduced inner en-

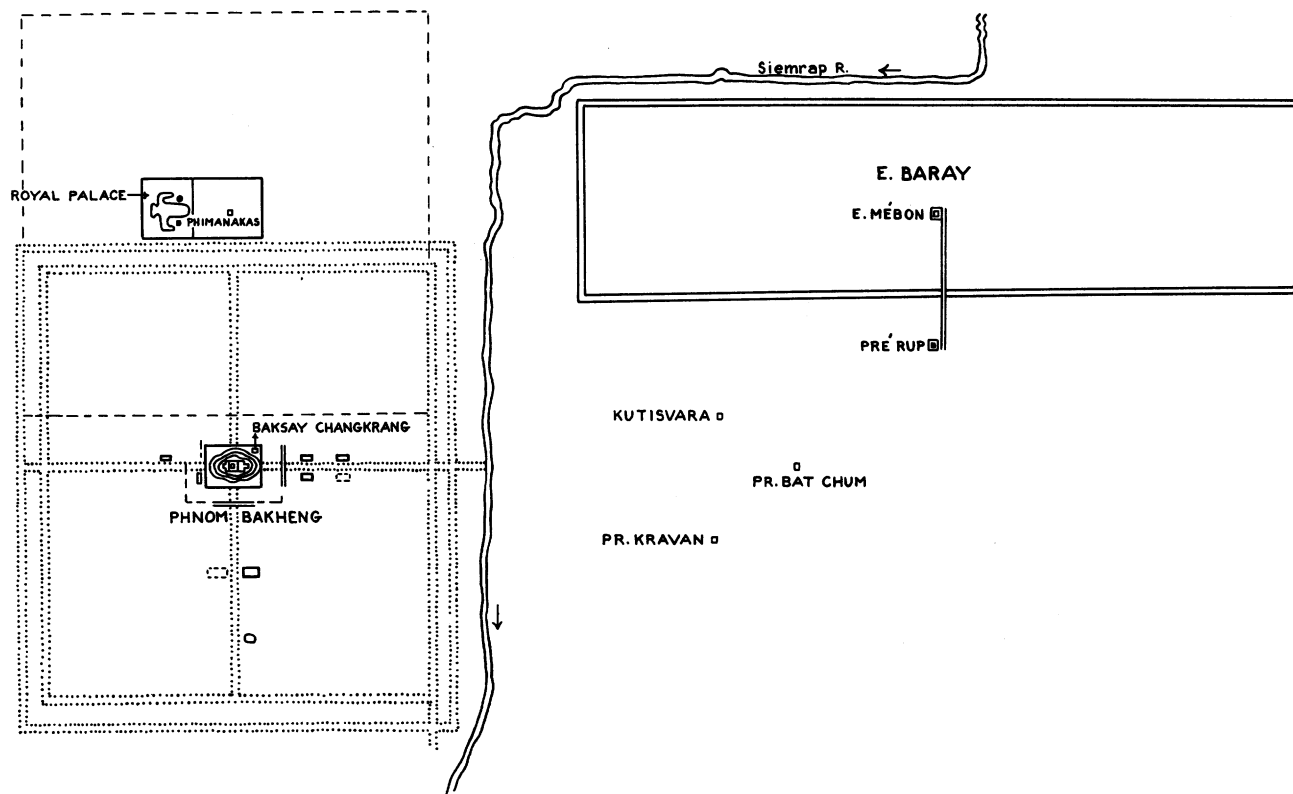
⁵ Cambodian god of architects.

closure. In 1937 Goloubew and Marchal discovered a larger rectangular enclosure surrounding the Phimeanakas (see plan 9) and within it, to the west of that sanctuary, remains of what may have been an early palace (336, 653).

It was not an unusual thing for a new king to found a new capital or a new palace or at least a new central sanctuary. Nearly every strong Khmer king built a new terrace-temple to house his *devarāja* during his life and to serve as his mausoleum after his death (152). The remarkable thing is that Rājendravarman II did not name his new capital in his honor; but so great

(1) "He has erected in the city of Śiva a marvellous Linga of the Eternal (Śiva), under the vocable of Śiddheśvara, brilliant by its miraculous power" (161, st. 44). This Śivapura is identified with Bayang by the inscription of Trapeang Sambat, dated 944, found in the vicinity. A later inscription (383, st. 201-202), speaks of a donation to the linga of Siddheśvara at Siddheśvarapura (Bayang) and of the erection at the same place of two statues of Śarvāṇi.

(2) "And he has erected in the pond of Yaśodhara a linga and some images" (161, st. 44). This seems to refer to the Mebon, where many images were erected.



PLAN 9. The Yaśodharapura of Rājendravarman II.

seems to have been the force of the name of Yaśovarman that Rājendravarman did not venture to change the name of the capital, although the Central Mount of the original Yaśodharapura and possibly the whole city lay outside the enclosure of the new city and certainly the entire inner enclosure of the new capital was beyond the outer ramparts of the old.

EARLY FOUNDATIONS OF RĀJENDRAVARMAN II

The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong, dated 947, speaks of foundations of Rājendravarman II (1) at Śivapura (probably Bayang), (2) at Yaśodharatātāka (probably the Mebon), and (3) probably at Baksei Chamkrong. The inscription of Prasat Pram, A.D. 948, mentions activity at Lingapuresvara (Chok Gargyar).

Although that temple was not dedicated until 952, it may have been under construction in 947 and some images may have been erected there at that time.

(3) "(This King), clever, divine to the view, has consecrated according to the rites, this image of Paramēśvara (Śiva), in gold without equal, shining in a Prasat brilliant in nectar" (161, st. 45). This refers undoubtedly to the image to which the temple was consecrated.

The inscription of Prasat Pram, in the south group of Chok Gargyar, records the erection of that sanctuary and the consecration there of two lingas and an image of Devī by Rudrācārya, pupil of Śivasoma and *guru* of Rājendravarman II. To this temple was granted a domain called Bhadrodayeśvara and one of the pur-

poses of this inscription was to fix the boundary of this domain, especially between it and Lingapuresvara, which apparently was south of it (129). An undated stele fragment, found at the Baphuon, seems to commemorate the foundation of a linga named Sikhareśvara under the reign of Rājendravarman II. It mentions Lingapuresvara (384), which must have been the district in which Chok Gargyar was situated.

WARS OF RĀJENDRAVARMAN II; CHAMPA

The following statements, while found in the inscriptions of even the most impotent of kings, seem to indicate that Rājendravarman's reign might not have been wholly peaceful: "He cut off the heads of a crowd of Kings" (383, st. 56): "Shining, resplendent, the rays from his toe-nails rivalled those of gems ornamenting the diadems of prostrate Kings" (*ibid.*, st. 198); "His toe-nails reflected the rays thrown by the tiaras of enemy kings whose stubbornness and power he had broken and who manifested in some way the desire to obey him, (a desire) paid, in return, by their own elevation" (160, A st. 8). The Khmer Empire at this time was undoubtedly made up of many subordinate kingdoms. Some doubtless opposed his accession and were subdued. Others came willingly to offer homage. The only foreign war specifically mentioned was with Champa.

According to Cambodian inscriptions, a Cambodian army invaded Champa and destroyed its capital. "The extent of his splendor, like the fire of universal destruction, burning the enemy kingdoms, beginning with Champa" (160, B st. 21). "The city of the King of Champa, having the sea for its moat, was reduced to ashes by his warriors, obedient to his orders" (383, st. 146). A Cham inscription (Po Nagar (II)—535, 3, 143-144) says the Kambuja carried away the golden image of Bhagavati from the temple of Po Nagar. Georges Maspero says the Kambuja sustained a bloody defeat and were driven out, and the Cham inscription gives some hint of this. Anyway, the Khmers seem to have retained possession of the golden goddess, for the Cham king substituted a stone image of the goddess in 965.

Both Maspero and Majumdar, perhaps wrongly, place the date of this event before 947 (105, 392-393).⁶

TRANSITION PERIOD IN ARCHITECTURE AND ART

The architecture of the reign of Rājendravarman II, to and including the temple of Banteay Srei, is considered by Parmentier as belonging to the Art of Indravarman, which he considers transitional or at

least evolutionary (619). Mme de Coral Rémusat considers the art of this reign as transitional between the Style of Kok Ker and that of Banteay Srei (301, 129) and shows the transitional character of its two chief monuments—the Mebon and Pre Rup—the last great monuments of plastered brick, towers arranged in quincunx on high artificial pyramids, with galleries on the gradins (301, 48). Banteay Srei, while also transitional, is considered the first monument of the Classic style.

The monuments of this period are of different styles; simple square brick prasats—isolated as at Lak Nan, aligned in group of three as at Bat Chum, elevated on a high terraced pyramid, as at Baksei Chamkrong; arranged in a quincunx on a terraced pyramid, as at Mebon and Pre Rup; or parts of great ensembles, as at Preah Vihear.

The transition of the decorations is less noticeable, for they are badly conserved in these monuments. They show a groping for new forms; sometimes a reversion to earlier ones. Lintels sometimes return to the Style of Preah Kō. Colonettes are sometimes round (301, 120-121).

The lions of Pre Rup were seated, but they showed a tendency to rise on their hind feet and their bodies were elongated. The hair was more stylized, rounded at the back and took the appearance of a coiffure (*ibid.*, 113).

BAKSEI CHAMKRONG

As has been seen, the temple of Baksei Chamkrong, was probably erected in light material, or begun, by Harshavarman I; or at least he erected some statues of his ancestors there. In the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 947), Rājendravarman II dedicated the installation of a golden image of Parameśvara (Śiva), to which the temple was consecrated (161, st. 45). Parmentier suggests that he may have erected the temple (647).

This peculiar little monument consists of a small brick tower, raised on a slender laterite pyramid of four stages, 27 meters square at the base, 15 meters square at the top, and 12 meters high. The tower is square, redented, with a door facing the east and three false doors. The slender pyramid resembles that of the pyramid temple of Prasat Thom as well as that of the later Phimeanakas (plan 10b) (fig. 22). It was surrounded by an enclosure, of which the ruins of a gopura have been found (647; 619, 62-64).

THE MEBON

An inscription (160, st. 35) says: "This servant (Kavindrārimathana) was charged by the King to build a rock and other edifices in the middle of the pond of Yaśodhara." Another inscription of A.D. 947 says: "He has erected, in the pond of Yaśodhara, a linga and some images" (161, st. 44). Thus, although the sanctu-

⁶ Maspero (576, 118), and after him Majumdar (535, 1, 66), wrongly ascribe a quotation to the inscription of Baksei Chamkrong, 947. The stanza quoted by them is found in Bat Chum, dated 960. The first mention of the war with Champa is found in Mebon, date 952. Both these quotations are given above.

ary was not consecrated until A.D. 952, donations seem to have been made there a few years earlier.

The Mebon was a specimen of early Khmer pyramid-temple, built on an artificial terrace of three stages (see plan 11*b*). The upper stage, in sandstone, was 30×30 meters, and contained five brick towers in quincunx, like those of Phnom Bakheng, but the center one was elevated on a foundation 1.25 meters high. The towers were square, oriented to the east, of the type of the so-called Art of Indravarman. The lower stages were of laterite. The second one contained eight small square brick towers, two on each side, all facing the east, and four rectangular buildings at the corner, facing each other, east and west. This stage was surrounded by a

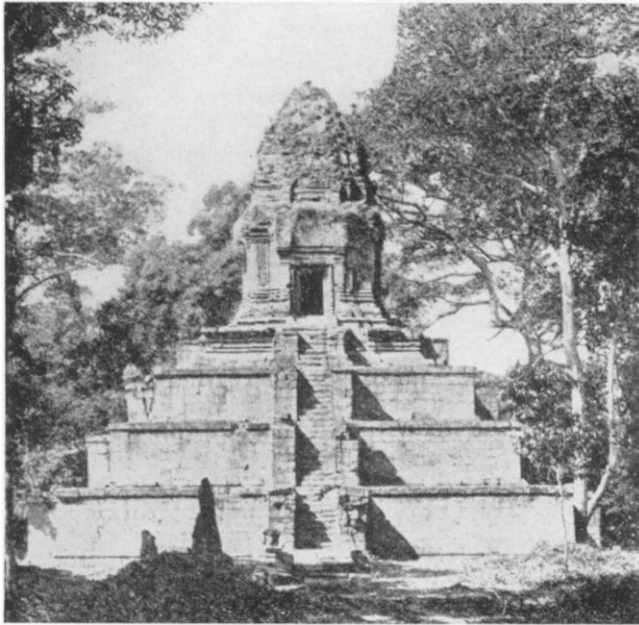


FIG. 22. Baksei Chamkrong: single pyramid temple.

low wall, with a small gopura and stairway on each side, leading to the lower stage. The lower stage was surrounded by a laterite wall, cut by four cruciform gopuras. Inside this wall was an almost continuous row of halls, with porches with pretty pillars and windows with balusters. Stairways, on the four sides, lead down, about 3 meters, to the landing (619, 61–62; 649; 703).

Inscriptions say that the central tower was destined to receive a linga under the vocable of *Rājendresvara* and the four lateral towers received images of the divinized ancestors of Rājendravarman (383; 160, B st. 20; 140, 137 n.; 152, 321). The eight small towers, corresponding, according to Stern, to the eight forms of Śiva, contained each a linga, like those of Bakong.

BAT CHUM AND LAK NAN, 960

These little Buddhist sanctuaries, both south of the East Baray, were erected in 960, according to their inscriptions. Prasat Lak Nan, near Pre Rup, was a

single square brick temple, whose plastered walls were undecorated and whose chief interest is that it was Buddhist and built there at that time. Prasat Bat Chum, southeast of Pre Rup, on a line between that temple and Prasat Kravan, consisted of three little temples in a row, on the same platform, oriented to the east. The towers were of brick, with stone used for door frames. The lintels presented the usual decoration of the Art of Indravarman, with lion-head or elephant-head at the center. The colonettes were octagonal, with the bare spaces reduced, but apparent. The towers sheltered images of the Buddha and the bodhisattvas, Vajrapāṇi and Prajñāpāramitā (619, 64–65; 160, st. 19).

PRE RUP, 961

In 961 Rājendravarman erected at Pre Rup, directly south of the Mebon and a few hundred meters beyond the southern border of the East Baray, a new pyramid temple, of the Mebon type but larger (619, 59–60; 649) plan 11*c*).

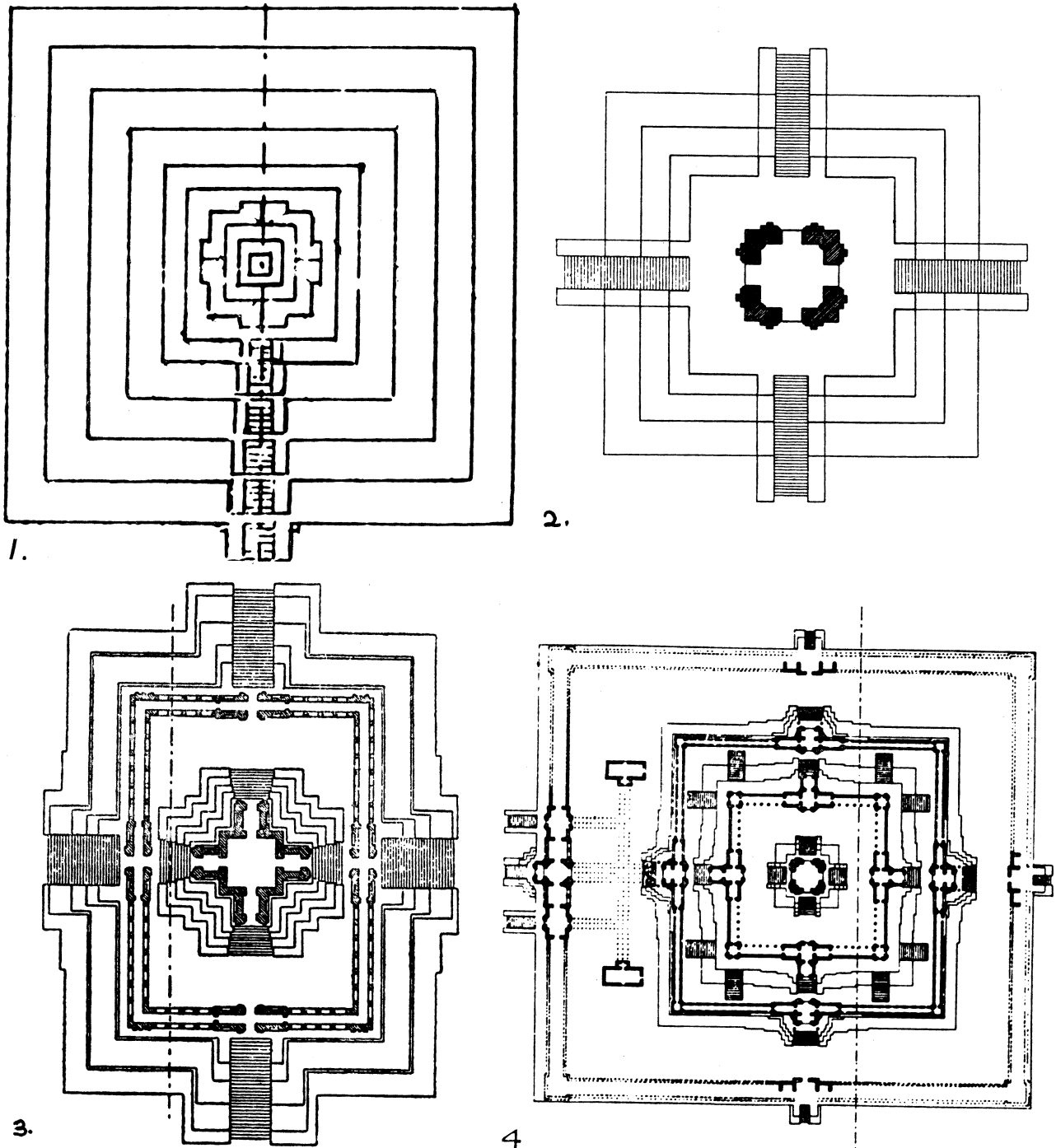
The temple was dedicated to the linga Rājendrabhadresvara, which undoubtedly occupied the central sanctuary of the quincunx of towers at the center of the pyramid. The name indicates a cult associating the royal god to Bhadrésvara, national divinity of the Kambuja, one of whose sanctuaries was Vat Phu, in the cradle of Chenla. The images in the other four corners represented ancestors or predecessors of Rājendravarman, but none were found *in situ*. Two were of Śiva, under the vocables, respectively, of Īśvara Rājendravarmesvara, representing the king himself, and one, as Īśvara Rājendrabhadresvara, in favor of Harshavarman II. One, Rājendraviśvarūpa, image of Viṣṇu, was associated with the cult of the brahman Viśvarūpa, husband of Sarasvatī and fabled ancestor of the king. One, an image of Umā, represented Jayadevī, wife of Jayavarman IV and aunt of Rājendravarman (217, 76; 152, 321–326).

By their form and the fact that they sheltered lingas representing the king under the vocable of the name of the king plus *-esvara*, both the Mebon and Pre Rup seem to have housed the *devarāja*; but they show that a terrace-temple, with five towers arranged in quincunx, even if it is known that one of them sheltered a king-god, may represent simply a sanctuary for the cult of the king's relatives.

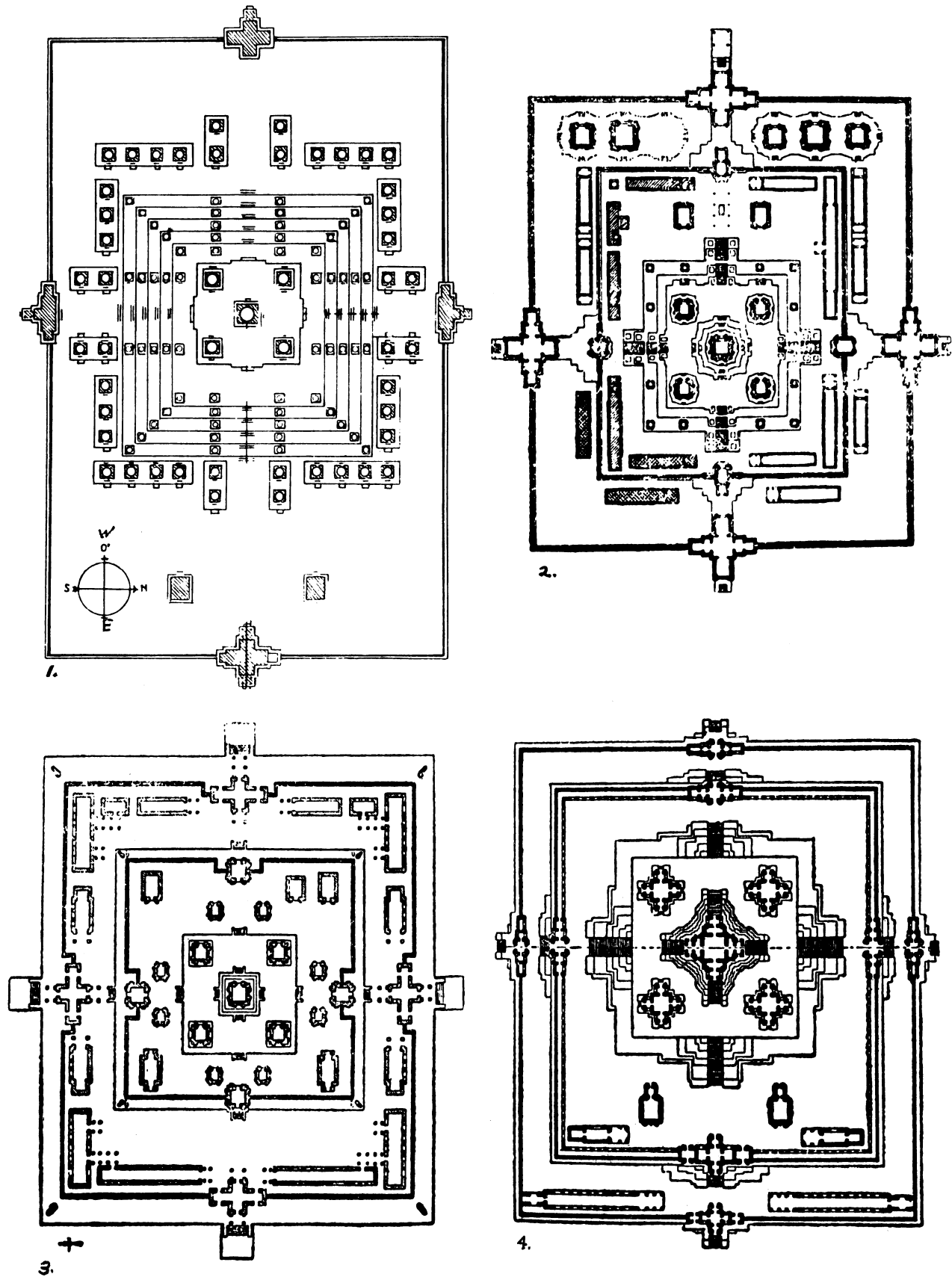
KUTIŚVARA

It is probable that the north and south prasats of the temple of Kutiśvara, near Banteay Kdei, at the south of the southeast corner of the East Baray, were constructed under the reign of Rājendravarman. The central prasat of this group, as has been seen, was probably built during the reign of Jayavarman III.

These three towers, which were found in 1930, are in a very ruined condition. They were aligned on a north-south axis and oriented to the east. The two



PLAN 10. Pyramid-temples with single central tower: 1. Prasat Thom; 2. Baksei Chamkrong; 3. Phimeanakas; 4. Baphuon



PLAN 11. Pyramid-temples in quincunx: 1. Bakheng; 2. E. Mebon; 3. Pre Rup; 4. Takeo.

lateral towers were rectangular. The lintels were of type III (530, 1, lxxxi). Brahmā is represented in the lintel of the south prasat and Vishṇu in that of the north. A statue of Brahmā with four faces and four arms (Brahmā Caturmukha) was found in the debris of the south prasat. This makes it practically certain that these are the prasats referred to in an inscription in re-employ in the neighboring temple of Banteay Kdei, which relates that the brahman Śivācārya erected images of Vishṇu and Brahmā in the north and south prasats, respectively (564).

PREAH VIHEAR

While the buildings in the Angkor region were still isolated towers or groups of towers, in the region to the north beginnings were being made in what later developed into considerable ensembles. One of the effects of the sojourn at Chok Gargyar seems to have been to draw more attention to this region. In the reign of Yaśovarman I, as has been seen, a sanctuary in light material had been established on a sloping promontory at Preah Vihear on the top of the Dangkreik Mountains. Rājendravarman II probably built, in mixed material, the gopura (*D*) of the Second Court, the long hall (*N*) between Courts I and II, and the east and west porticos of Court II—in fact, except for the libraries, practically all of Court II (plan 15).

The long hall consisted of three naves, divided by two rows of heavy square stone pillars. Its roof was in three parts, corresponding to the naves. The roof of the central nave was ridged, with pike-heads, and ended in gables with frontons. It was lighted by windows—three on each side—with balusters.

The gopura was a large hall, in cross, the lateral wing-passes a little longer than the porches, with a telescopic hall at each end. It was lighted, chiefly from the north, by windows with balusters.

The porticos were enclosing walls, rather than galleries and bordered about two-thirds of Court II. They were open to the inner court and were supported on the inside by square stone pillars. The roof was of tile and ridged, with pike-heads.

The frontons of Court II were sometimes triangular, ending in upraised out-turned scrolls, like those of Kok Ker, and without tympana, and sometimes bombed and ending in *nāga*-heads, like those of Banteay-Srei. In either case, they were flamed at the dorsal joints.

PRASAT KHNA

The oldest edifice of Prasat Khna, in the Province of Mlu Prei, Residence of Kompong Thom, was probably built during the reign of Rājendravarman II, possibly earlier. This group consisted of several monuments, without much arrangement, surrounded by two walls with gopuras at the east only, and two buildings outside the walls. Ruins may be traced of two outer enclosing walls.

The most ancient edifices appear to have been (1) a little sanctuary (*A*), a little to the north of the east-west axis of the central sanctuary (*B*), (2) the library building (*H*), in the southeast corner of the first enclosure, which contains an inscription (Prasat Khna I), undated, but which names the kings to and including Rājendravarman, and (3) the gopura of the first enclosure (*L*), which contains a pillar inscription (Prasat Khna II), which seems to be dated 1001 and which seems to apply to a monument already existing on that date.

The library is of the usual rectangular brick type facing the west. The sanctuary (*A*) is the usual square, redented brick sanctuary of the period, oriented to the east. The gopura consists of a square central hall and a rectangular telescopic annex on each side, but not opening into it. The central hall and annexes open both to the inside and the outside, but they are lighted only from the outside. All are of brick, as is also the low wall with chaperon surrounding the first enclosure (656, 1, 206–211; 530, 1, 240–242; 6, 1, 47–53).

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS

Many inscriptions of the reign of Rājendravarman II have been found and some of them are among the longest and most important of Cambodian epigraphy. Some of the most important are: Baksei Chamkrong, Mebon, Bat Chum, and Pre Rup (map 11).

The inscription of Baksei Chamkrong is carved on the door-pillars of the sanctuary of that name. The occasion of the inscription was the installation of the golden image of Parameśvara, possibly the dedication of the temple, in 947. It begins with invocations to Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Śiva-Vishṇu, Śiva-Devī, Devī, Vagiśvari (goddess of learning) and of Kambu Svāyambhuva and Merā, the legendary founders of the Solar dynasty. It then gives a genealogy of Rājendravarman II, tracing his descent from the Solar line through Śrutavarman and from the Lunar dynasty through Rudravarman of Funan. It then gives the foundations of the kings since Indravarman I.⁷ This was the first mention in Khmer epigraphy of Kambu and Merā, although the word Kambuja had already appeared. It was also the first mention of the Solar dynasty, of which Kambu is reputed to be the founder and to which were assigned Śrutavarman, Jayavarman II, and their successors (161).

The inscription of Mebon commemorates the consecration of the temple of that name in 952. Its genealogy, like that of Baksei Chamkrong, connects Rājendravarman II with both the Solar and Lunar dynasties. This inscription is the first to mention the victory over Champa. It also mentions a study of Buddhist doctrine made by Rājendravarman II (383).

The three Sanskrit and one Khmer inscriptions on the pillars of the three little brick towers which form

⁷ Those of Rājendravarman II are given on pp. 191.

the Bat Chum group, whose latest date is 960, all treat of the same subject, but in different manners, by different workmen, who—a fact very exceptional in Cambodian epigraphy—signed their names to their work. Three of these inscriptions begin with invocations to the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, Vajrapāni and Prajñāpāramitā.⁸ Several stanzas are then devoted to the foundations of Rājendravarman and the works of his Buddhist minister, Kavindrārimathana. Several stanzas are devoted to regulations regarding the tirtha (bathing-place) of Bat Chum: (only the *hotar* and the best among the brahmins, i.e., those who knew the Vedas, could bathe there; no trees were to be cut on the banks). Mention is made of a victorious campaign against Champa (160; 60).

The foundation-stele of Pre Rup (217), dated 961, contains one of the longest and most important inscriptions of Cambodian epigraphy. It consists of 298 Sanskrit stanzas. It begins with invocations to Śiva, Brahmā, Vāsudeva, and Nārāyaṇa. Its genealogy of Rājendravarman II corrects previous genealogies regarding the descent from Sarasvatī, the position of Nripatīndravarman as father of Pushkarāksha and the relationship of Rājendravarman II and Harshavarman II.

MINOR INSCRIPTIONS

There were also a great many inscriptions of minor importance during this reign: An inscription from Trapeang Sambot, near Bayang, dated 944, identifies that region as Śivapura (6, 1, 165–166). A pillar inscription of Prasat Pram, Chok Gargyar, dated 948, established the boundary between Lingapureśvara (Chok Gargyar) and Bhadrodayeśvara (129). A ruined pillar-inscription at Lak Nan, in Khmer, dates that monument in 959 (6, 3, 9). An undated fragment of stele, found in the Baphuon, seems to commemorate the foundation of a linga called Śikhareśvara (12). It mentions Lingapureśvara (384).

Two undated inscriptions, found in the later temple of Banteay Kdei, where they had probably been in re-employ as door-pillars, celebrated the erection (at Kutisvara) of statues of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, by Śivācārya, *hotar* of Īśānavarman II, Jayavarman IV, Harshavarman II, and Rājendravarman II, who it says, was a Śivaite *ācārya* of a pure Viṣṇu family and who, before his baptism (*abhiśeka*) was named Hṛishikeśa. This inscription gives a long list of foundations made by the *guru* Śivācārya from Indravarman II to Harshavarman II (and possibly further). Finot, who translated the inscription, thinks this *guru* was Śikhāśiva. The inscription begins with an invocation to Śivā, Umā, Bharatī and the Śivalinga of Aninditapura. Among the places where this *guru* made foundations were Yaśodharapura, Śivaparvata, Bhīmapura, Amoghapura, Aninditapura, Lingapura, Śambhupura, Śivapura, Rudra-

parvata, Siddheśvarapura, and the two Śivapādas (*āśramas*) (385).

An undated pillar inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer, at Kdei Skie, Prei Veng, indicates the consecration of a domain to Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, during the reign of Rājendravarman II (332, 1137). An undated inscription, in a ruined edicule of Prasat Khna (I), names the kings from Yaśovarman I to Rājendravarman II. It indicates that the edifice where it was found was a library (125), and thus identifies buildings of this type as libraries.

Two stele inscriptions, undated but believed to be of this region were found in the ruins of Basak, srok of Romduol, province of Svay Rieng. One, in Sanskrit and Khmer, celebrates the foundation of a Nripendrāyudhasvāmi by one Mratang Śrī Nripendrāyudha, “confidant” of the king. It pays homage to Maheśvara Rudra and Trivikrama (Viṣṇu). It praises King Rājendravarman as the restorer of Yaśodharapura, the Yaśodharatātāka and the five sanctuaries of the Mebon. No date is given, but as the Mebon is mentioned and Pre Rup is not, the date may safely be placed between 952 and 960. The other inscription is a royal decree of Jayavarman (V), issued to the *Vraṇḍa Guru*, concerning the furnishing of oil for the unctions of a divinity whose name has disappeared. It refers to a religious foundation made by order of the Kamsteng an Rājakula Mahāmantri confided to the direction of Mraten Rājādvāra (228).

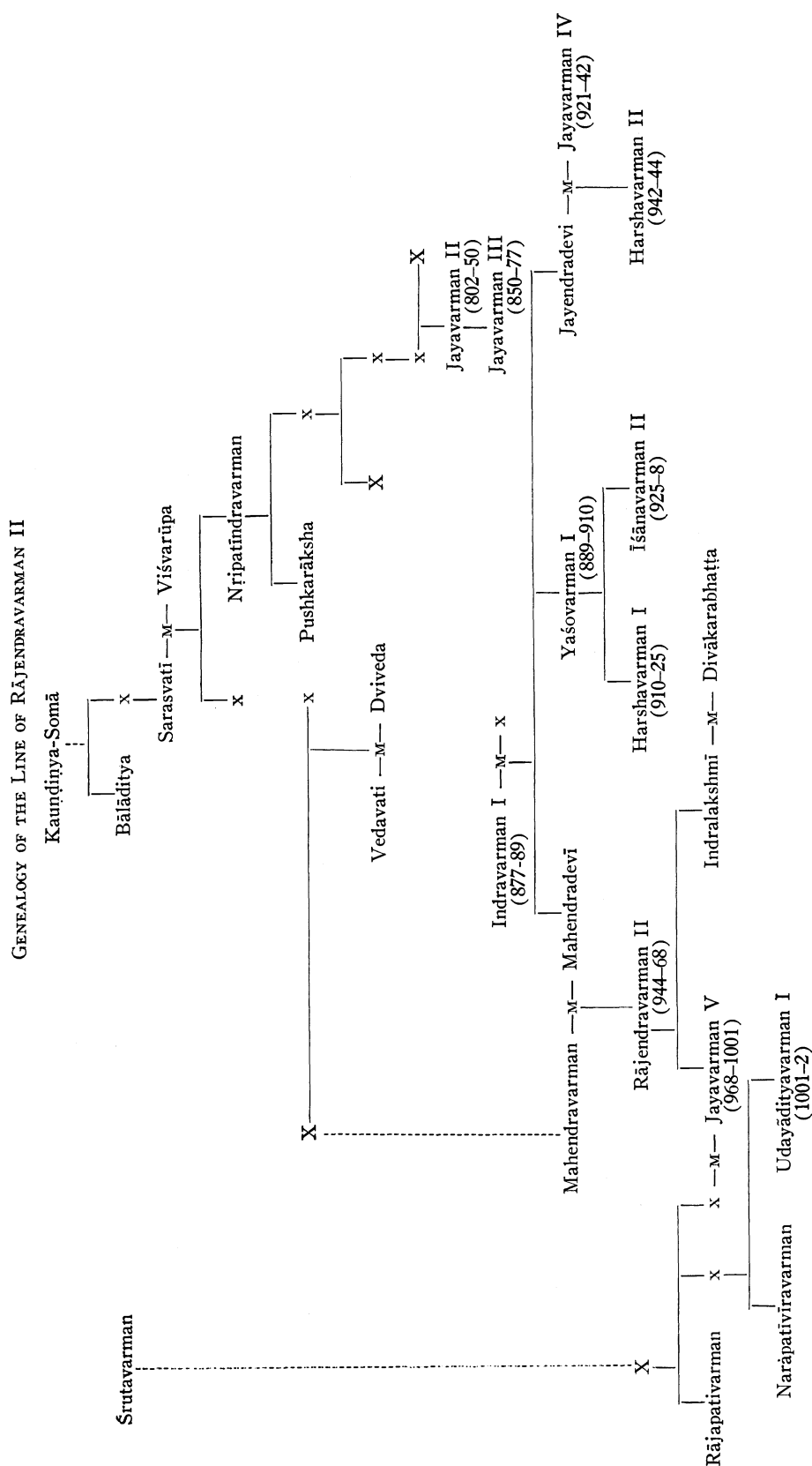
RELIGIONS

The inscriptions of Rājendravarman II show a great variety of religious practises and an extreme toleration. The worship of the linga was paramount and many foundations were made. Three of the four great inscriptions record the erection of royal lingas in pyramid-temples devoted to the cult of divinized relatives of the king.

Although he was a Śivaite, as his posthumous name indicates, Rājendravarman II was very tolerant of Buddhism. In his early life he seems to have made a deep study of Buddhism and to have decided to remain a Śivaite. “Nothing was comparable to the amplitude of his virtues. Having studied the Buddhist doctrine, he had no false ideas, even under the influence of other masters” (383, st. 172).

But if Rājendravarman II rejected the Buddhist doctrine, he appointed as one of his chief ministers a Buddhist, Kavindrārimathana, who made many Buddhist foundations, as well as many works dedicated to Śiva, while supervising the construction of the capital and its public buildings. The inscription of Bat Chum dedicates that sanctuary to the Buddha and the bodhisattvas, Vajrapāni and Prajñāpāramitā. It gives a long panegyric to this minister and a list of his donations previous to that date (960), which included (1) a statue of Jina (Buddha) at Jayantadeśa (946), (2) a Lokanātha and two Devīs at Kutisvara, and (3) an image

⁸ One Sanskrit inscription substitutes Lokeśvara for Prajñāpāramitā.



This genealogical table is based on the inscription of Pre Rup (modification of Coedès table—217, 74) and Prasat Khna (124, 400).

of Jina and a Divyadevi. (Prajñāpāramitā) with Śrī Vajrapāṇi at the Mebon (963). This liberalism was in line with the current tendency toward the syncretism of Śivaism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, noted by Coedès at this time (160, 223–224).

The inscriptions show that the worship of other deities was not neglected. A domain was granted to Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī and statues of Viṣṇu and Brahmā were erected at Kutīśvara.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

During this reign, the worship of ancestors appears to have taken a peculiar manifestation. Heretofore, pyramid-temples had been identified exclusively with the worship of the *devarāja*. Bakong, Phnom Bakheng, the “Prang” of Prasat Thom, had been the *Vnam Kantāl*, Central Mount, in representation of Mount Meru, center of the universe. Temples devoted to the worship of ancestors—Preah Kō, Lolei possibly Phnom Bok⁹—were grouped in rows on a platform elevated a little above the surrounding level. The idea seemed to be that when the founder of a pyramid-temple died, the temple became his mausoleum. Then the *purohita* of the new king, using the ritual taught by Hiranyadāma to Śivakaivalya created a new *devarāja*, for which a new tower-temple must be erected. Thus Bakong became the funerary temple of Indravarman I, Phnom Bakheng of Yaśovarman I, and the “Prang” of Jayavarman IV. We do not know what were the Central Mounts of the sons of Yaśovarman I or of the immediate successors of Jayavarman IV.

In the reign of Rājendravarman II, we find pyramid-temples, which had never been Central Mounts, consecrated to the lingas of a king after his death (Baksei Chamkrong) and during his life (Mebon, Pre Rup). These latter two temples seem thus to have been shrines of the *devarāja* during the life of the king and, including the former, funerary temples after his death. The Central shrine at Baksei Chamkrong was dedicated to Harshavarman I (golden linga) after his death (947); those of Mebon and Pre Rup, respectively, to Rājendreśvara (linga of Rājendravarman II) and Rājendrabhadreśvara (also a linga of Rājendravarman II associated with the tutelary deity of the Kambuja). The images of ancestors, were here found in the other four towers of the quincunx.

These sanctuaries indicate that a pyramid-temple could be devoted, in part at least, to the cult of ancestor-worship. (Perhaps this usage had existed at Bakong and Bakheng.) It also indicated that more than one image of the *devarāja* could exist during one reign and that such an image could be set up and receive a cult in a pyramid-temple not the Central Mount.

⁹ Two funerary urns have been found at Phnom Bok (207).

EXTENT OF RĀJENDRAVARMAN'S EMPIRE, 960

In a special article a few years ago (574), Georges Maspero attempted to depict the political geography of Cambodia for the year 960, the year of the beginning of the Sung dynasty in China. He gave to Kambujadeśa and its dependencies all of what is now Cambodia, Cochinchina and Laos, nearly all of Siam and parts of what are now Annam, China and Burma. Its boundary on the east, according to Maspero, was the Annamitic range; on the north, the mountains north of the Sib-song Pan-na, now a part of Yunnan; on the west, the range east of the Salween river, forming the central ridge of the Malay Peninsula, as far south as the state of Grahi on the Bay of Bandon; and, on the south, the Ocean, the Gulf of Siam and the State of Grahi. Among the tributary regions, Maspero enumerated Yonāka Nāgabandhu (Upper Laos), Alavirāshtra (Sib-song Pan-na), Khmerrāshtra (Keng Tung, in the southern Shan States), Yonakarāshtra (the Yun country, northwestern Siam),¹⁰ Sukhodaya, Louvo, and Chen-li-fu (as running down into the Malay Peninsula) (map 11).

These boundaries do not differ much from those which an inscription gave to Yaśovarman more than half a century earlier. This shows that the dynastic struggles which undoubtedly took place during the reigns of the five kings who ruled in Cambodia in the half century after the death of Yaśovarman, did not seriously affect the boundaries of the Empire. Although Rājendravarman was doubtless a vigorous ruler, from the wealth and splendor of the capital as pictured in the inscriptions and the many magnificent temples erected by him and his successor, this must have been a period of peaceful prosperity.

THE TEMPLE OF BANTEAY SREI, 967

The inscription of Banteay Srei, 968, shows that the temple of Banteay Srei at Īśvarapura, on the Siemreap River, a few kilometers northwest of Angkor, was founded in 967, but was not dedicated until the next year, in the reign of Jayavarman V. For this reason, because it was constructed by the *guru* of Prince Jayavarman and because it inaugurated a new style of architecture which belongs to that reign, it will be treated under the reign of Jayavarman V.

DEATH OF RĀJENDRAVARMAN II

Rājendravarman II died in 968, after a reign of twenty-four years. He received the posthumous name of Śivaloka (358, 91).

¹⁰ It is known that Khmer authority did not extend over all these regions at this time, for instance Yonakarāshtra and probably Khmerrāshtra. Besides using terms not current in 960, Maspero was probably in error in the location of some of his dependencies; for instance, Chen-li-fu (734, 282–283).

6. THE REIGN OF JAYAVARMAN V (968-1001)

ACCESSION OF JAYAVARMAN V

Rājendravarman II was succeeded in 968 by his son, Jayavarman V, who, like his father, came to the throne while very young (278, 200; 239, 65).

Like his father also, he was lavishly praised by the inscriptions,

Possessing all the qualities, having in his aspect the whiteness of virtue, eloquent, bearing the sign of the friendship of Indra, sovereign-born, master of himself (387, st. 3-4). When he puts himself in march, under the shock of his armies, the earth with its mountains is agitated as the sea is disturbed by a tempest. . . . With the noisy drums, to which are mixed agreeably the sonorous copper cymbals, with the *karadis*, the *timiles*, the lutes, the flutes, the bells and the tambourines, with the *huravas*, the *timbales*, the *bheris*, the *kāhalas* and the multitude of shells, he inspires terror in his enemies (28, B st. 4-5). When, in his fury, his lion roar was heard, . . . hostile kings fled to the depths of the forest (*ibid.*, st. 8).

These warlike statements proceeded from the fertile brain of a servile minister rather than from any historical facts of the period. Nothing is known of any wars waged by Jayavarman V. His reign seems to have been a happy period of peaceful development.

RELATIONS WITH CHAMPA

"The entire troop of kings, to begin with that of Champa, inclining themselves before him with confidence, he did not even discharge his bow, through affection for the virtuous people" (218, A st. 5). This stanza, repeated in two other inscriptions of the period (402, A st. 5; 142, 292), has sometimes been considered as relating to an invasion of Champa in which the life of the king of that country was spared (402, 47). But, as the above-mentioned inscription belongs to the first period of his reign, it more probably refers to homage paid by the King of Champa at his coronation. Champa seems to have been impressed by Rājendravarman II's invasion. Between 960 and 971, it sent six embassies, with a wealth of gifts, to the court of the new Sung Emperor of China (576, 119-120). Very probably the King of Champa rendered homage to Jayavarman V at his coronation.

FUNCTIONARIES: THE HEREDITARY SACERDOTAL FAMILIES

The long minorities of these two successive kings made the country more dependent on the great families of the learned classes. The great sacerdotal families which exercised the hereditary right to furnish the principal religious functionaries, increased in number and power. Ātmaśiva, of the house of Śivakaivalya, who had served under the two preceding kings, was Jayavarman V's *purohita* during the early years of his reign (358, 91). His *hotar*, of the family of Praṇa-vātman, was Nārāyana, brother of Śaṅkara, who had

served in that capacity under Rājendravarman II (165, B st. 13). Paramācārya of the house of Haripurā, continued to serve as priest of Jalāṅgeśa and Kapāleśa.

The house of Saptadevakula was becoming one of the most important hereditary sacerdotal families. Prāna was chief of confidential private secretaries. Two of her brothers were priests of Hemaśringeśa. Five of her nephews were in the service of the king, of whom the eldest was the scholar and poet Kaviśvara (31, A st. 22-27). The house of Aninditapura was represented by Pañcagavya, grandson of Ravinātha (403, A st. 27-39).

FUNCTIONARIES: GURUS, MINISTERS

Rājakula Mahāmantrin continued to transmit the orders of the king and to act as Judge of the Civil Court (6, 1, 333; 2, 224; 3, 494); both other ministers were becoming relatively important. The great Buddhist minister of works, Kavindrārimathana was succeeded by another Buddhist minister, Kīrtipandita, who made many foundations.

Jayavarman V's *guru* at first seems to have been Yajñavarāha, grandson of Harshavarman I (218, 153), "first in the knowledge of the doctrines, . . . of the Buddha, medicine and astronomy, . . . who had seen the other bank of the sciences." He made many foundations during this reign, including, with his younger brother Vishnukumāra, the temple of Banteay Srei.

Two Senāpatīs are mentioned prominently in the inscriptions of this reign. Rājapativarman, brother-in-law of Jayavarman V, was the victorious general (124, st. 5). He died before 979; for, in that year, the king erected a statue of Śiva under the traits of Rājapativarman—one of the first examples of apotheosis of a person not a king (163, 41). Virendravarman, who had served under the predecessors of Jayavarman V (6, 3, 10), played an important role during Jayavarman V's reign (387) and will be heard from under his successor.

JAYAVARMAN V'S FAMILY

Many of Jayavarman V's relatives served under him. All we know about his wife is that she was of the family of Śreṣṭhapura, that the Senāpati Rājapativarman (see above) was her elder brother and that his successor, Udayādityavarman I, was the son of her elder sister. The king's younger sister, Indralakṣmī, who married Divākarabhatta, a brahman from North India, made, with her husband, many foundations. These foundations, which included an image of her mother, were celebrated by inscriptions.

Prānā, one of Rājendravarman II's queens, held an important post under Jayavarman V. Several members of her family, including the famous Kaviśvara, held important religious and administrative posts.

AGE OF LEARNING: POSITION OF WOMEN

The reign of Jayavarman V seems to have been one of those intellectual periods not uncommon in the history of the ancient Khmers.

From all directions, brahmins celebrated for their wisdom, with subtle and penetrating *éclat*, who have dissipated the fogs of evil, who possess the essence of the science of the Vedānta, who are pleased to follow the path of the *Smritis*, free of passions, without avarice, faithful to their duty, manifest examples of the eight perfections of the Yogas, regulating themselves by the march of the sun, moistened ceaselessly with the moisture of meditation and profoundly versed in the Vedas and the Vedāntas, have saluted him with their repeated acclamations (28, B st. 19).

Mention has been made of the many brilliant ministers and dignitaries of Jayavarman V. Among those not already mentioned, may be named: Vishṇuvara (Prithivīndrapandita II), head of the brilliant Vishṇuīte family in charge of the sanctuary at Kōk Pō, who erected a Vishṇu at Banteay Srei and is called "a relative and spiritual friend" of Yajñavarāha (403, 48); Rājakulārājaputra and Brahmanācārya, who sat with him on an assembly concerning grants of land; Virendravarman, founder of Vrah Dāṇnap (Prasat Sralau) (223, 226); Narapativiravarman and Jayayudhavarman, dignitaries related to the women who received apotheosis with Rājapativarman; and Jahnavī, younger sister of Yajñavarāha, who made some foundations at Banteay Srei. There is probably no reign in the history of the ancient Khmers in which more distinguished ministers, scholars, and dignitaries are mentioned in the inscriptions.

The exalted trust confided to Prānā by the king, the praises of Indralakṣmī in the inscriptions and her erection of an image of her mother, and the foundations of Jahnavī, show the high social and political position held by the women of Cambodia at this time. Chinese writers praise the women of Cambodia for their knowledge of astrology and government and say the women of the royal family sometimes held high political posts, including that of judge.

THE TEMPLE OF BANTEAY SREI

This beautiful little temple, popularly known as Banteay Srei, "Citadel of the Women," in a region known in the inscriptions as Īśvarapura, is one of the gems of Khmer architecture. It was founded in 967, during the reign of Rājendravarman II, but was not dedicated until 968, the first year of the reign of Jayavarman V. It is of great interest, because it marks in a sense a transition between two stages of art. It was the first Khmer monument to be restored according to the method of anastylosis, or integral restoration, adopted from Java (207). Before this restoration, a special study had been devoted to it by l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (392; 439).

The general disposition of the monument is shown by plan 12. The whole was probably surrounded by a

palisade, of which no trace remains. A recent aeronautical survey has brought to light the remains of a vast baray (300, 259). Although the ensemble of the monument is considerable, the sanctuaries are small. The three central sanctuaries are jewels of art, but they are narrow and the doors are scarcely five feet high (619, 66-79; 654).

A stele inscription shows the temple was erected by Yajñavarāha, *guru* of Jayavarman V, and his younger brother, Vishṇukumāra. It was dedicated to a Śivalinga under the vocable of Tribhuvanamaheśvara, which was housed in the central sanctuary. The north tower was dedicated to Vishṇu; the south tower, to Siva, figured as another linga.

Owing to a misreading of the inscriptions, it was formerly believed that this monument was not completed until early in the fourteenth century—the latest of the great Khmer monuments (392; 123-125). It is now known that it was conceived and built during the latter part of the reign of Rājendravarman II and dedicated in the first year of the reign of Jayavarman V (218; 142).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE

The temple of Banteay Srei is considered by Parmentier as belonging to the Art of Indravarman, and it contained many elements which were fast disappearing from Khmer architecture. Sanctuaries consisting of redented square towers with a door and three false doors still continued, but the alignment of three in a row was disappearing. Banteay Srei marked the end of the sanctuary in plastered brick. The buildings and enclosures of this group were mainly of laterite, with an extended use of sandstone for decorative purposes and a very reduced employment of brick.

An important development in construction which appears to have come in at this time was a change in the use of wooden beams, which formed such an important factor in construction during the entire period of the so-called Art of Indravarman. When stone architecture began to take the place of wooden architecture, Khmer architects, not knowing the true arch, found themselves handicapped in spanning wide openings. To solve these problems, wooden beams were placed in the masonry across the openings. These unsightly beams did not please the architects of Banteay Srei and here for the first time, according to Parmentier (631, 153), the beams were hidden in enormous grooves carved out of blocks of sandstone.

The libraries of Banteay Srei were very interesting. They were rectangular, with a façade at one end and false façade at the other and three interior naves reflected in the tile roof, ridged with pike-heads. The triple superposed frontons, with bas-relief scenes in the tympana were unique in Khmer architecture (fig. 23).

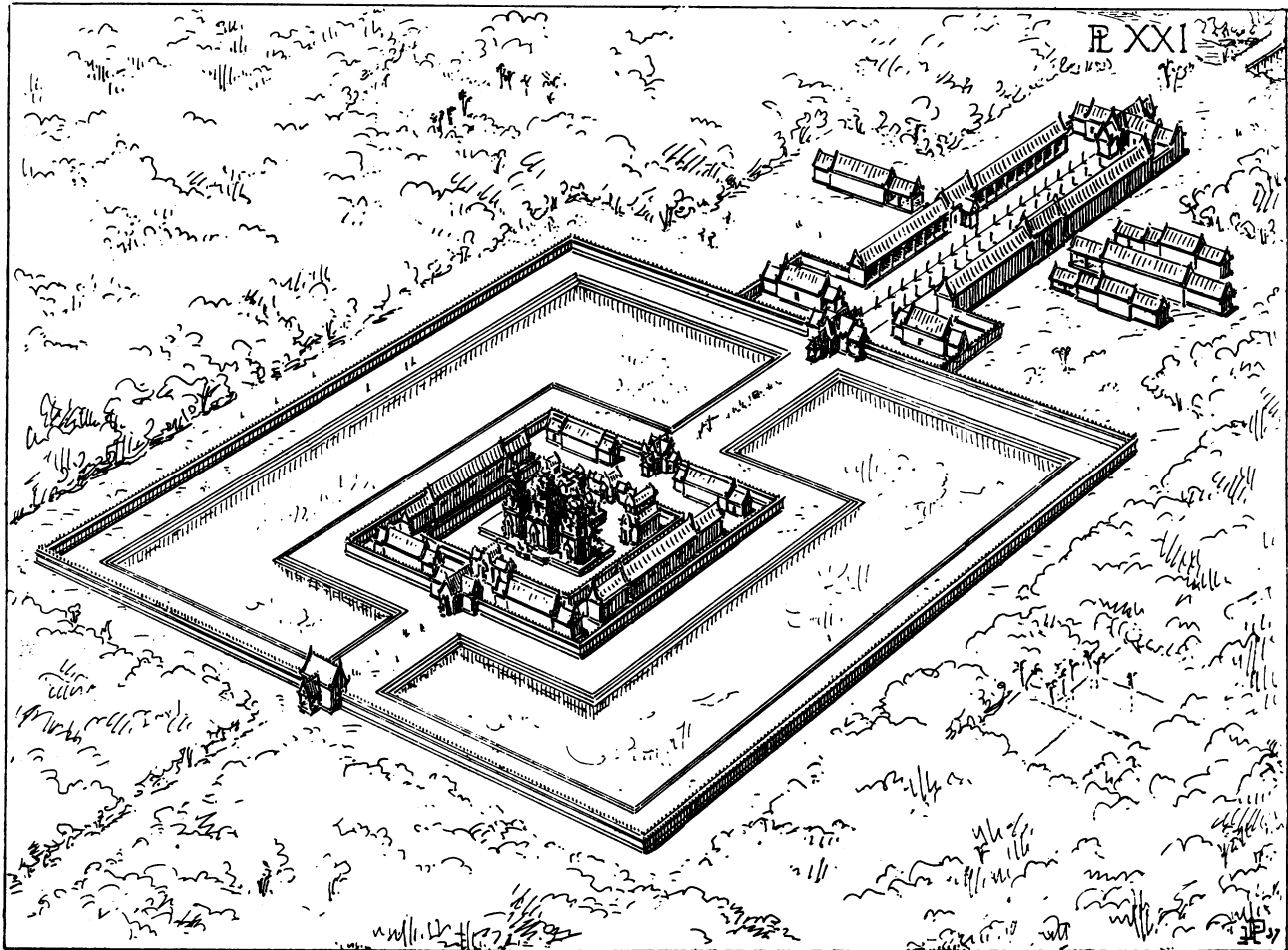
THE STYLE OF BANTEAY SREI

DECORATIONS

"Banteay Srei is a singular monument, which presents at once loans from the past and surprising innovations." The colonettes, in some cases, revert to the past. They are sometimes round, sometimes octagonal with four great bare spaces between rings. Lintels often copy those of the monuments of Roluos. The

heads. Tympanans with scenes appeared without the disappearance of vegetable tympanans. In fact, they were sometimes mixed (301, 65).

The most remarkable of the innovations of this period was probably the tympanan with scenes. Of the six tympanans with scenes at Banteay Srei, four belonged to the libraries. The two of the north library, facing the north sanctuary which was dedicated to Vishnu, contained scenes of the legend of Vishnu, while those



PLAN 12. The Temple of Banteay Srei.

greatest innovation was probably the cutting of the arch of the lintel by monster-heads at the intermediate points, which were originally occupied by medallions (301, 52-53, 59).

The frontons of this group were remarkable. "It is in this temple that is found, for the first time, it seems, the beautiful architectural process of frontons superposed in successive retreats." The frontons of this period were generally redented or polylobed, but sometimes triangular. The terminal-motives were rarely simple *makara*-heads. These were freely associated with other animals (lion, *Garuda*) or more often replaced by a *kāla*-head spitting the *nāga*. The borders of the frontons of the libraries terminated in *nāga*-

of the south library, facing the south sanctuary dedicated to Śiva, pictured scenes of the legend of that deity. The other two represent scenes from the *Mahābhārata* (301, 83; 148, 81) (fig. 24).

Some of the wall-decorations were among the best in Khmer art. Of the interior hall of the central temple, Parmentier says, "One sees there the gracious tapestry of square rosaces found a century later at the Baphuon, two centuries later at Angkor Vat" (654).

SCULPTURE

Human statues show a variation. They are generally smaller than those of the preceding period and

are well-formed. The *devatās* of the temple of Banteay Srei (fig. 25) are the most voluptuous of Khmer art. The faces become much sweeter, with lips short and thick. The ancient form of coiffure persisted, but the jewelled diadem is often suppressed. Sometimes the costume is pleated, sometimes smooth as in ancient styles (301, 99–100, 113, 121).

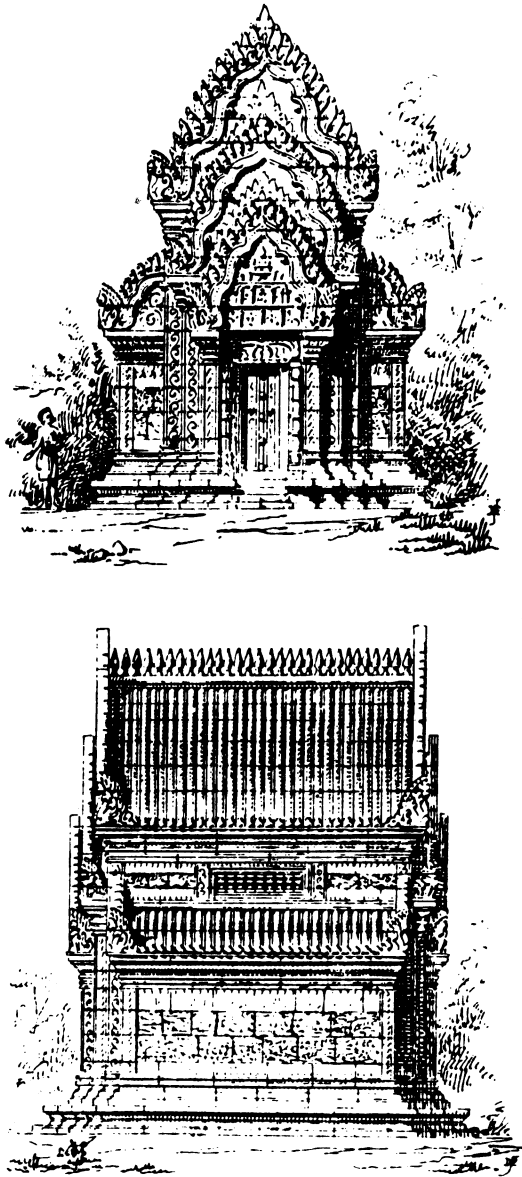


FIG. 23. Banteay Srei: library.

Human sculpture in the round is represented by the Śiva with his *śakti*, Umā, to whom the Central sanctuary was dedicated, the Viṣṇu of the north sanctuary, squatting on the left knee on the partition-wall on each side of the stairway leading to the sanctuaries (329). Similar personages are found at Chok Gargyar. Mme de Coral Rémusat thinks they were borrowed from the

Style of Kompong Preah (Prasat Andet, Kompong Preah), where vestiges of such personages are found (301, 113 n.). They had no further development in Cambodian Art.

The lions of Banteay Srei are still in a squatting posture, but are arising slightly on the hind legs.

TRIBHUVANEŚVARA AND BHADREŚVARA

Another consequence of the sojourn at Chok Gargyar seems to have been the identification of the *devarāja*

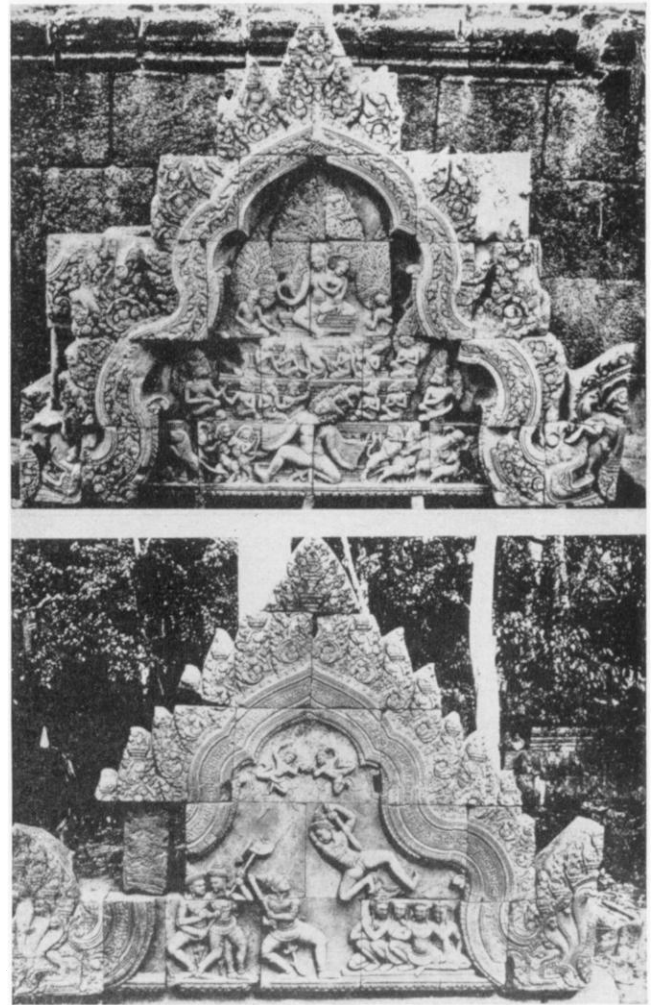


FIG. 24. Banteay Srei: fronton with scenes.

with the Tribhuvaneśvara, god of that region, and its subsequent merger with Bhadreśvara, the god of the old sanctuary of Vat Phu and the tutelary deity of the Cambodian and Cham nations,¹ and the merger of the estates of those deities in a movement which seems ultimately to have imposed on Cambodia a landed theocracy by the absorption of the cultivable lands and much of the working population by the gods.

¹ But not of the early Funanese of Huan Wang, or Pāṇḍuraṅga, who afterward became part of the Cham kingdom (p. 20).

The so-called *devarāja* of Yaśovarman I seems to have been his personal linga, *Yaśodhareśvara*—inseparable in life or death from his corporeal being. Thus his Vnaṃ Kantāl, where it was deposited, became his Central Temple during his life and his funerary temple after his death. But, after the sojourn at Chok Gargyar, Rājendravarman I could consecrate his *Rājendreśvara* in his Vnaṃ Kantāl at Phimeanakas and could consecrate another *Rājendreśvara* at the Mebon and also a Rājendrabhadreśvara at Pre Rup.

From the inscriptions, it seems that, in 921, Jayavarman IV took a new *purohita*²—Īśānamūrti—with him to Chok Gargyar and left the old *purohita*—Kūmā-



FIG. 25. Banteay Srei: *Devatā*.

raśvamī—with Harshavarman I. No doubt the old Śivalinga—*Harsheśvara*—remained with its king and its *purohita* at Yaśodharapura, probably at Baksei Chamkrong. Īśānamūrti consecrated a new Śivalinga—*Jayeśvara*—for Jayavarman IV at Prasat Thom. The tutelary deity of that region seems to have been Tribhuvaneśvara, another manifestation of Śiva. Jayavarman IV consecrated his temple, to this god; i.e., gave his Śivalinga the name Tribhuvaneśvara, said to be equivalent to the term *kamraten jagat ta rāja*, or more properly, *kamraten jagat to rājya*, “god of the royalty” (145, 14), which term had probably not before been used in the history of the Kambuja. If the term *devarāja* had been applied to the king’s Śivalinga before this time, it probably had a more personal meaning.

² *Purohitas* of this family seem to have served both kings of rival dynasties.

In the face of a personal and older royal linga, Jayavarman IV seems to have tried to give his new royal linga a national rather than a personal significance.

The next step was the merger of this new royal linga with Bhadreśvara, who was supposed to be the tutelary deity of the early Kambuja—probably borrowed from the Chams—but who, up to that date had not appeared to be much in honor outside of the cradle of the Kambuja—the region around Vat Phu. The merger of these two concepts was seen in the establishment of the linga Rājendrabhadreśvara at Pre Rup. This merger of the sanctuaries and their foundations, as will be seen, was taking place in the reign of Jayavarman V.³

ISVARAPURA AND LINGAPURA

The stele inscription of Banteay Srei, dated 968, and discovered in 1936 (218), is identical, except for a few details, with two other inscriptions discovered some time ago at little sanctuaries, about ten kilometers apart—Sek Ta Tuy and Prasat Trapang Khyang (wrongly called Trapang Cong). All were founded by the *guru* Yajñavarāha.⁴ All these sanctuaries were dedicated to the linga Tribhuvanamaheśvara, which is the name of the god of Lingapura (Chok Gargyar), and all were made *miśrabhoga* (co-participant) of certain revenues with the god Bhadreśvara.

The Khmer part of the inscription of Banteay Srei, of the same date, is a royal ordinance of Jayavarman V, prescribing the union of the foundations of Yajñavarāha in favor of the god Tribhuvanamaheśvara to the Bhadreśvara of Lingapura and formulating certain prescriptions which reproduce partly those of the Sanskrit text (218; 402; 142).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF DIVĀKARA AND INDRALAKSHMĪ

Indralakshmī, daughter of Rājendravarman II and younger sister of Jayavarman V, married a brahman *bhaṭṭa* (doctor) from Northern India, named Divākara, or Divāsākara, sometimes qualified as *deva* or *dvijendra*. They made many foundations. Divākara established a triad of gods, consecrated to Bhadreśvara (28, B st. 22, 26; 219, A st. 47), in a region called Mādhuvana, “Forest of Honey,” probably at Prasat Komphus, where the inscription was found, about twenty-five kilometers west of Chok Gargyar. The temple was completed in 972.

They also erected an image of Viṣṇu and a semi-nary at Dvijendrapuri (28, B st. 27; 219, A st. 43–43), probably at the present Siemreap, where Prei Enykosei is found. This seems to have been their residence.

³ The motives offered here for this movement of consolidation is only a personal hypothesis postulated for consideration. The facts of such a movement can scarcely be doubted.

⁴ At Banteay Srei he was assisted by his younger brother, Viṣṇukumāra.

Indralakshmī erected here an image of her mother, in 968, and assisted her husband in erecting a Vishṇu in 970 and Jayavarman V assigned a village to Hari (Vishṇu). He also made the seminary of Dvijendrapurī co-participant with the god residing at Madhuvana (216, B st. 48).

The sanctuary at which the fragmentary inscriptions of Ta Tru were found, about four hundred meters south of the Bayon, seems also to have been founded by Divākara, about 978, and to have been co-participant in certain revenues with the other temples founded by that brahman.

Among the possessions listed by the Khmer inscriptions of Prasat Komphus were an image of the deceased queen, mother of Jayavarman V, and an image of Indralakshmī.

PREAH VIHEAR

During the reign of Jayavarman V, Courts I and II, of the temple of Preah Vihear (plan 15) seem to have been partly rebuilt. The gopuras and galleries which surround Court I were rebuilt in masonry. The hall which formed the antechamber of the principal sanctuary, the east and west annexes outside of Court I, the two libraries at the south end of Court II, on both sides of the long hall and facing toward it, were probably erected at that time.

The fact that the false gopura, which forms most of the south end of Court I, had only one opening and provided no view at all of the wonderful panorama to the south, led Parmentier to think it was intended as a granary for the storage of rice; but the whole monument seems rather to have been a monastery or a place of religious retreat. In spite of its remarkable location, it was manifestly built to insure privacy and meditation. Every building, every coign of vantage that could give a glimpse of the wonderful view to the south, deliberately turns its back to it (656, 1, 270–342; 530, 2, 183).

THE TEMPLE OF NEAK BUOS

Erected by Jayavarman I, this was still an important religious center. As evidence of this, Yaśovarman I had erected an *āśrama* there, and dedicated it to the Gaṇeśa of Canandagiri (Santal Mountain) and had erected there one of his Digraphic Inscriptions (76, No. 17). Inscriptions during the reign of Jayavarman V show that two other little brick temples existed alongside the ancient sanctuary of Sivapādapura. Unlike that sanctuary, they were oriented toward the east.

BUDDHISM UNDER JAYAVARMAN V

Like his father, Jayavarman V fostered Buddhism. An inscription of Srei Santhor (see later) on the east side of the Mekong a little above the present site of Phnom Penh, contained instructions of Jayavarman V, promulgated by his Buddhist minister, Kīrtipaṇḍita,

in support of Buddhist practises. It gives a eulogy of the minister and relates his efforts for the establishment of Buddhism and says he brought from foreign lands a great many books on philosophy, treatises and commentaries on Mahāyānist Buddhism. It even directed that the *purohita* should be versed in Buddhist doctrine and on festival days should bathe the image of Buddha and recite Buddhist prayers. The inscription gives two dates, 948 and 968, which shows that Kīrtipaṇḍita had served during the preceding reign also.

An inscription of Phum Bantay Neang (p. 142), celebrated the erection of a statue to Prajñāpāramitā, or Bhagavatī, "mother of Buddhas," in 981, by Tribhuvanavajra, and mentions a donation to Jagadīśvara by the same person, and an image of Lokeśvara by Soma-vajra, brother-in-law of Tribhuvanavajra, in 982 (505).

An inscription of Prasat Pra Dak, Angkor, begins with an invocation to three Buddhist ratnas—*śrīghana*, *dharma*, and *saṅgha*—and gives a genealogy of kings from Jayavarman II to Jayavarman V, who seems to have been the author of the inscription.

VISHṆUISM

The worship of Vishṇu was common, but seems to have been subordinated to that of Śiva. A wing of the temple of Banteay Srei was dedicated to Vishṇu. The names of the *guru*, Vajñāvarāha, and the brother, Vishṇukumāra, who helped him build this monument, suggest that these brothers were Vishṇuite. Images of Vishṇu were established at Dvijendrapura (Siem-reap) by Divākara and Indralakshmī, the latter of whom seems to have been a devotee of that deity. The little temple of Kapilapura seems to have been Vishṇuite.

An inscription of Kōk Pō (II) seems to indicate that the mother of the Nārāyana mentioned in the inscription was Vishṇuite. Another—(III)—gives the genealogy of the family who presided at that Vishṇuite shrine and tells of the growth of its estates. Another inscription of this monument—(IV)—dated in the following reign, says that in 979, Nārāyana established a monastery and made other foundations there (279). Was this Nārāyana the *hotar* of that name? The name suggests it.

SIVAISM; CULT OF ANCESTORS

Jayavarman V, although very tolerant of Buddhism and Vishṇuism, was a devotee of Śiva, as his posthumous name shows. He erected the pyramid-temple of the Phimeanakas and established there his *devarāja*—*Jayeśvara*—in the center of his capital, Jayendranagari.

Apart from the state-cult of the *devarāja*, the worship of the Śivalinga was the most important cult. The temple of Banteay Srei and the two little temples associated with it, all to the north and east of the capital, were dedicated to the linga under the vocable of Tribhu-

vaneśvara, with whom as well as with Bhadreśvara, they were co-participants in certain revenues.

Rājendravarman II had dedicated the sanctuary of Baksei Chamkrong to the ancestors or predecessors of Harshavarman II and had erected the sanctuaries of Mebon and Pre Rup in honor of his own predecessors. Jayavarman V had an image of Śiva made under the traits of his elder brother. Images were also set up of his mother and his sister, Indralakshmī.

THE RISE OF ŚIVĀCĀRYA AND KAVĪŚVARA

Toward the end of Jayavarman V's reign, two important sacerdotal functionaries rose into prominence—Śivācāryapaṇḍita and Kavīśvarapaṇḍita.

Śivācārya descended from both the family of Śiva-kaivalya which furnished hereditary *purohitas* and that of Pranavātman which furnished hereditary *hotars* and also from the line of Hyañ Pavitrā—a wife of Jayavarman II. An inscription tells that he inherited from his father, who was son of Paramācārya, the hereditary charge of priest of Jalāṅgeśa and Kāpāleśa and that Jayavarman V appointed him inspector of qualities and defects (judge?) on Hemaśringeśa, "for the development of the cult of the gods" (29, B st. 5–7). On the death of his uncle, Nārāyana, he became *hotar* and head of the family of Pranavātman and on the death of the granduncle, Ātmaśiva, he succeeded him as *purohita* (358, 91). Thus were united the three great hereditary sacerdotal houses under Śivācāryapaṇḍita, who became the leading figure of the latter years of Jayavarman V's reign.

About the same time a representative of the house of Saptadevakula, which was soon to play a prominent part, rose into prominence. Kavīśvara, nephew of Prāṇā and priest of Hemaśringeśa who was the eldest of five brothers in the king's service, now became chaplain of the king⁵ and was given the title Kavīśvarapaṇḍita.

THE PALACE OF CATURDVARA AND THE JAYENDRANĀGARĪ

An inscription of a later reign (Tuol Prasat, A.D. 1003) speaks of Jayavīravarman as residing at the Holy Caturdvara (Four Doors) of Jayendranāgarī. A later inscription (Prasat Trapang Run, A.D. 1006) speaks of Jayavīravarman as residing at the Palace of the Caturdvara at Yaśodharapuri, where he was building a temple, and of ceremonies held at the "Stone Basin." Another inscription, of the same year (Phnom Sanké Kong, A.D. 1006), speaks of Sūryavarman I as King of the Caturdvara. An inscription of the reign of Jayavarman V (Kōk Pō II, A.D. 978) spoke of slaves bought by that king when he was building the palace of Jayendranāgarī and the Hemaśringagiri. So, it

appears that Jayavarman V built a new capital, Jayendranāgarī (city or capital of Jayavarman), and began the erection of a new palace.

As already noted, Rājendravarman II's palace was probably located to the west of the Phimeanakas, where traces of what is believed to be a royal palace have been found. Jayavarman V seems to have begun the erection of the palace of which ruins are found at the east of Phimeanakas. He probably surrounded it with the inner enclosure, which had four gates (Caturdvara). Perhaps Jayavarman V applied the name Jayendranāgarī to this enclosure only. Perhaps he tried to apply it to the then new Yaśodharapura, which at that time may not have had an enclosure of any kind except that of Rājendravarman II (plan 13). If so, the fame of Yaśovarman I seems to have been too great. (The Phimeanakas was directly north of Mount Bakheng, just outside the limits of the ancient city, whose north avenue ran to its outer gate. It was also directly to the west of the Mebon.)

JAYAVARMAN V BEGAN THE PHIMEANAKAS AND TAKEO

The names Hemaśringagiri (=Mountain of the Golden Horn) and Hemagiri (=Mountain of Gold) appear in many inscriptions of the latter part of this reign and the beginning of the succeeding one. These golden towers were in imitation of Mount Meru and necessarily refer to pyramid-temples. Some think they refer to the same monument. There has been a great deal of uncertainty about their identification. One or the other of these terms has been applied by various writers to the Bayon, the Baphuon, the Phimeanakas, the Terrace of the Leper King, Takeo, or even Preah Khan of Kompong Svai (146, 22).

As already noted, Jayavarman V was building the Royal Palace and the Hemaśringagiri as early as 978. A later inscription (A.D. 1007) says Jayavarman V appointed Śivācārya as Inspector of qualities and defects on Hemaśringagiri (29, B st. 6–7). The "Stone Basin" corresponds well to the basin of the Phimeanakas. These statements seem to identify the Phimeanakas as the Hemaśringagiri as it was the only pyramid temple being built at Yaśodharapura at the time. The Inspector of qualities and defects, probably presided at cremation ceremonies, in representation of Dharmarāja, Judge of the Dead. The ceremony may at first have taken place on the terrace of the Phimeanakas. Later, it was probably held on the terrace to the south.

An inscription speaks of Yogiśvarapaṇḍita as "*guru* of Sūryavarman" and "*guru* and executor of the works of the king who finished the Hemagiri" and says he established a *pañcaśūla* (five-towers) on the Hemagiri (29, A st. 5–6). This corresponds better to Prea Kev, Ta Kev, or Takeo, a pyramid-temple with five towers in quincunx where the inscription was found, which

⁵ The inscription of Lovek says he was preposed to the rites of sacred fire by Jayavarman V (31, A st. 27). Aymonier says he was *purohita* (6, 1, 217), but by this he apparently meant simply royal chaplain.

also was begun by Jayavarman V and apparently finished by Sūryavarman I.

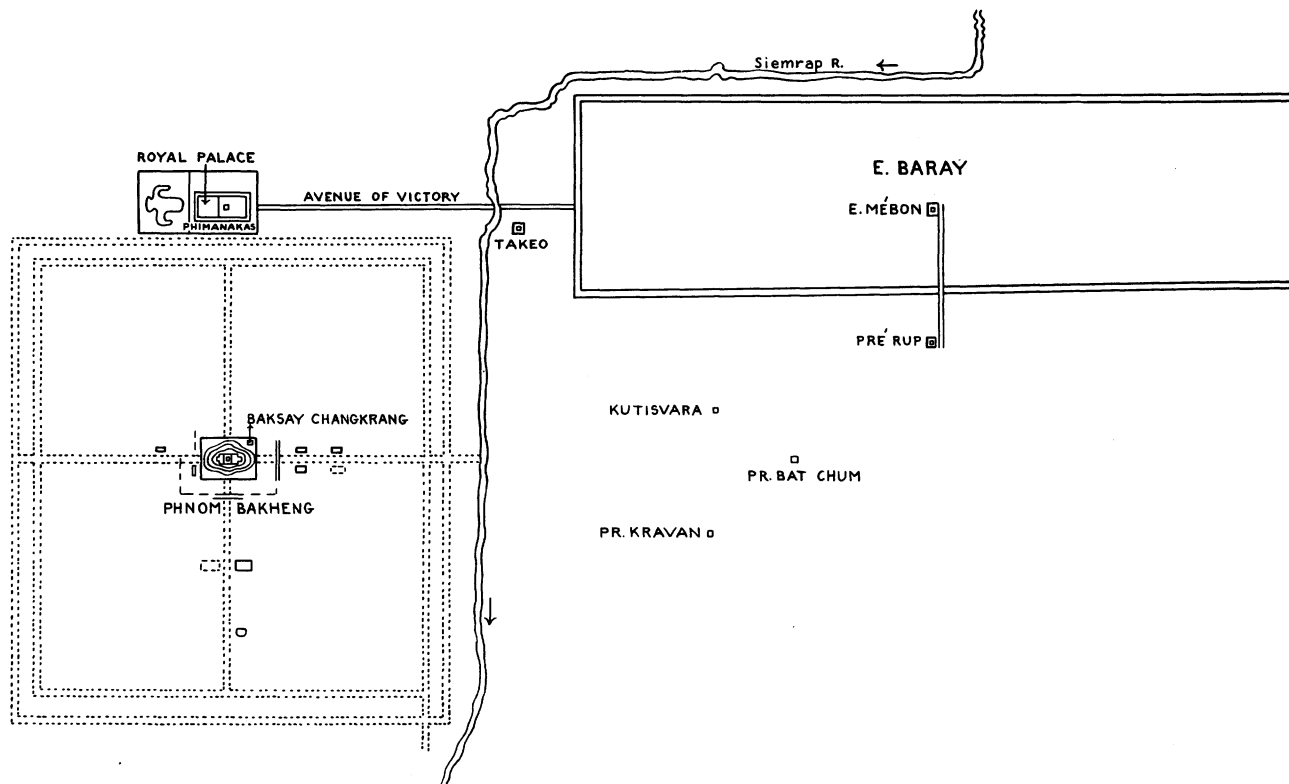
INSCRIPTIONS OF BANTEAY SREI

Several inscriptions of Banteay Srei are assigned to the reign of Jayavarman V. The earliest of these inscriptions in date is the stele inscription—(I)—found in 1936 in the east gopura of the outer enclosure. It is in Sanskrit and Khmer, bears the dates 967 and 968 and is the foundation-stele of the monument. It celebrates the foundation, by the *guru*, Yajñavarāha and his brother, Viṣṇukumāra, of a Śivalinga (which the

An undated Sanskrit inscription of 6 lines—(V)—on the south pillar of the east door of the north sanctuary, says that Prithivīndrapaṇḍita, relative and spiritual friend of Yajñavarāha, erected a statue of Viṣṇu there. It speaks of Yajñavarāha as a noble Bhāgavata, "knowing the meaning of all the *śāstras*" (392, 93).

An undated Sanskrit inscription of two lines—(VI)—on the east pillar of the south door of the south sanctuary, says Jahnavī, younger sister of Yajñavarāha, erected a linga of Īśvara (392, 92–93).

An undated inscription of two lines—(VII)—on the east pillar of the north door of the southwest annex,



PLAN 13. The Yaśodharapura of Jayavarman V.

Khmer part of the inscription calls Tribhuvanamaheśvara) and the union of the foundation of this god with those of Bhadreśvara of Lingapura (218, 147–156). This inscription is identical to those of Sek Ta Tuy (402) and Prasat Trapaṇ Kyaṇ (142, 292), except for the inclusion of the brother. Two faces of a stele, apparently sawed in two—(II)—have been found in the east gopura of the second enclosure. This inscription, which is undated, reproduces part of the preceding inscription (218, 156–157).

An inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer—(III)—, on the south pillar of the interior door of the third enclosure, dedicates a linga to Tribhuvanamaheśvara. The Khmer part, dated 969, records a gift from Jayavarmadeva and gives the boundaries. The Khmer part, on the north pillar—IV—is a record of gifts to the temple of Īśvarapura (392, 71–77; 218, 144).

says Vajñavarāha established there a statue of Vagīśvarī and two of Vidyāguru (392, 92). A Sanskrit inscription of two lines—(VIII)—on the south pillar of the east door of the west gopura of the first enclosures, establishes the erection there of images of Umā and Maheśvara "to increase the merits of his parents" (218, 143).

OTHER EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

Several other inscriptions of the early part of the reign of Jayavarman V give important historical information regarding this and preceding reigns. They may be summarized as follows:

Another stele-inscription of Basek—(III)—in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 968, reproduces a decree of Jayavarman V relative to the donation of a piece of

land, of the territorial subdivision of Vyādhapura, to Vakakākeśvara (= Vat Ek=Basek). On the committee sent to claim this land were the *purohita* (Ātmaśiva) and the inspector of qualities and defects⁶ (255). A pillar-inscription of Phnom Bakheng (II), dated 968, shows that monument was consecrated to *Yaśodhareśvara*, the linga of Yaśovarman and was thus the Vnam Kantāl, Central Mount of the first Yaśodharapura (386). The fragments of a pillar-inscription of the little monument of Kapilapura, near Angkor Wat, refer to the foundation of that sanctuary there in 968 (387).

The inscriptions of Preah Eynkosei (28), Prasat Komphus (219), and Ta Tru (388), dated 968, relate to the foundations of Divakārabhaṭṭa and his wife, Indralakshmī, sister of Jayavarman V. The two first-named mention Bālāditya as king and contain fulsome eulogies of Rājendravarman II and especially of Jayavarman V.

A pillar-inscription of Prasat Svay Prahm, Roluos, in Khmer, dated 969, mentions the notification of a royal order to the ancients and notables of Hariharālaya, thus identifying Roluos as Hariharālaya, ancient capital of Jayavarman II and his successors. Among the notables (Mratan Khlon) mentioned were Virendrarvarman and Mahīdharavarman (220). A slab-inscription of Chikreng, Kompong Thom, in Sanskrit, dated 970, celebrates the gift of ornaments to Lokeśvara by Hṛidyācārya, whose sister, Umā, was daughter of Saṅgrāma,⁷ "renowned for his prodigies of valor in combat" and whose husband was Mahīdharavarman (236).

The stele-inscription of Srei Santhor, undated but whose last date was 968 (52), an undated wall-inscription of Phnom Banteay Neang, near Monkol-borei (Battambang), which contains the dates of 985 and 986 (67) and an undated inscription of Prasat Pra Dak (61) are Buddhist and show that religion was on an equal footing with Śivaism during the reign of Jayavarman V (see p. 139).

The stele-inscription of Kompong Thom, dated 974, records a decree of Jayavarman V relative to the creation of two new castes or corporations (*varṇa*). It tells how the religious—twenty for each caste—who were to constitute the first nucleus of each caste—were chosen by the royal chaplain (*Vraḥ Guru*). It gives the duties and prerogatives of these two castes, the regulation concerning men and women members. Although this important stele is badly written and punctuated, it can fortunately be checked by two almost identical steles found at Tūol Dang Khehas (Sisophon) and Kuk Rosei (Kompong Svai). It speaks of a ceremony held at the Holy Stone Basin in the city of Yaśodhara-parvata, and mentions the *Kamrateng* an Rājakula-

mahāmantrin and says Jayavarman had just finished his studies with the *Vraḥ Guru* (239).

INSCRIPTIONS OF KŌK PŌ

The inscriptions of Kōk Pō, in addition to relating the development of that important group of Vishṇuite temples, give important information regarding the history of the capital.

Inscription Kōk Pō (II), carved in Sanskrit and Khmer, on a pillar of Sanctuary A, records two donations to the god of Śvetadvīpa, which seems to have been the name of that region at that time. The first donation consisted of slaves. It was undated, but was made when the Hemaśṛiṅgagiri and the palace of Jayendranagari were being built. The second, dated 978, "Jayavarman reigning," consisted of slaves and furnishings given to the same god by a woman of the Royal Palace named Teng Tvan (279, 383–387), who was the mother of Nārāyana. These inscriptions indicate that the Phimeanakas and the Royal Palace were being built in 978.

Inscription Kōk Pō (III), in two parts, was carved on a pillar of Sanctuary B. The Sanskrit part says that one Vishṇuvara (Prithivīndrapaṇḍita II), grandson of a *śrīdda* (fortunate man) and of a niece of Nivāsakavi (Prithivīndrapaṇḍita I), made some donations to the Vishṇu of Śvetadvīpa (Kōk Pō), exacted at Vṛindāvana (Cāmpesvara), a Vishṇu under his own (Vishṇuvara's) image, assigned some villages to the two foundations and asked the king to confirm the union of the sanctuaries of Śvetadvīpa and Cāmpesvara. No date was given to this part of the inscription; but as Prithivīndrapaṇḍita II bore the same relationship to Prithivīndrapaṇḍita I as Amṛitagarbha did (see table p. 104), it probably dates from the latter part of the ninth century.

The Khmer part of the inscription, dated 984, is a decree of Jayavarman V, confirming the union of the two domains. The inscription says the edict was submitted to Rājakulārājaputra (Crown Prince), Brahmanācārya, and other members of the Assembly (279, 393–397).

LATER INSCRIPTIONS

A Khmer inscription of Prasat Char, dated 979, records the apotheosis of the king's brother,⁸ Rājapativarman (p. 134) and that of two women, related to two dignitaries, Narapativīravarman and Jayāyudharvarman, under images of Bhagavatī (6, 2, 387; 163, 41).

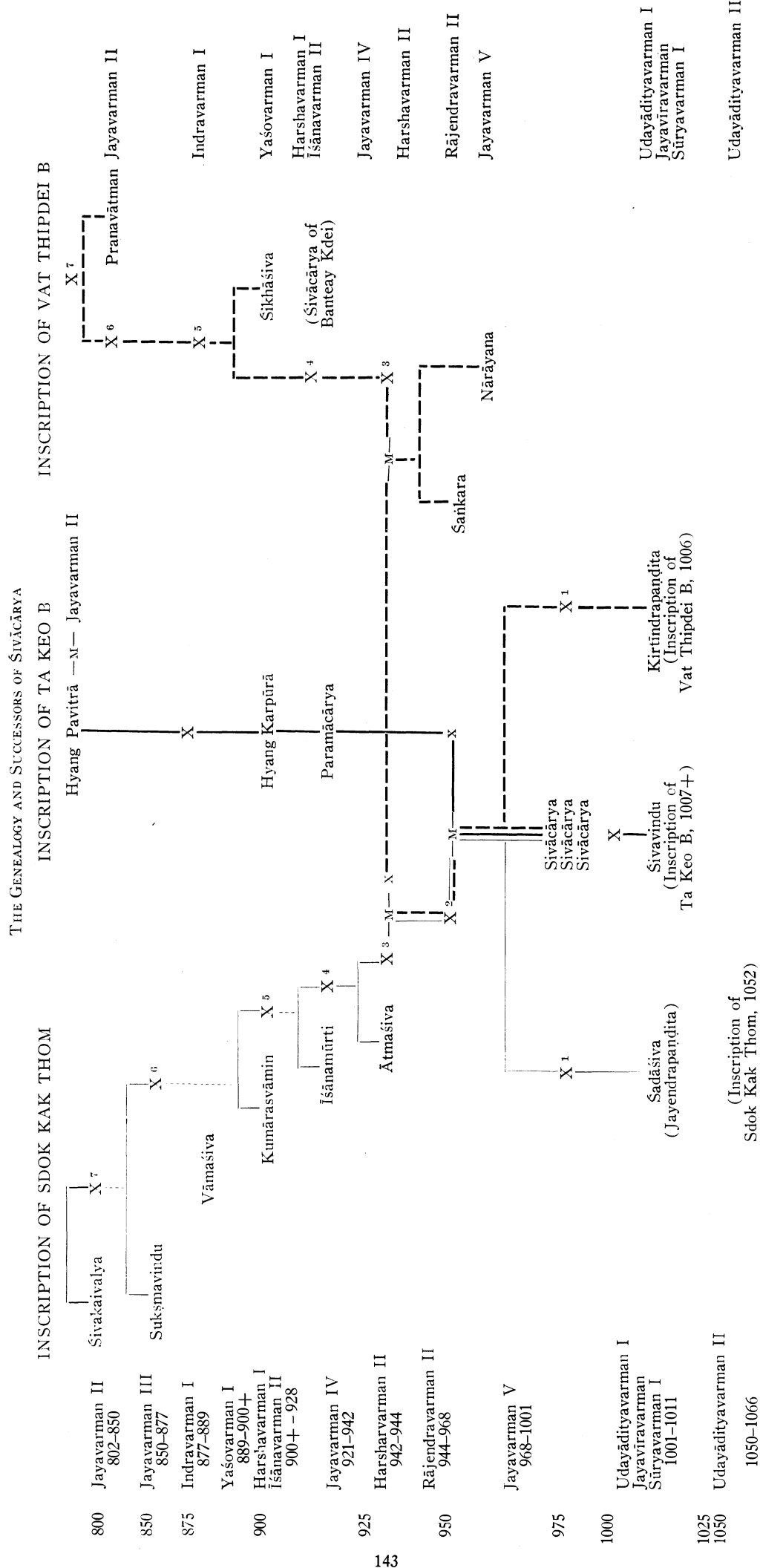
An inscription of Prasat Khna—(v)—in Khmer, dated 980, noted by Aymonier (6, 2, 222–223), has recently been translated and edited by Coedès (739). It records a royal order, through the *Vraḥ Guru*,⁹ to

⁶ Jayavarman V appointed Śivācārya to this post; but who held it before him, in the first year of Jayavarman V's reign, does not appear.

⁷ Not to be confused with the celebrated general, Saṅgrāma, of a century later.

⁸ This is doubtless an error, as the inscription of Prasat Khna (II) says Rājapativarman was Jayavarman V's wife's brother and his victorious general (124, st. 5).

⁹ Probably Rājakula Mahāmantrin.



inscribe the redevances (of which a list is given), to the hermitages of Janapada and Trivikramapada. These offerings were made to three deities—Sakabrahmana, the god of the royalty (*rājya*), or *devarāja*, and the “old god,” Vṛiddheśvara, probably three of the hermitages of the group of Prasat Khna (p. 130), which were believed to correspond to Janapada. These redevances were to be administered by “pupils of the line of *purohita* of Janapada.”¹⁰

Several Khmer inscriptions on the wall of a little brick temple of Prasat Neak Buos, dated 974, tell of the donation of land and slaves to that temple and fix the redevances of the land. Another inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 982 or 992, on the walls of another little temple adjoining the former, related to the properties and redevances of this temple (6, 2, 235–236; 530, 2, 12).

A Khmer pillar inscription of Prasat Prei Khmeng, dated 989, seems to have for object to annul anterior donations, some of the reign of Jayavarman III in 860, some of that of Yaśovarman I in 985. This inscription confirms the chronology dating the death of

¹⁰ The founder of the line of *purohitas* of Janapada was doubtless Hiranyadāma (p. 89).

Jayavarman II in 854,¹¹ instead of 869 as formerly believed. It also seems to indicate that this sanctuary was in use at that date (330, 1137), although the annulling of these donations may have been a part of the condemnation proceeding, prelude to the excavation of the West Baray (p. 165). The neighboring temple of Ak Yom was also still in use at this period, for an inscription (III) on the frieze of the Nine Planets of an annex edicule near the main sanctuary, dated 1000 or 1001, consecrates this sculpture to Gambhireśvara (332, 530–531).

A Sanskrit pillar inscription of Tūol Komnap Ta King, Sambor, dated 1001, related a supplication addressed to Jayavarman by the guardian of the god of Śambhupura, regarding certain privileges held of preceding kings and records the Kings' sanction of them. It shows that Jayavarman V was reigning in the early part of 1001 (178).

DEATH OF JAYAVARMAN V

The reign of Jayavarman V ended in 1001. He received the posthumous name of Paramaśivaloka (358, 91).

¹¹ An inscription says that Jayavarman II died in 850 (p. 94).

7. SŪRYAVARMAN I AND HIS RIVALS (1001–1011)

THE REIGN OF UDAYĀDITYAVARMAN I, 1001–1002

Jayavarman V was succeeded by Udayādityavarman I, a maternal nephew—son of an elder sister of his wife. Two inscriptions—Prasat Khna (II) and Prasat Thom (II)—gave the date of his accession. The former, which gives his genealogy, does not mention his father, but says his mother was descended from the family of Śreshṭhapura, that they had an elder brother, the Senāpati Rājapativarman (who has already been mentioned in the reign of Jayavarman V) and a younger sister, who was the wife of Jayavarman. The inscription also mentions Narapativīravarman, elder brother and victorious general of Udayādityavarman I (124; 216, 50–51).

Udayādityavarman I was only a transient ruler, “a phantom of a King, who flitted across the throne,” as Finot has said (408, 57). The only event of any importance during his brief reign, as far as we know, was the dedication by his brother, Narapativīravarman, of “a superb golden statue of Hari [Viṣṇu] mounted on Garuḍa” in his own (Narapativīravarman's) image, at Prasat Khna. This was the occasion of the inscription, of which Narapativīravarman seems to have been the author. It is notable as an example of the apotheosis of a person other than a king, still living (163, 44). The final clause of the inscription is interesting and illuminating. “(It) is destined to set out (from the sanctuary) on the occasion of fetes” (124, st. 11).

A DISPUTED ACCESSION

There was another claimant to the throne. On the death of Jayavarman V, Sūryavarman, said to be a son of the King of Tāmbralinga, a Tamil-Malay state on the Malay peninsula, formerly under the suzerainty of Śrīvijaya, but now apparently independent (734, 284–285—see also *infra*, p. 146), basing his right to the throne of Cambodia on a claim of descent through his mother, from the maternal line of Indravarman I, seems to have landed in eastern Cambodia and to have begun his march toward the capital. An inscription of Robang Romeas (189, 422) says he was reigning there in 923 *śāka*, which could mean 1001 or early 1002. The inscriptions of Vat Thipdei B (165, st. 2), and Takeo A (29, st. 10), say he came to the throne in 1002. Other inscriptions indicate that he was reigning in eastern Cambodia on that date (189, 422).

Thus Udayādityavarman I reigned at the capital of Cambodia in 1001 and possibly part of 1002; but we do not know when or how he disappeared. Inscriptions of 1003¹ show that one Jayavīravarman was ruling at the capital on that date (189, 422–423). Who he was and how and why he succeeded Udayādityavarman I are questions to which no certain answer has yet appeared. There seems to be no evidence that he was not a legitimate successor of Jayavarman V and

¹ The inscription of Tūol Prasat says Jayavīravarman came to the throne in 1002 (p. 147).

Udayādityavarman I and that he did not accede to the throne regularly and without internal trouble.

For a long time, it was quite generally accepted that Jayavīravarmān was the name carried by Sūryavarman I during the early years of his reign. This belief was based (1) on the statement in several inscriptions that Sūryavarman began to reign in 1002, and (2) on those of other inscriptions, between 1002 and 1006, which mention Jayavīravarmān as reigning on those

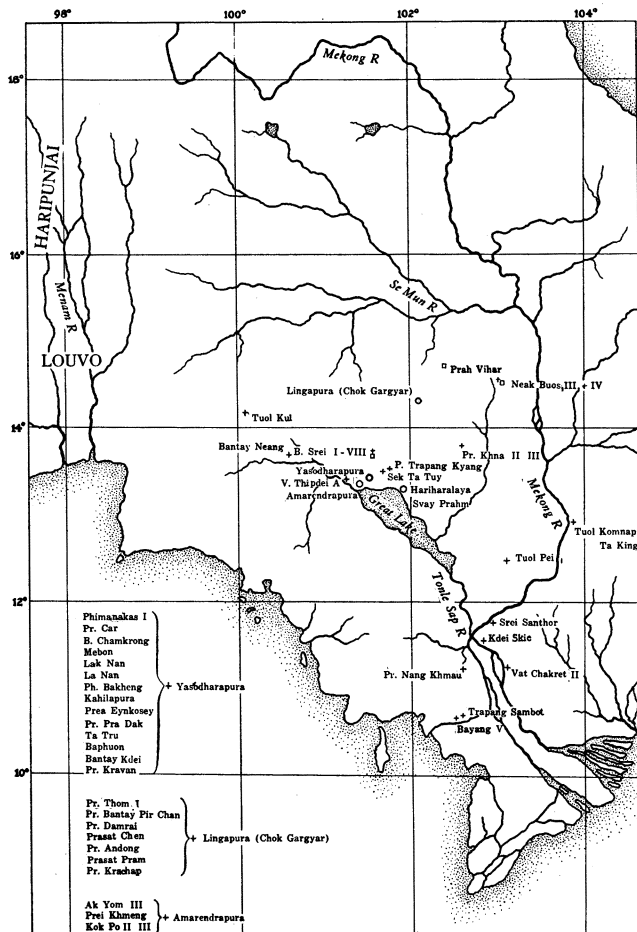
Sūryavarman begins. (3) The geographical distribution of the inscriptions shows that, while Jaravīravarmān ruled at Angkor, Sūryavarman began in the east and gradually moved toward the capital. (4) Jayavīravarmān's inscriptions are fine specimens of epigraphy, as if he had had the advantage of the royal lapidists, while Sūryavarman's inscriptions are more crude, and sometimes contain Malay titles (189).

PUROHITA, HOTAR, AND MINISTERS OF JAYAVĪRAVARMAN

The *purohita* and other priests and functionaries of the great hereditary sacerdotal families seem to have held their positions for life and to have served whatever king was on the throne, no matter how irregular his accession may have been. (The exception, so far, seems to have been the case of Jayavarman IV, who ruled at Chok Gargyar, while the sons of Yaśovarman I were still ruling at Yaśodharapura. In that case, Jayavarman IV's *purohita* was a member of the same family as that of the sons of Yaśovarman I, while his *hotar* seems to have been a disciple of the preceding *hotar* of the regular line.) So, in the absence of evidence or other reasons to the contrary, it seems permissible to think that the hereditary *purohitas*, *hotars*, and other functionaries of Jayavarman V continued under Udayādityavarman I and Jayavīravarmān.

Thus Śivācārya, who had succeeded his grand uncle, Ātmāśiva, as *purohita* during the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman V, probably continued as *purohita* of the *devarāja* and chief of the family under Udayādityavarman and Jayavīravarmān. Śivācārya served also as *hotar*; although before 1005, he seems to have been replaced in this function by his nephew Kirtindrapaṇḍita, or to have permitted that nephew to share the position with him; for in that year Kirtindrapaṇḍita seems to have indited the inscription of Vat Thipdei B as head of the family of Pranavātman (165). As head of the house of Haripūrā, Śivācārya probably continued in his hereditary charge as priest of Kapāleśa and Jalāṅgeśa and apparently also in his functions as inspector of qualities and defects on Hemaśringagiri, although his name does not appear in any of the cases recorded in the inscriptions of this reign (279, 411–413; 403, 75–80). Perhaps his grandson, Śivavindu, succeeded him as head of the family of Haripūrā before his death; for in 1007 he (Śivavindu) indited the inscription of Takeo B, which records the history of that family (29, B, st. 16–28).

Perhaps neither Kaviśvarapaṇḍita nor Śaṅkara of the house of Saptadevakula, to which Sūryavarman belonged through his mother, identified himself with the cause of Jayavīravarmān; but the house of Aninditapura, which held no exclusive hereditary functions, was decidedly partisan to that king, and its chief, Pañcagavya, now known as Kavīndrapaṇḍita, seems to have been his chief minister. "Pañcagavya was the principal minister of this king, counselor very honored, having



MAP 11. Inscriptions, Yaśovarman I to Sūryavarman I.

dates (189, 421–424). Some facts based on later inscriptions led Coedès to question this belief and to demonstrate conclusively that these two kings reigned concurrently over different portions of Cambodia from 1002 to 1007, or perhaps to 1011, when Sūryavarman I finally conquered his rival and reigned supreme.

These facts are: (1) An inscription of later date (Prasat Khna (III) mentions a family whose members succeeded each other as fan-carriers for thirteen kings from Jayavarman II to Sūryavarman I, inclusive (222, st. 121). (There are only twelve kings without a separate Jayavīravarmān.) (2) An examination of the inscriptions shows that there is no definite date on which the name Jayavīravarmān ends and that of

always access to his private apartments. Carrying the fortunate name of Kavindrapaṇḍita, of a superior intelligence, he was honored with a palanquin and other insignia by the King of Kambujadesa" (403, A st. 49–50). He had been preceptor of Jayavarman V and seems to have continued that function under Jayavīravarman. His son, Nārāyana, now called Kavindravijaya, was also in the king's service. The inscriptions of this reign (see below) mention Kavindrapaṇḍita as President of the Court and Prithivindrapaṇḍita, Jayendrapaṇḍita, Vagīśvara, and Kavindravijaya as inspectors of qualities and defects.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN SŪRYAVARMAN I AND JAYAVĪRAVARMAN, 1002–1011

The struggle between Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman is said to have lasted nine years (189, 427). In its nature and its consequences, it seems to have been something more than a mere dynastic struggle. Whatever the value of his rivals' claims to the throne, Sūryavarman, it appears, was simply an usurper if not just an alien conqueror. But he almost certainly had strong support from within. The privileged Śivaic families (then represented by Śivācārya)—those of the inscriptions of Sdok Kak Thom, Vat Thipdei B, and Takeo B—which had the exclusive or hereditary right to furnish *purohitas*, *hotars*, and certain hereditary priests and judges, probably favored the reigning kings, whom they may have had something to do with placing on the throne. The ground seems to have been prepared for a Buddhist revolution, possibly specifically for the coming of Sūryavarman. In spite of their Śivaism, Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V were probably irked by the power of the hereditary Śivaic families; else why did they choose Vishṇuite and Buddhist judges and ministers and build up the power of those religions? Or perhaps it was the rivalry of the other great houses which were beginning to furnish functionaries to the king and which waxed powerful during the long minorities of Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V. Probably many of the Buddhist teachings (and also some teachers) brought in by these kings, came from Tāmbralinga, the great Buddhic center, which later received the title, Śrī Dharmarāja nagara, "City of the King of the Law"; and, when Sūryavarman asserted his claim to the throne, they may have helped to pave the way for his accession. Sūryavarman's mother is said to have belonged to the powerful family of Saptadevakula, to which had belonged Prāṇā, a queen of Rājendravarman II and chief confidential secretary of Jayavarman V.

So it appears that in 1002 Jayavīravarman was ruling in the Holy Caturdvāra at Jayendranāgarī, as it is called in the inscription of Tūol Prasat (189, 423; 246, 104). That same year, as has been seen, Sūryavarman had landed in the east and was moving slowly westward. An inscription of 1005, at Dambok Khpos, in the Residence of Kompong Thom, shows that Jayavīravarman

was still ruling there, but it sounds a warning against pulling up boundaries (189, 423). An inscription of 1006 at Prasat Trapang Run, about twenty kilometers southeast of Roluos, shows Jayavīravarman still in possession of that region and represents him as ruling at the Palace of the Four Doors, Yaśodharapura. Finally, an inscription, apparently of the latter part of 1006, represents Sūryavarman as King of the Four Sacred Doors. So it would seem that the capital fell into Sūryavarman's hands late in that year. But the struggle continued for some time longer in the south (189, 422–426; 278, 228).

Dupont thinks Sūryavarman's campaign against the Cambodian capital was made from the direction of the present Korat, in which direction an ancient causeway led through what is now northern Sisophon (325, 72). The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom depicts the slow Khmer movement in this direction for more than a century before Sūryavarman I's time (358, 88–91). Dupont points out that one of Yaśovarman I's digraphic inscriptions (A.D. 893) and the unpublished inscription of Sanke Kong (A.D. 1016) show that the connection with the Menam valley was, at that time, in the direction of Korat rather than the Aranh valley as at present. He thinks Sūryavarman I made an important campaign in this region in 1002–1004. In support of this thesis are (1) the statement of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom that Sūryavarman made a campaign there against those who had destroyed the monuments and that, when he had been reigning two years (i.e., in 1004?), Śivācārya restored the sanctuaries, but was unable to finish the task of restoration before he (Śivācārya) died, which would place his death about 1005 (358, 91), and (2) the statements of the inscriptions of Vat Thipdei B and Ta Keo B, which speak of Kīrtindra and Śivavindu as if they were heads of the families of Praṇavātman and Haripūrā in 1005 and 1007, respectively, by which it would appear that Śivācārya died before those dates.

To these statements it may be countered: (1) that the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, which does not say Sūryavarman began to reign in 1002, may have meant that Śivācārya began the restoration of the monuments after Sūryavarman had reigned two years *at the capital* (see later), and (2) that the dates of 1005 and 1007 are not the dates when those inscriptions were carved, but the last dates mentioned by them. Dupont's thesis raises some other questions which are not easy to answer: (a) That Śivācārya—in whom the highest ecclesiastical functions centered—should leave the capital and the *devarāja* and join Sūryavarman before 1004, seems to be contrary to the nature of that service (see above); (b) Śivācārya was interested in brahmanical monuments. If this revolution had a religious tinge—which seems probable—it should be Sūryavarman's partisans, and not those of Jayavīravarman, who would be interested in the destruction of Śivaic monuments; (c) Dupont's thesis presumes that the Menam valley

was conquered *before* Cambodia, against which several reasons are advanced elsewhere (734, 286; also *infra*, p. 159); (d) Several inscriptions already cited show that Sūryavarman began in the east and fought his way westward. If he had conquered this north-western region in 1002–1004, with its open approach to the nearby capital, why did it take him so long to take the capital and why was the longer and more difficult approach from the southeast necessary? (e) The Pāli document says it was Sujita who conquered Louvo. It would be imposing a difficult task on Sujita and Sūryavarman, in those troublous times, to hold in check the newly-conquered kingdom of Tāmbralinga while, “with a numerous army and numerous ships” (175, 80), they engaged in such distant and difficult ventures as the conquest of the Menam valley, the invasion of Haripunjai and the campaign against the capital of Kambujadesa, at once from Korat and Kompong Thom—all in the years 1001–1006. The matter is clearer if we can understand the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (D st. 40–43) to mean that Sūryavarman’s reign began when he took the capital (1006), with its *devarāja* and sacerdotal and official hierarchy, and that when he had been reigning two years (i.e., in 1008), Śivācārya restored the sanctuaries, which would place his death a little later.

INSCRIPTIONS OF JAYAVĪRAVARMAN

Several inscriptions of Jayavīravarmān’s reign have been found, mostly relating to transfer or confirmation of titles of land.

A stele-inscription of Tūol Prasat, in the province of Kompong Thom in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 1003, relates to the confirmation of a grant in that immediate vicinity. The land was the hereditary estate of one Sahadeva, who seems to have been guardian of sacred property. Sahadeva’s maternal grandfather was Virendravīra, general of Harshavarman (II). His maternal great-grandfather acquired title to this land of Rājendravarmān II and it had remained in the family ever since, in spite of several fraudulent attempts to seize it. The disposal of these cases, which were prosecuted by Sahadeva, is interesting and instructive. Jayavarman V sentenced the culprits to mutilation of hands and lips. On a later attempt, Jayavīravarmān sentenced the guilty to have their heads pressed, of which some died. The inscription begins with invocations to Śiva and Dharmakāya (Buddhic), a syncretism becoming not uncommon. It contains a eulogy of Jayavīravarmān who, it says, came to the throne in 1002 (st. 3). In 1003 the request for confirmation of the grant was made to Jayavīravarmān. Among those who participated in the presentation of the request were the *Kamsten* Śrī Virendravarmān (inspector of qualities and defects), and the *Mratāñ Khloñ* Śrī Prithivīndrapaṇḍita, Lakṣmīndravarmān, and Parakramavīra. Jayavīravarmān was at the Four Gates of Jayendranagarī when

Prithivīndrapaṇḍita and the tribunal presented to him the record (poem), which he approved and ordered to be inscribed (246).

A pillar-inscription of Kōk Pō—(IV)—, whose last date is 1004, records some donations. One of these occurred when Jayavarman (V) was building Hemaśringagiri and a royal palace. The second donation mentions the chief officials of the assembly called to pass on the transfer of the lands (279, 396–411).

A Sanskrit stele-inscription found at Preah Kō—(II)—bears a date equivalent to 1005. Its most interesting features are its statement that Jayavīravarmān was in possession of Roluos on that date and its fulsome praise of that king: “By his incomparable glory, he has surpassed the glory of Śakra; by his incomparable beauty, he has surpassed the beauty of Kāma.” Does the following indicate that he was already on the defense? “As by desire to save his victory drowned in the blood pouring in floods from the riven breasts of his enemies, his arm with the sword has made a bulwark of their severed heads” (221).

The stele-inscription of Prasat Trapang Run (II), in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 1006, records the grant of a piece of land in Aninditapura to Kavīndrapaṇḍita, the author of the inscription, at the place where that nobleman had erected a Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) in a temple at Vrai Karang (Run). The petition for the application for the grant of land was received by Jayavīravarmān at the “Stone Basin” of Yaśodharapuri and the inscription speaks of the palace of the Four Doors (Caturdvāra) where the king was examining a temple which was being built. This inscription is important for several reasons: (1) It locates definitely the site of Aninditapura. (2) It gives the genealogy of the family of Kavīndrapaṇḍita, chief minister of Jayavīravarmān, whose ancestors had served kings since Jayavarman II. (3) It describes in detail the procedure for the transfer of a piece of land. (4) It shows that Jayavīravarmān was reigning at Yaśodharapura in 1006 (403).

A JAVANESE LEGEND OF UDĀYANA AND HIS BROTHER

During the last few years of the tenth century, the turmoil in southeast Asia was great and inextricably confusing. Disorder seems to have reigned everywhere. In Java several petty kingdoms were striving for supremacy. In Sumatra, Malāyu seems to have begun again to dispute Śrīvijaya’s position as the dominant power. A new naval power—the Cholas—was rising into prominence on the Coromandel coast of India and was soon to begin its raids on the Malay peninsula. In 991–992, a king of east Java sent an expedition against Sumatra (Malāyu). Some time during the confusion, one Sujitarāja, or Śivaka, who is said to have married a Cambodian princess, seems to have made Tāmbralinga independent of Śrīvijaya and to have sent an

embassy to the court of China (in 1001).² For some time before 1001, decrees of the government of Bali were issued in the name of Mahendradattā, daughter of a king of eastern Java,³ and her consort Udāyana, said to be of a famous royal line but apparently a local prince of Bali. They seem to have governed the island jointly from 989 to 1001, apparently under the suzerainty of Mahendradattā's father (734, 284–285).

It was in the midst of this turmoil—when thrones were to be had for the snatching—that Jayavarman V died and was succeeded by his nephew, Udayādityavarman I. Nothing has been known of the life of this prince before his accession to the throne of Cambodia nor of his ultimate fate. But a very recent study of the Dutch scholar, Dr. F. D. K. Bosch (732), identifies him with Udāyana and advances the plausible and well-supported hypotheses that some time earlier (about A.D. 970), the future king's mother—elder sister of the wife of Jayavarman V—fearing for her sons, the infant Narapativiravarman and the unborn Udayādityavarman, fled from the Cambodian court and took refuge in East Java. Bosch thinks the similarity of this story and that of the Pāndavas pictured in the monument of Jalatunda mentioned in the inscription of 977, led the Javanese to identify the two stories. The sons were reared in East Java or Bali, and Udāyana married Mahendradattā, daughter of a king of the old line of Matarām, and was ruling jointly with her in Bali, where they had a son, Airlangga (or Erlangga), then (1001) about ten years of age. If Udāyana is to be identified with Udayādityavarman I—and the hypothesis seems highly reasonable—the death of Jayavarman V called him back to Cambodia, apparently with his wife and elder brother.⁴ The last royal edict of Mahendradattā and Udāyana is dated 1001. The inscription of Prasat Khna of that same year seems to indicate that Narapativiravarman was Udayādityavarman I's victorious general in Cambodia.

Udayādityavarman I's reign was short; for, early in 1002, he was succeeded by Jayaviravarman, of whose identity nothing is known. But, if we accept Dr. Bosch's hypothesis that Udayādityavarman I was Udāyana, it seems to the author not only tempting but almost inevitable to conclude that Jayaviravarman was Narapativiravarman and that Udayādityavarman abandoned the throne of Cambodia to him and returned to Bali

to look after his interests there. Jayaviravarman fought Sūryavarman for the throne of Cambodia until 1010 or 1011. Meanwhile, in 1006–1007, an unknown disaster overtook the kingdom of East Java in which the king met his death and his capital was destroyed (278, 220, 244). Airlangga—then about sixteen—who had been called to the court of East Java to celebrate his marriage with a daughter of this king (apparently his cousin), escaped and remained in hiding for three years (until 1010), when he proclaimed himself king and with a small band of faithful followers, began the slow task of reconquering his father-in-law's kingdom, to which he was heir.

The edicts of Udāyana in Bali, which ceased in 1001, began again in 1011 (this time without Mahendradattā, who seems to have died). Is it not permissible to recall that the war between Sūryavarman and Jayaviravarman (Narapativiravarman?) ended in 1010 or 1011 in the complete triumph of the former and that the latter may have returned to Bali—as his brother seems to have done nine years earlier—and again become his brother's great general in the reconquest of that island? also that this new acquisition of strength coincided with the reappearance of young Airlangga from hiding and his proclaiming himself as king?

The edicts of Udāyana lasted until 1022, when his name disappears from history (278, 244; 732). Bosch suggests that when Udāyana was succeeded in Bali by Airlangga—who was his son—the great minister who served Airlangga there so many years was Narapativiravarman under the name of Norottama (Dharmavamsavardhana Marakutapunkajasthā-nottungadeva?) (732, 543). If these two hypotheses are correct—and the writer thinks they are very reasonable—they provide an interesting sequel to the reigns of these two kings.

SŪRYAVARMAN'S CLAIM TO THE THRONE

Sūryavarman I's claim to the throne does not seem very well-founded. The inscription of Takeo (II), whose only date is 1002, says he belonged to the line of Indravarman (29, A st. 10). The inscription of Vat Thipdei B, whose only date is 1005, says he was of the maternal family of Indravarman (165, B st. 3). The inscription of Lovek about sixty years later, indicates that his mother belonged to the family of Saptadevakula (31, B st. 1). The inscription of Preah Vihear (III), dated 1028, says Sūryavarman was of the line of Indravarman and that his queen Viralakshmi, was of the line of Harshavarman (I) and Īśānavarman (II) (6, 2, 209). An inscription of Prasat Khna (III), dated 1041, says his wife was a relative, in maternal line, of Harshavarman (222, 196–197). All these claims are remote and indefinite. The genealogies are probably attempts of the royal ministers to bring him within the degree of relationship required for eligibility to the throne (p. 81). His father's marriage to a princess of the family of Saptadevakula brought him the support of that powerful family. His own mar-

² The name of the king who sent the embassy to China in 1001 was (in French) *To-siu-ki* (584, 594), in English (according to Wade-Giles system) *To-hsu-chi*, which is said to be a possible transliteration of Sujita, with the transposition of the last syllable.

³ Mahendradattā seems to have been sister or sister-in-law of the king who sent the expedition against Sumatra (278, 220).

⁴ As Jayavarman V seems to have had no nearer heirs, Udayādityavarman may have been named Yuvarāja and elected to the throne of Cambodia before he left Java (p. 81). This would answer Dr. Bosch's wonder that Udayādityavarman came from Java and took possession of the throne of Cambodia without any armed force. This, of course, is only hypothesis, but reasonable.

riage to a princess of the line of Yaśovarman strengthened his position against claimants of the line of Harshavarman II or of Rājendrarvarman II, of which Udayādityavarman I certainly—and Jayavīravarman probably—claimed.⁵

On his manner of gaining the crown, however, the inscriptions are more explicit. The inscription of Vat Thipdei B says, "Enflamed by Śrī (glory), Śrī Sūryavarman, whose sword broke the circle of his enemies, obtained, for the prosperity of the earth, the desired royalty" (165, B st. 2), which is nearly equivalent to saying—what everything else indicates—that Sūryavarman I was a plain usurper, who gained the throne by force. The inscription of Preah Khan says: "His valor may be inferred from the fact that this wise Muni won the Kingdom in battle from a king surrounded by other kings" (352, st. 7). This is doubtless a reference to his victories over his two rivals and their vassals.

PRIESTS AND FUNCTIONARIES OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

What has been said above about the priests and functionaries of the two previous kings probably does not apply to the reign of Sūryavarman I, who was an alien, of a different religious faith, and an ill-disguised usurper. When he invaded Cambodia and invited his partisans to join his standard of revolt against what appears to have been the regularly-constituted government, he doubtless found his rivals in possession of the regular hereditary functionaries and hierarchical officials. The members of the great hereditary families seem to have continued in their appointed functions, no matter who was king; and there is some evidence that this is true of the minor functionaries. It has been remarked, for instance, that Sūryavarman I's lapidists lacked the skill and grace of those of his rivals.

When Sūryavarman I reached Yaśodharapura (in the later part of 1006), he probably found Śivācārya at the head of the three great hereditary sacerdotal families.⁶ This position he had attained during the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman V (p. 140). By intermarriage and by consanguinary relationship the functions of the matriarchal families of the inscriptions of Sdok Kak Thom and Vat Thipdei B and those of the patriarchal family of the inscription of Ta Keo B had become centered in one representative—Śivācārya (736). See chart p. 186.

At the beginning of his reign, Sūryavarman I had a famous *guru* named Yogiśvarapandita, who was descended, in female lines, from Bhās-svāmīnī, principal wife of Jayavarman II, and daughter of a Vishṇu brahman. It was this *guru* who, as executor of the works of the king, erected the *pañcaśūla* on the Hemagiri

(Ta Keo) and executed many other works. He seems to have been a worshipper of Vishṇu. He drew his disciple, Janapada, out of a girls' school, gave her as a wife to the brahman Keśava and made them hereditary priests and guardians of Yogiśvara, apparently Ta Keo and vicinity (26, A st. 6, 15–17).

The family of Saptadevakula rose into prominence during this reign. At its head was the distinguished scholar and poet, Kaviśvarapaṇḍita, who had served as preceptor for Jayavarman V. He had married a daughter of the great minister, Vagiśvara. Sūryavarman made him priest of the *linga* of Śambhu erected on the Sūryaparvata (Phnom Chisor) (31, B st. 10–11). To this family belonged also the poet and scholar Śāṅkara nephew of Kaviśvarapaṇḍita and maternal uncle of Sūryavarman I.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SŪRYAVARMAN I. 1002–1011

There are many inscriptions of the early part of the reign of Sūryavarman I and some of them are valuable sources of information about this and previous reigns and have been utilized in this and preceding chapters.

Several inscriptions of this period are concerned with genealogies of Sūryavarman I or his wives or ministers. A wall-inscription of Prea Kev, Ta Kev, or Takeo (II) gives the genealogy of Yogiśvarapaṇḍita, *guru* and executor of the king during the early years of his reign. It says Sūryavarman was of the race of Indrarvarman. It is undated, but its last date is 1002 (29). A wall-inscription of Vat Praptus, Province of Chikreng, undated and almost unintelligible, seems also to give the genealogy of the family of Yogiśvarapaṇḍita (30). A wall-inscription Takeo B, gives the genealogy of Śivācārya and his grandson, Śivavindu, of the line of Haripurā (Hyang Pavitrā). Its last date is 1007 (29, 112–117). The pillar inscriptions of Vat Thipdei B in the vicinity of Angkor, give the genealogy of the family of Praṇavātman, from which came Kṛtindrapaṇḍita, hereditary *hotar* of Sūryavarman I and probable author of the inscription. Its last date is 1005, the date of the reerection of the temple and probably, though not certainly, the date of the inscription (165, 213–229). An undated stele inscription of Tūol Ta Pac, Khan of Baray, Kompong Thom, is Sanskrit, gives a eulogy of Sūryavarman, and relates the history of a family of dignitaries in the services of kings since Jayavarman II. It relates to a foundation by a member of the family on the site of the stele. It says the war between Sūryavarman and his enemies lasted nine years. It was brought to light in 1935 and corrects many dates previously considered established (333, 427; 334, 493; 740). Coedès interprets the inscription of Phnom Sanke Kong as saying that Sūryavarman was King of the Four Sacred Doors in 1006 (189, 423–424).

A pillar inscription of the central sanctuary of Prasat Neak Buos (V), in Khmer, dated 1008, says that

⁵ Coedès seems to think that Sūryavarman's claims are weakened by the fact that he was of solar race while the kings of Kambujadeśa were of lunar race (278, 227).

⁶ As has been seen, Dupont thinks Śivācārya was with Sūryavarman in 1004 or perhaps earlier.

Kaviśvaravarman,⁷ President of the Civil Tribunal, made a donation of numerous instruments of cult and that King Sūryavarman gave instruments of cult and lands to that sanctuary. The redevances of the land were fixed. Donations were made to various divinities of Śivapada, Lingapura, etc. (6, 2, 233–234).

As has been seen, Coedès thinks the mutilated stele inscriptions found in the temple of Preah Vihear (I), both in Nāgarī character only, dated 893, were carved during the reign of Sūryavarman I and placed in the temples where they were found. As has just been seen, the two parts of the stele of Ta Keo contain genealogies of Yogīśvarapaṇḍita and Śivācārya respectively, of which the last dates are 1002 and 1007. That of Preah Vihear contains a genealogy of Śivāśakti, extended several generations. As further evidence that these steles were carved during the reign of Sūryavarman I, Coedès cites, in the case of Takeo, that Yogīśvarapaṇḍita and Śivācārya were well-known characters of the reign of Sūryavarman I, that the Khmer characters seems to be of that reign, and that the stele contains an image of Gaṇeśa, a character peculiar to this period; and, in the case of Preah Vihear, that the time was too short between the reigns of Jayavarman II and A.D. 893 for so many generations as are found in the genealogy of Śivāśakti given in the inscription (189, 417–418).

Two pillar-inscriptions of Banteay Srei (II), dated 1011, in Khmer, record a gift from Sūryavarman to Tribhuvanamaheśvara, deity of that temple (392, 77–79).

The inscription of the Gopura of the Royal Palace, dated 1011, contains the oath of allegiance of the officials of Sūryavarman I (see below). This inscription says Sūryavarman enjoyed integrally the holy royalty in 1002 (128).

DEATH OF ŚIVĀCĀRYA. HIS SUCCESSORS

Early in Sūryavarman I's reign Śivācārya died. The date of his death may be inferred from the statement of Sdok Kak Thom that he began the restoration of the temples of the region to the northwest of the capital when Sūryavarman had been reigning two years and died before it was finished. If the statement in that inscription means that the restoration of the sanctuaries began two years after the beginning of Sūryavarman's reign *at the capital* (which is probable because it was probably not until then that he came into possession of the *devarāja* and the hierarchy of sacerdotal functionaries), the death of Śivācārya would be placed at 1008 or later (736).

Upon the death of Śivācārya, the next in line in the matrilineal vamsās to which Śivācārya belonged were two nephews—Sadāśiva and Kīrtindra, who seem to have been brothers. If so, Kīrtindra was the elder of the two (165, B st. 21). Early in this reign, he was

appointed *upadestār* (preceptor) and was apparently placed at the head of the family of Praṇavātman. In 1005 he reerected a high linga at Vat Thipdei, which originally had been erected by Śikhāśiva, *hotar* of Yaśovarman I. This was probably the occasion of the inscription of that temple, of which he seems to have been the author. He was given the title of Kīrtindra-*paṇḍita* (165, B st. 9 and p. 221 n.).

Sadāśiva was made *purohita* of the *devarāja*, in succession to Śivācārya and became head of the family of Śivakaivalya. But later Sūryavarman I took him out of the religious state, married him to a sister of Queen Vīralakshmī, with the title of Jayendrapaṇḍita. On his marriage he relinquished the hereditary charge of *purohita* of the *devarāja* and assumed the functions of chaplain of the king and chief of the public works (358, 91). He seems to have been the last *purohita* of the family of Śivakaivalya.

Sivavindu, grandson of Śivācārya, succeeded him as heir of the family of Hyang Pavitrā, which was not matrilineal. He was hereditary priest of Kapāleśvara and inspector of qualities and defects on Hemaśringagiri and became a great minister of Sūryavarman I with the title of Kshitīndropakalpa. He erected many monasteries, images, and lingas, and dug many ponds (29, B st. 16–27). “Conformably to the precepts, he erected on a splendid socle [in form] of a lotus, a linga brilliant with jewels, and two lingas of Gaudi [wife of Śiva] and Vighneśvara [Gaṇeśa]” (29, B st. 28). This seems to have been the occasion of the inscription of Ta Keo B, of which he seems to have been the author. Its last date is 1007 (736).

THE RISE OF SANKARAPAṆḌITA

The “accomplished poet” and illustrious scholar, Saṅkara, uncle of Sūryavarman, was made *hotar* early in that king's reign and seems to have succeeded Kaviśvarapaṇḍita as active head of the family of Saptadevakula, this illustrious family, which had furnished functionaries and ecclesiastics to the kings of Kambujadesa since Jayavarman II, including Punnāgavarman, Vāsudeva, Mañśīva, Prāṇa and Kaviśvarapaṇḍita. Saṅkara was made *hotar* by Sūryavarman early in his reign and rose high in the favor of that king (31, B st. 12–19).

Later, Saṅkarapaṇḍita was made *purohita*, apparently in succession to Jayendrapaṇḍita, who had been given other functions. Thus Sūryavarman I seems to have terminated the exclusive ecclesiastical privileges of the family of Śivakaivalya and substituted a *purohita* of the family to which he himself belonged.

JAYENDRAPAṆḌITA AS CHIEF OF WORKS

So Jayendrapaṇḍita, the last known *purohita* of the family of Śivakaivalya, was taken out of the religious life, married to the queen's sister, and made chief of

⁷ Probably Kaviśvarapaṇḍita, of the house of Saptadevakula.

works of the first class, with the title of *rājapurohita*.⁸ He seems to have been succeeded as *purohita* of the *devarāja* by Śaṅkarapaṇḍita of the house of Saptadevakula. At least this worthy pandit, whom the inscription of Lovek says served as *purohita* for three kings, one of whom must have been Sūryavarman I (31, B st. 32), is the only other *purohita* mentioned in the inscriptions during the reign of Sūryavarman I.

As chief of works, Jayendrapaṇḍita's first great task seems to have been to restore the sanctuaries which had been devastated in the campaign in which Sūryavarman had taken the capital,⁹ to reerect and consecrate the deities and to restore the country which had been devastated and depopulated. The inscription says:

... in the *deśa* (territory) of Bhadrayogi and others, situated at Indrapura and elsewhere, he executed, as fruitful work of piety to the gods fixed there, ponds and other works and he installed there, in a manner conformable to the rites a Śarva-linga¹⁰ and two others. At Bhadrapaṭṭana, he erected, according to the rite, a linga and two statues and built a *valabhi*¹¹ provided with a wall of limonite. Having given to these three gods all the necessary goods, serfs, etc., he made a dike and a basin for the prosperity of the region. At Bhadrāvāsa he constituted and gave to Sarasvatī a great fortune, and this man with practical spirit made a basin, a park, and a dike. He consecrated to the god of Bhadrādi an *āśrama* increased by his care. He filled the stable with cows and made a dike. At Vamśa hrada,¹² he gave to the god all the riches accrued by him. He made a basin, a dike and a basin for the prosperity (of the country) (741, st. 77-82, pp. 99-100).

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Having subdued all the Empire, Sūryavarman I called on all the officials to come to the Royal Palace and to take the oath of allegiance to him. Eight¹³ inscriptions, in Khmer, containing the oath, are found on the pillars of the Gopura of the Royal Palace, in which about 4,000 names may be counted (116, 129). Here is the oath:

In 933c [A.D. 1011], . . . August-September . . . This is the oath which we, belonging to the body of *tamvrac* [licitor] of the first (second, third, or fourth) category, swear, all, without exception, cutting our hands, offering our lives and our devotion gratefully, without fault, to H. M. Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, who has been in complete enjoyment of sovereignty since 924c [A.D. 1002], in the presence of the sacred fire, of the holy jewel, the brahmins and the *ācāryas*. We will not revere another king, we shall never be hostile (to our king), and will not be accomplices of any enemy, we will not try to harm him in any way. All actions which are the fruit of our thank-

⁸ See p. 82.

⁹ Coedès thinks this campaign took place in 1005-7 (278, 228-229).

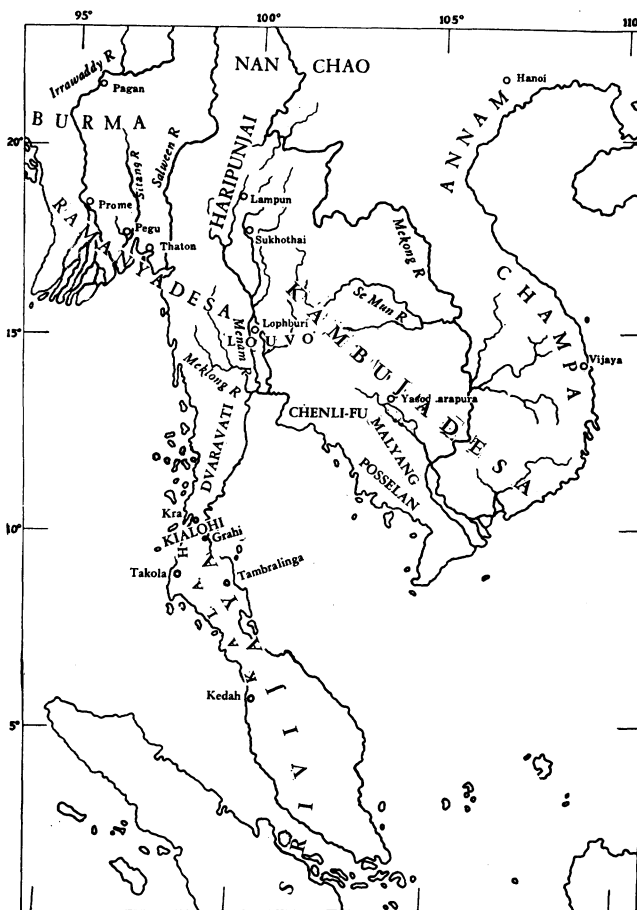
¹⁰ A Śarva-linga is a Mānusha-linga (i.e., set up by man) in which the three parts are of equal length (744, 2, 88).

¹¹ See p. 170, n. 12.

¹² The *bhumi* of Bhadrapaṭṭana and Vamśahrada (Stuk Ransi) are believed to be modern Sisphon, to the east of Bhadraketana, where the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom is found (471).

¹³ Two more have been found elsewhere.

ful devotion to H. M., Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, we pledge ourselves to perform them. If there is war, we promise to fight and to risk life, with all our soul, in devotion towards our King. If there is no war and we die by suicide or sudden death, may we obtain the recompense of people devoted to their masters. If our existence remains at the service of His Majesty up to our death, we will perform our task with devotion to the King, whatever may be the time and circumstances of our death. If His Majesty orders us to go far away, to obtain information on any matter, we will try to learn the thing in detail and each of us to keep this promise in whatever concerns us. If all



MAP 12. The Khmer Empire under Sūryavarman I. Louvo extended to Kra, replacing Dvāravatī.

of us who are here in person do not keep this oath with regard to His Majesty, may He still reign long, we ask that He inflict on us royal punishment of all sorts. If we hide ourselves in order not to keep this oath strictly, may we be reborn in the thirty-second hell as long as the sun and the moon shall last. If we fulfil this promise without fault, may His Majesty give orders for the maintenance of the pious foundations of our country and for the sustenance of our families, because we are devoted to our master, His Majesty, Sūryavarmadeva, who has enjoyed complete sovereignty since 924 *śaka* (A.D. 1002); and may we obtain the recompense of people devoted to our masters, in this and the other world (128).

Coedès, whose translation we have followed, calls attention to the striking parallel between this oath and

the one taken by Cambodian officials at Phnom Penh today. The chief difference, he says, is in the substitution of Buddhist for Brahmanic forms.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE PERIOD; STYLE OF THE KLEANG

Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman I were builder kings of distinction, and during the last days of the former, the ephemeral reign of Udayādityavarman I, the troubled reign of Jayavīravarman, and the early days of Sūryavarman I, a number of interesting works of a peculiar style of architecture were built. The most important ones are thought to have been begun by Jayavarman V and completed by Sūryavarman I. Mme de Coral Rémusat, following, she says, an unpublished sequence of Philippe Stern, arranges them as follows, according to their architecture and decorations: Takeo, North Kleang, Phimeanakas, South Kleang, Royal Gopura (301, 129).

The art of this period is called by Mme de Coral Rémusat the Style of the Kleang (301, 121–122). It was characterized in architecture by (1) artificial pyramids sustaining stone sanctuaries, (2) surrounding galleries, (3) galleries vaulted in stone, and (4) foundations in cross with equal branches, with openings on each of the four sides. Perhaps some of these innovations came in from the west with Sūryavarman I.

SŪRYAVARMAN FINISHED THE PHIMEANAKAS AND TAKEO

The inscription of Prasat Trapang Run says that in 1006 Jayavīravarman was engaged in inspecting the construction of a temple at the Palace of the Four Doors. This must have been the Phimeanakas which Jayavarman V had begun and on which Śivācārya had been appointed inspector of qualities and defects. Sūryavarman I seems to have conquered the capital in the latter part of that year and to have finished the Hemaśṛiṅgagiri (Phimeanakas). He seems to have continued Śivācārya as inspector of qualities and defects.

An inscription says Yogīśvarapaṇḍita was *guru* and executor of works of the king who finished the Hemaśṛiṅgagiri—Sūryavarman—and that he erected a *pañcaśūla*, or collection of five spires on Hemagiri. Hemaśṛiṅgagiri, “Mountain of the Golden Horn,” and Hemagiri, “Mountain of Gold,” were formerly believed to refer to the same temple—the Phimeanakas. Perhaps the collection of spires was the “horn.” But Sūryavarman I also finished the temple of Takeo, where the inscription mentioning the *pañcaśūla* was found, and the five towers on the same platform at Takeo would answer better to the term *pañcaśūla* than the single tower of the Phimeanakas.

It has been suggested (189, 419–420) that the work of Sūryavarman I in completing these two monuments probably consisted in erecting the towers—which have

a foundation in cross with equal arms and are open on all sides—the libraries preceded by an antechamber and the enclosed galleries. As these were all innovations, it has also been suggested (*ibid.*, 426–427) that the new king, Sūryavarman I, and his followers may have introduced some new architectural ideas from the west. Is it not probable that Sūryavarman I brought with him the idea of gilded towers and gilded domes which were then current in the Mon Kingdoms of Thaton and Pegu? This is the first we hear of “gold” or gilded temples or towers in Cambodia.

THE TEMPLE OF TAKEO

This temple, located on the right hand side of the Avenue of Victory, across the Siemreap river from Angkor Thom, is a landmark in the history of Khmer architecture, as it is the first monument entirely in sandstone. It is a temple-tower in quincunx on a terrace of three stages, surrounded by an enclosed gallery and an outer enclosure. The terrace is square, 40 meters on each side at the top, with slight outward indentations toward the stairway on the center of each side, and is about 12 meters high (plan 11; fig. 27).

Each of the five sanctuaries is a *cella* with four entrances and four vestibules, the plan of each tower affecting thus the trace of a cross with four equal branches. This disposition seems not to have been found previously in Khmer architecture, if we except the little *cella* of the Phimeanakas, built about the same time. The central tower is raised on a foundation about 6 meters above the platform, while the others are raised about a meter. The principal tower probably rose about 50 meters above the platform, giving it a total height of nearly 70 meters. The surrounding gallery is 80 × 84 meters in dimensions, slightly elongated at the east, where it encloses two library buildings of the usual type and two long halls near the front wall. The gallery completely surrounds the terrace, with openings on each of the four sides, another first appearance in Khmer architecture, exact for the Phimeanakas. The galleries were narrow, but wider than those of the Phimeanakas, with many false windows with barred balusters on the outside, lighted only from the inside. It was covered with tiles or bricks. This terrace is raised 5 meters above the lower one.

The lower terrace 96 × 112 meters, is raised 2 meters above the surrounding terrain. It is enclosed by a wall with a gopura on each side. At the eastern end are two long, narrow halls—embryonic galleries, which seem to have been intended as a shelter for pilgrims. The ornamentations, which began at the top, is everywhere unfinished, probably because the workmen were not yet accustomed to such hard stone (651; 290; 301, 39, 40; 446; 189).

THE PHIMEANAKAS

This is probably the most discussed monument of Khmer architecture. It consisted of a rectangular pyra-

mid, a surrounding gallery at the top and, in the rectangular enclosure, a little indented cross-shaped tower, something like the central tower of Takeo (see plan 11). It is a slender single-tower pyramid, resembling the "Prang" of Prasat Thom and the sanctuary of Baksei Chamkrong (fig. 26).

The pyramid is 28×35 meters at the base, elongated east-west. It consists of three large gradins of laterite, of a total height of 12 meters. It is cut by stairways on the four faces. Each gradin had a little platform, wide enough for a man to walk around it. At each corner an elephant was placed diagonally, while lions were placed at each side of the stairways (plan 10).

Horn" of the inscriptions, the "Tower of Gold" of Chou Ta-kuan. Jayavarman V seems to have built a part of this temple, though apparently he did not finish it. The inscription of Takeo B, dated 1007, says he appointed Śivacharya inspector of qualities and defects on Hemaśringagiri, but that name may have been applied to the monument after Jayavarman V's death. It was doubtless the *Vnam Kantāl*, Central Mount, of Jayavarman V's new royal city of Jayendrapurī, the abode of his *Jayeśvara* during his reign and his funerary temple after his death.

It does not seem possible that the Phimeanakas could have served as the central temple of the *devarāja*. The

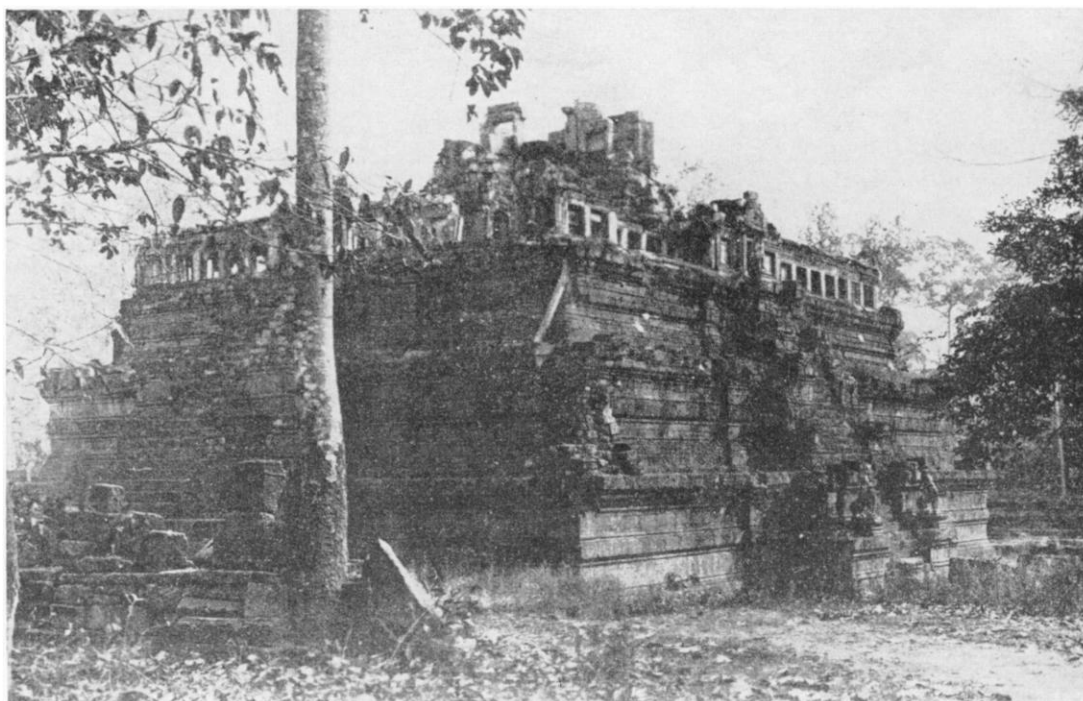


FIG. 26. Phimeanakas: single pyramid temple.

The gallery wholly surrounded the rectangular space at the top. It was entirely of sandstone, including the vault. These were innovations, except for the contemporary Takeo. The galleries were small, scarcely more than a meter wide and two meters high under the vault. Vaulting in stone for the first time, the architects were cautious. At the head of each stairway was a gopura, which seems to have been a little tower. The gallery was furnished with windows with balusters, some of which are false.

In the center of the rectangular space on the pyramid was a high foundation in cross with three gradins, the lower one in laterite, the other two in sandstone. Parmentier thinks Rājendravarman II built the terraced pyramid in light material, that Jayavarman V began the gallery, and that Sūryavarman I tore down the rectangular sanctuary, built the foundation, and placed on it a high gilded tower, the "Mountain of the Golden

space on the terrace is much less than that of any other royal temple, the steep stairways make it inaccessible and the gallery is too narrow to permit the free circulation of the crown; but the evidence seems convincing.

According to popular legend, the Phimeanakas was a palace. The name Phimeanakas (Sanskrit, *vimāna ākāśa*) is said to mean "celestial palace" or "aereal palace." Popular legend, as related by Chou Ta-kuan, says the king used to spend the first watch of every night high up in the tower with the soul of the serpent-owner of the land of all the kingdom, which took the form of a beautiful woman, and that on this union depended the welfare of the kingdom (643; 284, 175-183; 555, 121). But the Phimeanakas certainly was never a palace. It bears no resemblance to either the type of building known as "palaces" nor the modern palaces of Cambodian kings, which are in wood, as the ancient palaces undoubtedly were. As has been seen,

the building of the Hemaśṛiṅgagiri (Phimeanakas) and of the royal palace at the same time, is mentioned by several inscriptions.

It was formerly believed that the Phimeanakas was built by Yaśovarman I and that it was originally dedicated to Vishṇu. This was due to an inscription, dated 910, which was found there. It is now known that this inscription came from a little Vishṇuite temple in the vicinity and that it was later used in reemploy in the Phimeanakas.

of the outer enclosure. Mauger thinks the outer enclosure and the central sanctuary were built early in the reign of Sūryavarman I,¹⁴ before he conquered the capital (589, 203–204). Coedès once suggested that this might have been an earlier capital of Sūryavarman I and that the pyramid-temple of Prah Damrei, just outside the outer enclosure, might have been the Hemaśṛiṅgagiri (146, 22). While this latter hypothesis now seems unlikely, it is quite possible that Sūryavarman I established his capital there and built the central

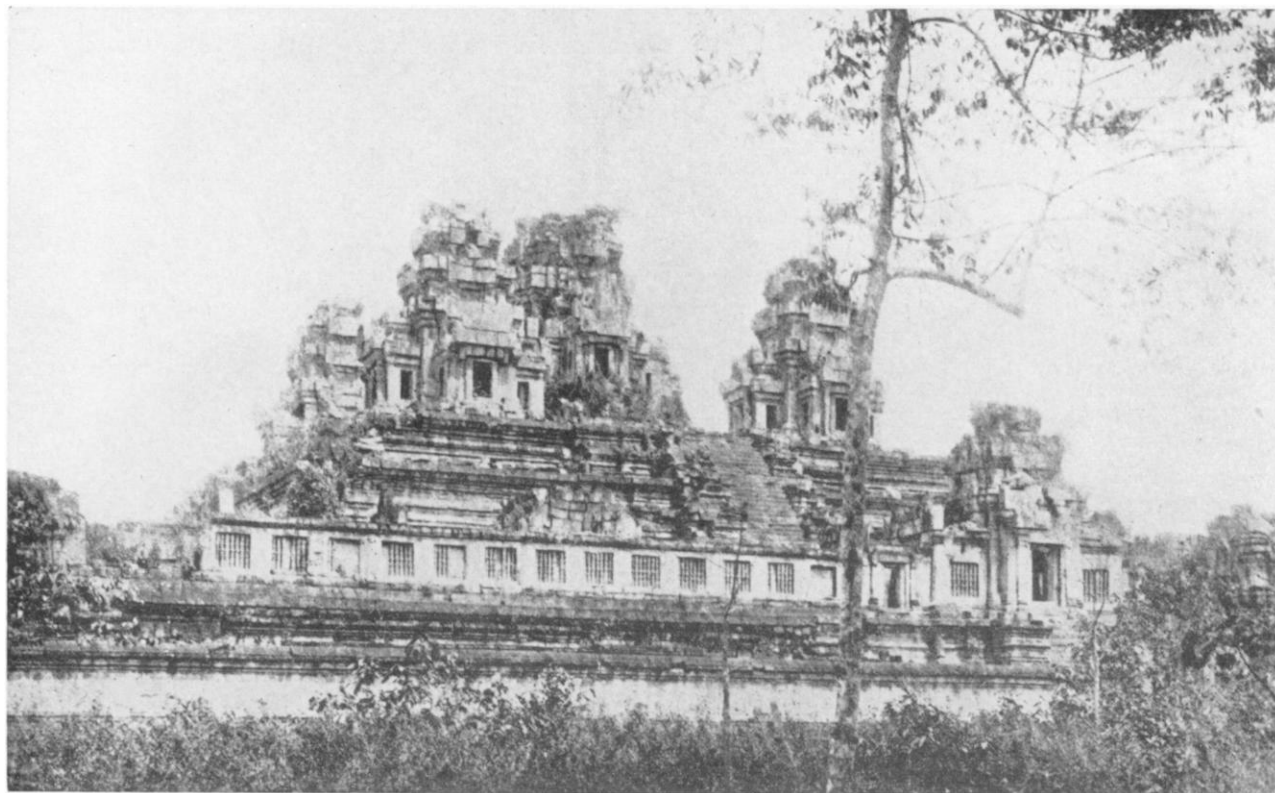


FIG. 27. Ta Keo: five towers in quincunx.

PREAH KHAN OF KOMPONG SVAI

This group of monuments is situated in the Province of Kompong Thom, about 60 miles east of Beng Mealea. Although its existence has been known for many years and many authors have written about it (308, 64–84; 6, 1, 429–440; 530, 1, 247–253), it was not until recently that a careful study was made of it. In a flight over this region in the summer of 1937, Goloubew and Commandant Terrasson discovered from the air a moat surrounding the ruins of an ancient city more than four kilometers square, the most extensive yet found in Cambodia (326, No. 11, p. 11; No. 14, p. 8, 336, 655). Mauger, Inspector of Archeological Service, published a study of it in 1940 (589).

The Preah Khan group consists of a central sanctuary and four enclosures, besides many accessory buildings, basins, moats, and temples, some of them outside

sanctuary before 1006. In that case, the architectural innovations of this period would have come in with Sūryavarman I and would have been first put in practice at Preah Khan of Kompong Svai.

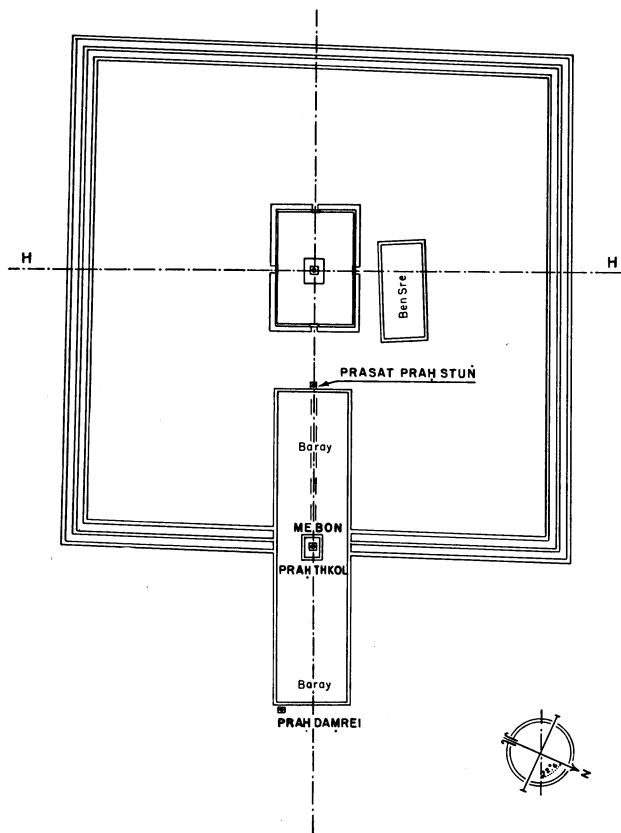
The exterior enclosure, nearly 5 kilometers square on the outside,¹⁵ was composed of three parallel earthen embankments, the central one a little higher than the others, and two intermediate ditches, the whole about 250 meters wide. A causeway, cutting the east side at the center, ran to the central sanctuary (plan 14).

The inner enclosure was about 48×50 meters in dimensions, oriented toward the east. It contained a

¹⁴ Mme de Coral Rémusat places this group just before Angkor Wat (301, 130). The rest of the monuments and most of the decorations are probably of that date.

¹⁵ This is the largest enclosure of Ancient Cambodia. The enclosure of Angkor Thom, outside the walls, was 3.3 kilometers square; that of Bantay Chhmar about 4 kilometers square.

cruciform sandstone sanctuary on a platform of two stages, open on all four sides, surrounded by a gallery, with windows opening toward the interior and large gopuras at each radial axis. Two libraries, preceded by antechambers were properly located and oriented.



PLAN 14. Preah Khan of Kompong Svai.

The central sanctuary is now a mass of ruins. The galleries, like that of Takeo and Phimeanakas were vaulted in stone. Stone pillars seem to have been used here for the first time in supporting the galleries. The gopuras had telescopic annexes on all sides and only one external entrance.

Parmentier says :

Preah Khan is, after the Phimeanakas and Takeo, the first temple having true galleries and is also first with the galleries formed by an arched roof of sandstone on pillars. This construction, of great importance for the development of Khmer architecture, was only achieved before by the artifice of placing wooden beams enclosed in the stone of the first course of the arch above the architrave (631, 171).

ROYAL ENCLOSURE, PALACE, GOPURAS

The Royal Enclosure, of which the Phimeanakas occupied the center, extended about 600 meters east-west and 250 meters north-south. It was enclosed by a beautiful laterite wall, about 6 meters high and was surrounded by a moat, except at the openings, where the wall was cut by gopuras, two on each side, none behind and a large one in front. The Royal Palace, built of wood, occupied the front of this enclosure, the Phimeanakas the center and the royal habitations the rear. It was within the larger enclosure, which has been attributed to Rājendravarman II.

The east gopura is credited to Sūryavarman I. According to Mme de Coral Rémusat, it was built after the Phimeanakas, which we know was built later than the Palace. At the time of the erection of the Palace, the enclosure had Four Doors (gates) (p. 140). Its inscription is dated 1011 which is probably near the date of its completion. This gopura, now very ruined, was a real work of art. Aymonier (6, 3, 129) called it



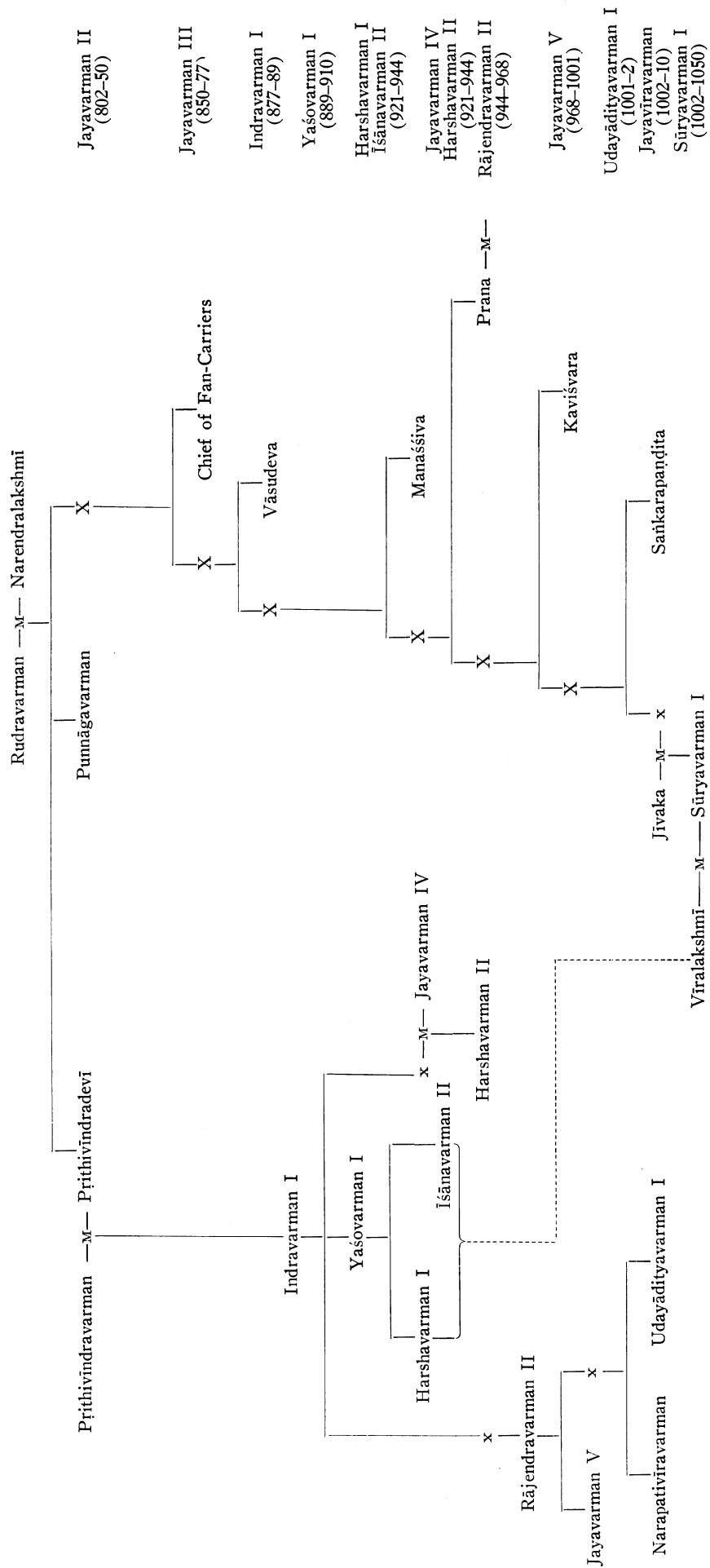
a.



b.

FIG. 28. Nandi of (a) Preah Kō, and (b) Chausay Tevoda.

GENEALOGY OF SŪRYAVARMA I



HEREDITARY ROYAL SACERDOTAL FAMILIES

Kings	Purohitas	Hotars	Inscription of Takeo B	Inscription of Takeo A	Inscription of Lovek	Inscription of Trapang Run
	Inscription of Sdok Kak Thom	Inscription of Vat Thipdei B	Inscription of Takeo B	Inscription of Takeo A	Inscription of Lovek	Inscription of Trapang Run
Jayavarman II 802-854	Sivakaivalya Sukshmavindu	Pranavātman	Hyang Pavitrā (Queen)	Bhās-Svāmanī (Queen)	(Punnāgavarman) Chief of Fan-Carriers	Jayendrasa
Jayavarman III 854-877	Sukshmavindu	Pranavātman				Vāsudeva, or Nripindravallabha
Indravarman II 877-889	Sukshmavindu	Pranavātman	(Daughter)		Vāsudeva	Vāsudeva Pradyuma
Yaśovarman I 889-910	Vāmaśiva	Śikhaśiva		Satyavati —m— Bhanu- vara	Vāsudeva	Samkarshana
Harshavarman I Iśanavarman II 910-928	Kūmarasvāmi	Śikhaśiva <i>Sivacarya of Ban- tey Kdei</i>	Hyang Karpūrā of Haripura		Vāsudeva Manasīva & Two Brothers	Samkarshana
Jayavarman IV Harshavarman II 928-944	Iśanamūrti Ātmaśiva	"				Ravinatha
Rājendravarman II 944-968	Ātmaśiva	"	Paramācārya (Priest of J & K)		Manasīva Prāna (Queen)	Ravinatha
Jayavarman V 968-1001	Ātmaśiva Sivācārya	Nārāyana Sivācārya	Sivācārya (Insp. of Qualities and Defects)	Yogisvara	Prāna & 2 Nephews Kaviśvara & 4 Brothers	Pañcagavya (Preceptor)
Udayādityavarman I Jayaviravarman Suryavarman I 1001-1011	Sivācārya Sivācārya Sivācārya Sadāśiva	Sivācārya Sivācārya Kirtindrapaṇḍita (Vat Thipdei, 1005)	Sivācārya (Also Insp. of Castes)	Yogisvarapaṇḍita (Ta Keo A, 1002)	Kaviśvarapaṇḍita Sankara (Purohita)	Pañcagavya, or Kavindrapaṇḍita (Trapang Run, 1006)
Sūryavarman I 1011-1050	Sadāśiva or Jayendrapaṇḍita	Kirtindrapaṇḍita	Śikshamvindu, or Kshitindropakalha (Takeo B, 1007)		Saṅkarapaṇḍita	Nārāyana, or Kavindravijaya
Udayādityavarman II 1050-1066	Jayendrapaṇḍita (Sdok Kak Thom, 1052)				Saṅkarapaṇḍita	
Harshavarman III 1066-1089					Saṅkarapaṇḍita (Lovek)	

"a little masterpiece of architecture." Jean Commaille, first Conservator of Angkor, says (284, 183): "The exterior decoration of the gopura is in very bad condition, but what remains of it is classed among the best works of Cambodian ornamentalists. Frontons, lintels and scrolls are of a perfect design and executed by artisans who knew their work." His successor, Henri Marchal, said (551, 77-78): "These pavilions may be placed among the most successful specimens of Khmer architecture."

THE GRAND PLAZA, THE KLEANGS, THE PRASATS SUOR PRAT

In front of the Royal Enclosure was the Grand Plaza, several hundred meters long and forty or fifty meters

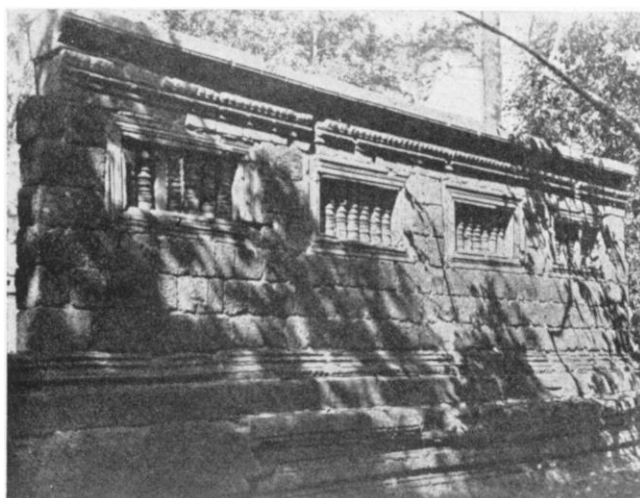


FIG. 29. N. Kleang, showing balusters in the round.

wide. The terraces were not built until later, but the Plaza must have been laid out roughly by Rājendrarvarman II, who built the first Phimeanakas and one of the Kleangs across the way in light material. Here the populace assembled, and here were held processions and public amusements, judging from the later bas-reliefs and scenes of the neighboring walls. From the center of this Plaza, in front of the east gopura, a highway ran eastward across the river toward the Mebon and the East Baray. (When the present walls were built, in the reign of Jayavarman VII, this road came to be called the Avenue of Victory.)

The Kleangs, North and South, as they are popularly called, are rectangular sandstone buildings, across the Grand Plaza from the Royal Enclosure, one on each side of the Avenue of Victory, but facing the Plaza.

The North Kleang is believed to have been built in wood by Rājendrarvarman II and to have been rebuilt in stone by Jayavarman V and Sūryavarman (fig. 29). Their purpose is uncertain. The word Kleang means "storeroom," which certainly they were not. Parmentier says they were originally of the type of buildings known as "palaces," in arrangement exactly like those of Vat Phu (pp. 163-164). "The fact that the oath of allegiance for high officials of the Kingdom is carved at one of the entrances, seems to indicate that they were used by viceroys of the provinces when visiting the capital, and perhaps by ambassadors" (631, 163).

The Prasats Suor Prat, or Towers of the Cord-Dancers, as they are popularly called, are twelve beautiful little towers of red laterite, five on each side of the Avenue of Victory, facing the Plaza and one on each side, facing the Avenue. Chou Ta-kuan (658, 162) says they placed a part in an ordeal called "the judgment of heaven." When two persons had a dispute at law, each was seated on one of these towers. In the course of a few days, one of them showed some manifestations: ulcers, carbuncles, catarrh, malignant fever, etc. The other was adjudged the winner. Parmentier's suggestion is that they were coigns of vantage for officials and other prominent persons during games or other functions in the Grand Plaza (644).

THE STYLE OF KLEANG: DECORATIONS, SCULPTURE

The decorations do not show any great advance. The colonettes have a scalloped appearance, the little leaves forming a lace-like border of saw teeth projecting into the bare spaces. The lintels are more sober than those of Banteay Srei. The branch is much bent in the center, where the central motive is the *kāla*-head, sometimes surmounted by a divinity (301, 60, 53, 121-122).

The North Kleang adopted the border of its fronton from Banteay Srei: leaf-stalk, *makara*-heads spitting the *nāga*. At the South Kleang, Takeo and Phimeanakas, human arms accompany profiles of *makara*, as they had face-views in the lintels since the style of Kulen. (The decorations of the fronton follow those of the lintel.) The polylobed frontons of the gopuras end in spiral rolls borrowed from triangular frontons. The tympana contain a *kāla*-head, sometimes mounted by a divinity, and motifs of foliage (301, 100, 122).

Lions are found at Takeo and lions and elephants at the Phimeanakas. The lions continue the tendency to rise on their hind legs. The Nandi at Takeo is more smoothly moulded. Its hump is smaller. Its left front foot is extended as if preparing to rise (fig. 28b) (301, 113, 114, 122).

8. THE LATER YEARS OF SŪRYAVARMAN I (1011-1050)

CONQUEST OF LOUVO

As stated, Sūryavarman I is said to have been a son of the king of Tāmbralinga and a Khmer princess of the family of Saptadevakula. According to Pāli chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a king of Tāmbralinga¹ named Sujitarāja² conquered Louvo, and his son made a futile attempt to subdue Haripunjai. This last venture at least seems to have happened after Sūryavarman I had conquered Cambodia, for he is called Kambojarāja³ in the Pāli chronicle.

Louvo (Lvo, Lavo) was the old Mon kingdom of Dvāravati or at least the part of it on the lower Menam (102). When the Khmers conquered what is now eastern and northeastern Siam (in the seventh century—p. 50), Louvo remained independent. A little later, it established colonies at Lampun and Lampang, on branches of the Meping, a region occupied by Lawas, a primitive people, related to the Mons in race and language. This region, which also received immigrants from the Mon settlements of Thatōn and Pegu, became a kingdom under the name of Haripunjai (175, 73). All the Mon settlements of the Meklong-Menam and Irrawaddy-Sittang valleys seem sometimes to have banded together into a loose confederacy called Rāmanyadesa.

The close relations between Tāmbralinga and Cambodia are historic. That region was ruled by Funan and Chenla for several years until it was conquered by Śrīvijaya in the latter part of the eighth century. Sujita probably had additional ties with the Khmer Empire. He is said to have married a Khmer princess of a prominent family. With the expansion of the Khmer Empire, the Khmers had spread into the lower Menam valley, where to some degree they seem to have been displacing the Mons. An inscription, in Khmer, dated 937, recently discovered at Ayuthia, seems to indicate that a Khmer dynasty had been ruling somewhere in that region for some time before that date (273). Apparently after Sūryavarman had established himself as king of Cambodia, he and his father seem to have decided to conquer the Mon kingdoms of the Menam and its tributaries. Just at this time, Śrīvijaya (now called San-fo-ts'i by the Chinese), Tāmbralinga's former suzerain, was engaged, at first with a remnant of the Javanese kingdom of Matarām (which invaded Sumatra in 991-992) and later with the Cholas of Tanjore, who claim to have conquered Śrīvijaya and most of its possessions on the Malay peninsula including Tāmbralinga (278, 220, 224, 239-241). An inscription of Tanjore, dated 1030-1031, says that the great

raid of 1025, which had the above result, was preceded by lesser raids, in which several inscriptions of 1007 says Rājārāja of the Cholas destroyed many ships and 12,000 islands (maritime kingdoms?) (538, 171). Possibly Sujita, dispossessed by one of these raids or fleeing before it, decided to join his son in an attack on the Mons of the lower Menam.

At any rate, according to the Pāli chronicles referred to above, while Louvo and Haripunjai were fighting each other, Sujitarāja "came from Śrīdhammanagara⁴ with a large army and many ships and seized Labapura." This is the last heard of Sujitarāja. Three years later, his son, Kambojarāja, attempted to take Haripunjai, but was repulsed and fled to his capital (probably Labapura) (175, 23, 80, 159). Although the chronicles are explicit in saying that it was Sujitarāja who seized Louvo, it was clearly Sūryavarman who retained possession of it. Several inscriptions, in Khmer, testify that he remained master of Louvo, while later inscriptions of Haripunjai are in Mon (489). Several temples of Khmer type or influence are found within the limits of Louvo which date roughly from this or the following centuries, although the dates cannot be ascertained with sufficient certainty to assign any of them to the reign of Sūryavarman I (636). Perhaps Sujita died before Sūryavarman's attack on Haripunjai. Sūryavarman probably helped his father conquer Louvo including the Malay peninsula to the isthmus of Kra (734, 286, 291-292). He seems to have inherited Tāmbralinga,⁵ which the Khmers surely held until about 1220 (map 12).

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN LOUVO

Coming from Tāmbralinga, center of Buddhist influence, Sūryavarman I was naturally a Buddhist, as also his posthumous name indicated—the first Buddhist king of the Khmer Empire. But Sūryavarman I was a Mahāyānist, while the Mons seem to have been Hīnayānists (as also their use of the Pāli language seems to indicate). Sūryavarman I, Mahāyānist as he was, did nothing to interfere with the state-religion of the Kambuja, as we have seen; nor with Hīnayānism in Louvo. But he seems to have introduced, or at any rate to have protected, Mahāyānist Buddhism, as well as all forms of Brahmanism, in Louvo. Three inscriptions at Labapuri, one of them Buddhist and another one Vishnuite, date from his reign.

The stele inscription of the monument of Sal Sung, or San Sung (181, 25-27), Labapuri, in Khmer, containing three dates of which the only legible ones are 1022 and 1025, is an edict of King Sūryavarman I,

¹ Later called Śrī Dharmanagara and Ligor.

² This king is also called Jivaka and Vararāja by the chronicles. Jivaka may come from Jāvaka, a term sometimes applied to Śrīvijaya, of which Tāmbralinga was a vassal.

³ This chronicle *Cāmadevivamsa* says he was called Kambojarāja "because of his previous merits (deeds?)" (175, 159).

⁴ Śrī Dharmarāja, Ligor.

⁵ *Ling-wai-tai-ta* (A.D. 1178) lists Tāmbralinga among the dependencies of Chenla (495, 53). The conquest by the Cholas mentioned in the inscription of Tanjore (734, n. 131), was only temporary (see 734).

ordering the Mahāyāna *bhikshus*⁶ and the Hinayāna *sthaviras*⁷ to offer the fruit of their ascetic meditation to the king. It prescribes that persons who enter these holy places to disturb the meditation of the pious should be brought before the tribunal and punished with severity (181, 21–23).

A broken stele inscription of the Sal Sung, in Khmer and Sanskrit, is unintelligible, but includes a few new terms, such as *tamrvac* (= “inspector,” but here thought to mean “licitor,” or “body-guard”), which are found in the Oath of Allegiance in the inscription of the Gopura of the Royal Palace (181, 25–27).

An inscription of the Sal Cau, or San Chao, Chinese temple, of Labapuri, in Khmer, is undated but seems to be of the same period as the inscriptions mentioned above. Its object seems to be to commemorate the donations to the god Paramavāsudeva (Vishṇu) on the occasion of the consecration of the image. “The principal interest of this text resides in the mention of the country of Lavo (sruk Lvo), which is, with that of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, the only mention which Cambodian epigraphy has furnished up to the present” (181, 29–31).

SŪRYAVARMAN I'S RELATIONS WITH HIS NEIGHBORS

Sūryavarman I seems to have maintained peaceful relations with his eastern neighbors throughout his reign.

Georges Maspero says: “Sūryavarman I carried on many wars. He contracted an alliance with China and Champa in 1030 to carry on war against the Annamite Emperor, Ly-thai Tong, but nothing seems to have come of it” (573, 38–39). Maspero does not give any authority for this statement, and in a later work on the subject (576) he says nothing about any such alliance.

Leclère says:

The Chinese Annals say that this king made, in 1030, an alliance with Champa and China and that this alliance lasted 60 years. It had for purpose, in the Cambodian sense, to assure peace with Champa, guaranteed by a third power, China, to permit the King of Cambodia to repress the revolts of his vassal kings, especially those of the principalities situated to the north of the Dangkreik Mountains and in the basin of the Menam (514, 111).

But Leclère does not, any more than Maspero, give any specific authority for his statements.

Although these statements of an alliance seem to lack authentication, it seems that peace was maintained on the eastern front during all of Sūryavarman I's reign.

Sūryavarman I is said to have carried on many wars with his neighbors, but there seems to be no direct mention of any of them in any document or inscription. Aymonier says that, according to some traditions, he made war against Anauratha, King of Pagan, and

that an inscription of 1050 mentions Chams, Cambodians, Chinese, Syām, and Vukām (Paganese) among the slaves (6, 3, 503–504). But Anauratha, or Anawratha, did not come to the throne until 1044. Pagan then controlled only a little strip along the upper Irrawaddy and, until his conquest of Thatōn in 1057, well in the reign of Sūryavarman I's successor, the Mon kingdom of Sudhammapura (Thatōn) intervened between Pagan and Kambujadesa or any of its dependencies (102). So, accounts of a war with Burma seem to be unauthenticated.

LATER ARCHITECTURE OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

The architecture of the latter part of the reign of Sūryavarman I consisted chiefly of additions and reconstructions in already existing mountain ensembles—Prasat Neak Buos, Preah Vihear, and Vat Phu. Prasat Phnom Chisor was a new construction, but of the same general type. Owing probably to their distance from the capital and to the influence of the already-existing buildings of the groups, these monuments do not show the new influences so much as those of the earlier part of the reign. For instance, the central sanctuary is often (Prasat Neak Buos, Prasat Phnom Chisor) of the early square redented type. Neak Buos, by its date, belongs to the early period. It is considered here because of its similarity with the other ensembles of this group.

These ensembles have an interest all their own. Delicacy of decoration and refinement of art belong chiefly to temples like Angkor Wat, Beng Mealea, Banteay Srei, and Phimai; but for beauty of location, wild grandeur, and expanse of view, we must go to ensembles like these. These monuments, which have so much in common and in their ensembles are among the largest and most important of Khmer architecture, seem to have been transformed from small sanctuaries or groups of sanctuaries into vast monuments during the reign of Sūryavarman I. So many monuments of this period were built on elevations as to cause the remark by Groslier that Sūryavarman I had a delight in building temples on mountains (466, 1, 66).

Other buildings of the same type belong to this period—Vat Ek, A.D. 1027 (530, 3, 427) and Vat Baset, 1036 (*ibid.*, 3, 432), in the Province of Baṭṭeambang; Phimai (pp. 180–182), Phnom Rung (p. 182), and Nam Van (p. 180) may also date as early as the reign of Sūryavarman I (631, 172).

PRASAT NEAK BUOS

Beside the inner sanctuary of the Śivapāda of Canadagiri, without disturbing the already-existing little brick temples, a new and great ensemble was now erected. On a little natural plateau, some ten meters above the surrounding plain, backed up against the steep cliff of Canadagiri, the central sanctuary of this group was erected, with successive natural platforms

⁶ *Bhikshu* = Mahāyānist monk.

⁷ *Stavira* = Hinayānist elder.

in front of it to serve the place of enclosures. Little was done to prepare the ground, and small sanctuaries appear in the midst of red sandstone outcrops and boulders. Owing to topography, this ensemble was oriented to the south. Two inscriptions are dated 1008 and 1015 (6, 2, 230–233; 530, 2, 3–12).

PRASAT PHNOM CHISOR

This is located at a height of 120 meters, on a mountain surrounded by rice-fields, in the Province of Bati, a few kilometers to the west and a little north of the ancient capital of Angkor Borei. It seems to have been the first great monument erected by the kings of Kambuja in the ancient Funan region. It is one of the most accessible and most visited monuments of Cambodia; and, as many Americans will probably visit it, it justifies a description. It is now being restored.

The monument consisted of the central sanctuary and its accessory edifices, surrounded by a series of galleries, forming an enclosure, about 45×50 meters in extent, oriented to the east; a long stairway and causeway, running down the east slope to the plain below, and some edifices along the causeway in the plain.

The central sanctuary was a redented square brick structure of the early type. A short passage-way in front connected it with a square sandstone nave, much larger than the sanctuary. From a laterite porch a stairway led down to the court. The sanctuary and nave were raised on a laterite foundation, about a meter high.

Two large rectangular brick libraries, on platforms, with long porticos and stairways in front, were symmetrically placed and regularly oriented. They were lighted on each side by two highly-placed rectangular windows, with balusters. Two redented square brick towers, one on each side of the central sanctuary, were oriented to the east. Two other towers, similar but smaller, were just behind them. The only dissymmetry was a single brick tower with a long porch, at the southeast corner of the central sanctuary. From its position it may have been the primitive sanctuary, older than the rest of the ensemble⁸ (530, 1, 26).

The galleries surrounding this enclosure have some points of difference from any others in Khmer art. The opposite sides were symmetrical or nearly so. The east and west sides were each divided into five halls. The long middle halls with long porches in place of gopuras, communicated by stairways with both the outside and the inside, as did the smaller halls on each side of them. The short halls, extending to the corners, communicated only by windows, two each, toward the east. The north and south sides were each divided into three galleries, which did not communicate with each other. The longer central galleries opened on the interior by a vestibule with stairway. Each was lighted

by six balustered windows. The windows of the south side were square and normally placed; those of the north were rectangular and out of reach. These galleries are supposed to have been "palaces," that at the north for the women (530, 1, 22; 88, 130–131). The end galleries were lighted from the interior. The two in the west end opened by doors on the exterior; those at the east opened only by windows on the interior. They were of laterite, with sandstone foundations, doors, windows, and decorations. The vaults, of corbelled brick, have fallen. "It is the only specimen of long vaults in brick which the monuments of Cambodia present" (530, 1, 23).

Most of the decorations are unfinished and are said to be crude⁹ (530, 1, 24). The colonettes are octagonal, with rings. The lintels are of type IV, Indra on an elephant, the churning of the sea, Vishṇu on Ananta, etc. According to Coomaraswamy (285, 192), the central sanctuary once held the figure of a seated king, probably Sūryavarman I, now in the Chicago Art Institute.

A steep stairway, about 10 meters long, led down to a landing and then a succession of stairways and landings, with a laterite wall on each side, led down to a rectangular terrace, through a densely-wooded slope, to the foot of a hill, from where a causeway, 215 meters long—one of the longest causeways of any monument of Cambodia¹⁰ (466, 1, 76)—led to a great rectangular basin, now overgrown.

Two cruciform edifices stood exactly in the axis of this causeway, one a few meters from the foot of the hill, the other more than half way to the basin. The windows of their lateral wings faced each other. Lunet de Lajonquière suggested that they may be entrances of the large enclosure of a palace which was never built (530, 1, 27–28; 6, 1, 184–190).

PREAH VIHEAR

This monument, which Parmentier thinks was originally built in light material by Yaśovarman I (p. 111) and transformed into stone, with some additions by his successors (pp. 130, 139), has often been credited to Sūryavarman I. Parmentier thinks Sūryavarman I built the so-called "palaces" of the north end of Court III and the gopuras of Courts IV and V (plan 15) and the little tower at the north end of the monument and later rebuilt the gopura of Court III, between the "palaces." Many inscriptions were found in the "palaces," dated 1026, which are considered as dating them. On some of the uprights of the doors of gopura II are several inscriptions dated 1037, 1038, and possibly 1049.

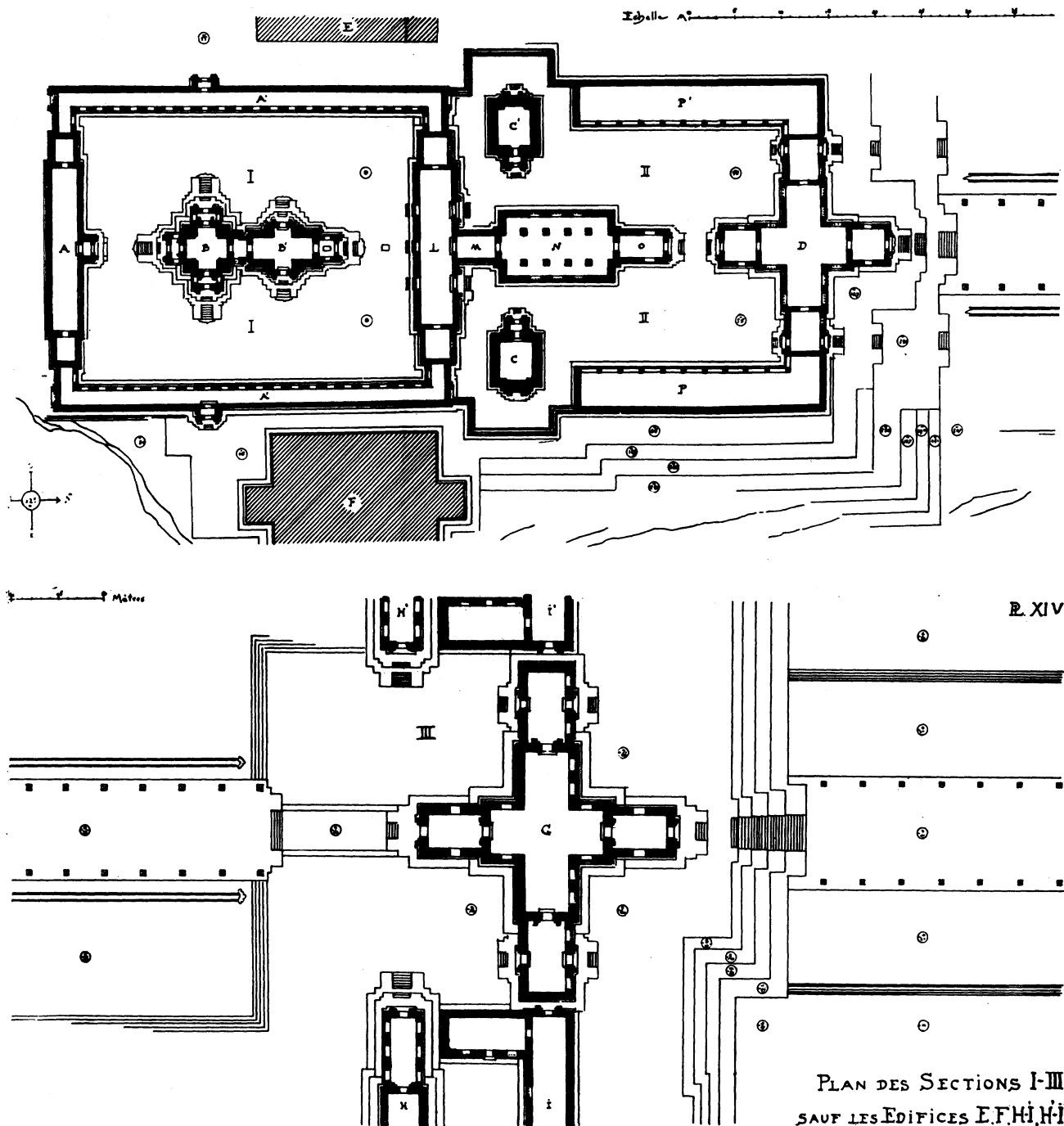
⁹ Groslier, on the contrary, says the decorations belong to the best Cambodian style (466, 1, 77).

¹⁰ The causeway of Vat Phu is more than 250 meters long (p. 163); but the distance from the central sanctuary to the basin is greater at Phnom Chisor and the system of causeways and stairways at Preah Vihear is greater than that of either (see plan 15 and fig. 19).

⁸ Moura thought it was more recent (600, 2, 389).

A stairway and causeway, lined on each side with a row of ten milestones and a seven-headed *nāga*, rampant on a low wall, led down from Courts I and II to Court III, which seems to have been almost entirely the work of Sūryavarman I. After descending a flight of stairs, a long causeway, with a row of thirty-five milestones on each side, led to gopura IV. Descending four more flights of stairs, a long inclined causeway with sixty-five milestones on a side, led to gopura V.

Several stairways descended to the north, to a wide avenue, bordered on each side by a wall, on which was an enormous rampant *nāga*, with head and tail raised. Then followed another long series of stairways, which led to an esplanade, connected with the plain of Siam to the north. A path from gopura V led to the east, then to the south, down a valley to the plain of Stung Sen. This was the usual approach to the monument (plan 15).



PLAN 15. Preah Vihear—Courts I, II, and III.

These gopuras were immense and beautiful. They were cruciform edifices, sometimes entirely open and supported by square stone pillars. The roofs were of tile, with ridge-crests of pike-heads, with triangular gables, sometimes redented and superposed and ended in elevated and outward-turned scrolls. The frontons were bombed, flamed, and ended in *nāga*-heads. The tympana and lintels were remarkable and often contained scenes from the sacred books.

Preah Vihear was one of the largest of the sloping mountain-ensembles and had, without doubt, the most remarkable site of any large temple of Indo-China. It is difficult of access and is now almost deserted.

VAT PHU

This temple, on the slope of Phu Bassac, about eight kilometers south of the modern city of Bassac, was located in the cradle of the Kambuja. The ancient capital of Chenla—Śreshṭhapura, and probably also the original Bhavapura, was in that region. In very early time a temple—perhaps the first temple erected by the Kambuja—was dedicated here to Bhadrēśvara, the tutelary deity of the early Chams and the early Kambuja. In the seventh century Jayavarman I made a stele inscription at this sanctuary, which he called Lingaparvata, “linga of the mountain.” This region was hallowed ground to the Kambuja. An inscription of A.D. 835 speaks of Śreshṭhapura as a Holy City (131).

The location of the temple of Vat Phu is very picturesque—rivalling that of Preah Vihear (plan 16), with which its development seems to have had a curious parallel. The ensemble began with a long basin, 200 × 600 meters, elongated east-west, about 5 kilometers west of the Mekong, and ran nearly 800 meters, almost due west, to end in an esplanade, about 90 feet high, at the foot of mountains which rise several hundred feet above the surrounding plain. The first 250 meters from the basin was covered by a nearly level causeway, with small basins of water on each side. About half way, a large building called a palace was located on each side. Then, a series of inclines and steep stairways led up to the esplanade, where the sanctuary was located. The scene from the esplanade is magnificent. In contrast to Preah Vihear, the mountains are wooded and the fields and marshes are green. The view leads down to the river and across the valley to the plateau of Boloven. Finot says of this monument: “I do not know that the Cambodian architects have ever shown more taste in the choice of a site, more art in the arrangement, more cleverness in combining the accidents of the terrain and the disposition of its edifices, in the manner of producing a seizing impression of nobleness and majesty” (363, 241).

The most important, but least presumptuous, of these edifices is a little square redented brick prasat, with an opening to the east and without false doors. If it

ever had a decorative lintel, it has disappeared. This is the remains, or at least the site, of what was probably the oldest Khmer temple. This sanctuary is ancient, but it may have replaced an older one in wood. All Parmentier could certify as certainly pre-Angkorian was a *somasūtra* and a seventh century stele inscription (p. 44). It was blotted out in front by a large antechamber and has recently been transformed into a Laotian Buddhist *theat*.

The “palaces” were probably erected during the reign of Sūryavarman I, possibly to replace earlier “palaces” in light construction. Parmentier assigns them to the second quarter of the eleventh century, largely because of the resemblance of their roofs to those of gopura III of Preah Vihear. According to Stern, their decorations are transitional between the first and second Classic styles, which places them after those of Preah Vihear (698, 84).

The causeway leading from the basin to the palaces was about 250 meters long—one of the longest, if not the longest, in any Cambodian monument—and was lined on both sides with rampant *nāgas* and milestones. This, as well as the other causeways and stairways, was undoubtedly crudely built at an early date, and, later, gradually improved (656, 1, 212–247).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF JAYENDRAPANḌITA

According to the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom, Jayendrapanḍita got some land of the king, in Amoghapura,¹¹ which he gave to the temples of his family (Śivakaivalya) at Stuk Ransi and Bhadrapaṭṭani.

At the village of Vrahmapura, he erected a Bhagavata—gave some serfs, made groves, *dug ponds, made dams*.

In the district of Pūrvadiśa,¹² in the country of origin (of the family), at Kuti, he restored the devastated villages and rebuilt all the enclosures. He erected a linga of a coudee (cubit), raised a *prāsāda*,¹³ gave some serfs, gave all the goods. As to the land of Vāhuyudha, village of Ve Dnop, which had been completely devastated, he asked His Majesty Nirvānapāda for it and planted there some boundaries and gave it to the temple of Kuti¹⁴ and to the members of his family (358, 92).

THE NEW CAPITAL OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

The capital of Sūryavarman I was beginning to take on something of its present plan—the Royal Enclosure, the Grand Plaza, the Kleangs, the Towers of the Cord Dancers, some of these probably in light material at this time. The Phimeanakas, with the Royal Palace in front, was the center of the capital inherited by Sūryavarman I. It was located at the intersection of lines running due north from Phnom Bakheng and due west from the East Mebon—earlier sanctuaries which sheltered royal lingas. The Phimeanakas was only a few meters outside of the enclosure of the first Yaśo-

¹¹ Region around northwest end of West Baray.

¹² Southwest of East Baray.

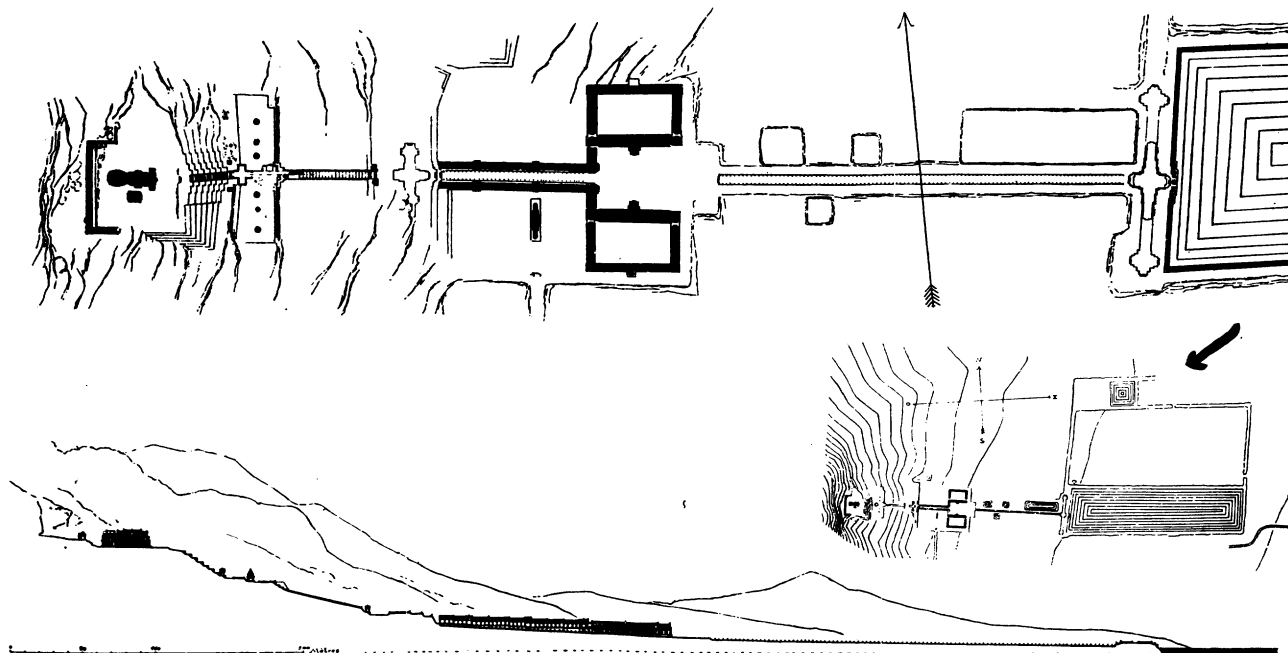
¹³ Prasat.

¹⁴ Kutiśvara (p. 83).

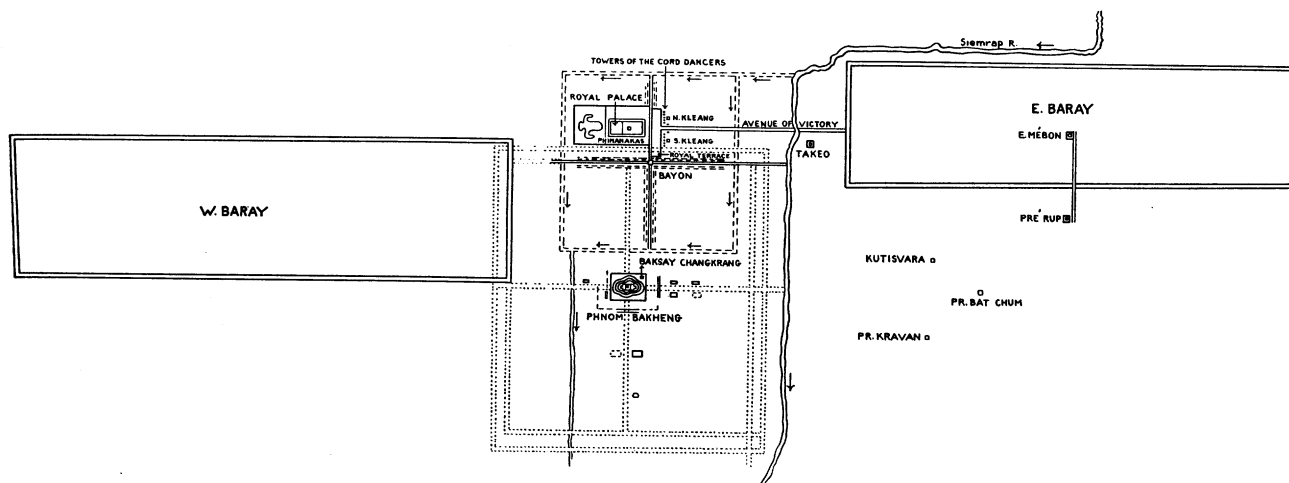
dharapura and the east axial causeway ran toward the East Mebon. It does not seem to have had a surrounding moat or wall except the Royal Enclosure. This city was probably begun by Jayavarman V, possibly by Rājendravarman II.

Later in his reign, Sūryavarman I seems to have

outlet at the southwest corner and the natural slope of the ground was sufficient to provide free circulation of the water. Ruins, on the causeways just inside the moat, are apparently of gopuras and seem to indicate a wall. This may have been in brick and the material may have been used in the later wall of Jayavarman



PLAN 16. Vat Phu—general plan and cross-section.



PLAN 17. The Yaśodharapura of Sūryavarman I.

erected a new capital, with its central sanctuary on the site of the present Bayon. Traces of this sanctuary were verified by Trouvé and Marchal in 1931 and 1933 (458). A moat, 35 to 40 meters wide, some 80 to 100 meters inside of the present walls of Angkor Thom, was traced in 1936 by Goloubew, Marchal, Trouvé, and Lagisquet. An inlet from the Siemreap river had been discovered at the northeast corner of the moat and an

VII; or it may have been simply a wooden palisade. Axial causeways ran in all four cardinal directions from this central sanctuary, giving the center of the city something of its present aspect (455, plan 17).

Although the attribution to Sūryavarman I of a new capital and a new Central Temple may not be taken as established historical fact, it seems to be more than a hypothesis. The new discoveries mentioned above make

it almost necessary. The character and importance of Sūryavarman I's reign demand it. It was a well-known custom of strong Khmer kings to establish a new capital city and a new Central Temple. Jayavarman II established several. Indravarman I founded Bakong; Yaśovarman I, Bakheng; Jayavarman IV, the pyramid of Prasat Thom. After the death of these monarchs, these sanctuaries became their funerary temples. There is some uncertainty about Rājendravarman II, but he established funerary temples at Mebon and Pre Rup. Later, Udayādityavarman II erected his Baphuon; Sūryavarman II—of a new faith—a temple (Angkor Wat) outside the city; Jayavarman VII, the Bayon. Each of these kings had a new capital city. How can we deny a new city and a new Central Temple to Sūryavarman I, perhaps the greatest of them all, who had a reign of nearly half a century of peaceful development and architectural greatness?

The Phimeanakas, which had been the Central Mount of Jayavarman V—the abode of his *Jayeshvara*—doubtless became the funerary temple of that monarch.

WATER-DISTRIBUTION OF THE CAPITAL

It was probably during the reign of Sūryavarman I that the capital was provided with the marvellous system of waterways, basins, channels and fountains which made it for several centuries the wonder of all visitors. Since 1932 excavations, chiefly by Trouvé, Goloubew, and Marchal, have brought to light a system of water-basins, some fourteen meters wide and hundreds of meters long, lining both sides of the six causeways. These basins, sometimes lined with brick, are separated at intervals by embankments, but are connected with each other and with the later moats by conduits to permit the passage of water. Other basins—more than a thousand at Angkor alone—have no connection with the river and depend on rain-water. They are scattered or arranged in plans throughout the city (461; 458; 300). In addition, every sanctuary had its own basin or basins for its purposes.

Some of these basins were used as fish-ponds and to provide drinking-water for men and animals; but, according to the testimony of the Chinese, they were used chiefly for the frequent ablutions made necessary by the extreme heat during the dry season. The earliest Chinese dynastic histories tell us that in early Funan tens of families used a common basin. Chou Ta-kuan, who visited Cambodia near the end of the thirteenth century, tells of the many daily baths taken by the inhabitants, in these basins and in the river. The European missionaries who visited Angkor in the latter part of the sixteenth century, marvelled at the many fountains and canals still to be found there at that time (681, 96; 500, 278).

The system of water conservation and distribution was begun on a large scale by Yaśovarman I, who dug the enormous East Baray, bent the course of the Siem-reap river to his purpose and provided his capital

around Phnom Bakheng with an elaborate system of water-basins and canals, forecasting those of the later capital. Parmentier thinks Rājendravarman II began the waterworks of the later capital; but his "embellishments," as far as water is concerned, were probably confined to his older capital. Jayavarman V may have made a modest beginning; but the marvellous development of the use of water, which made the capital of ancient Cambodia a brilliant Queen of the Water, like modern Bangkok or Venice, was without doubt the work of Sūryavarman I.

THE WEST BARAY

It seems also to have been Sūryavarman I who dug the West Baray, that immense artificial lake southwest of the capital. This vast expanse of water, 2×8 kilometers in extent, is elongated east-west. Its eastern dike is one kilometer west of the western wall of Angkor Thom and includes a little strip of the northwestern part of the ancient enclosure of Yaśodharapura. Its western end covers a great deal of what probably was once the ancient capital of Amarendapura. Its southern dike was an extension of the west axial causeway of the ancient capital, burying, at its western end, the pyramid-temple of Ak Yom—which once housed the royal god of Jayavarman II—under many feet of earth, from which it was only recently rescued by Trouvé (191, 31).

The "Thnāl Baray" inscriptions of this body of water have not yet been found; consequently, it cannot be exactly dated. It cannot be earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century; for an inscription dated 1001, found on the monument of Ak Yom, indicates that that monument was intact on that date (634, 55–56). The architecture and decoration of its central temple—the West Mebon, on an island in the center of the Baray—places the erection of that sanctuary right after the Baphuon, or the early part of the second half of the eleventh century (301, 129), which places the excavation of the West Baray almost certainly in the latter part of the reign of Sūryavarman I. The eastern part of this expansive body of water has long since been completely silted up, but the western part is still a vast and beautiful fresh water lake, in some places four or five meters deep (555, 189–190).

The West Baray was probably designed partly as a reservoir for the storage of water for the use of the capital during the dry season. But, like the East Baray—which was constructed before the capital was erected and on the other side of the river—it was evidently dug chiefly to provide water for the irrigation of the surrounding rice-fields.

WORKS OF IRRIGATION

Contemporary inscriptions help to date the construction of the West Baray and the works of irrigation connected with it. The inscription of Takeo B (p.

143), whose last date is 1007, says that Śivavindu, great minister of Sūryavarman I, dug many ponds. As the temple of the same name, where the inscription was found, is just outside of the capital and as Śivavindu was inspector of qualities and defects on Hemaśṛīṅga-giri, it is probable that these works were in or near the capital.

The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says Sūryavarman took Sadāśiva, of the privileged family of Śivakai-valya, out of the religious state, married him to the queen's younger sister, gave him the name of Jayendra-panḍita and made him chief of works of the first class. He seems to have busied himself in restoring the towns and sanctuaries destroyed by the recent wars. The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says he dug ponds and made dams at the villages of Bhadrappattana, Bhadravāsa, Bhadrāgiri, and Vrahmapura, and dug ditches in the district of Stuk Ransi. These places are unidentified, but they were in Amoghapura, near the former capital of Amarendrapura, now occupied by the West Baray. They have been searched afar. As we have seen, Groslier once thought he had identified Amarendrapura with Banteay Chhmar, in the foothills of the Dangrek Mountains to the northwest. The irrigation works mentioned in the inscriptions are probably those first noted by Trouvé in 1932 and traced on the aeronautical map of 1939. They were probably connected with the great reservoir of the West Baray.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SŪRYAVARMAN I, 1012-1049

Two inscriptions found at Phnom Chisor mention Sūryavarman as king: (1) a Khmer stele-inscription speaks of the founding of a monastery called Yogendrālaya in 1015 and of the gifts of slaves and revenue to it and records a petition to the king by a *steñ an* Śivācārya in 1017, through a great prince or minister, Śrī Virendravarman, asking that certain lands be given to the monasteries. Yogendrālaya and Yogendrapura, affected to the cult of Śrī Vṛiddheśvara; (2) a Khmer temple-inscription, very ruined, records the donation of land, revenue, and persons by Sūryavarman to Sūryaparvata in 1019 (6, 1, 191-192; 232a). These inscriptions probably date the erection of the sanctuary.¹⁵

The two Khmer inscriptions of the monument of San Sung, Labapuri, which contain dates of 1022 and 1025, and the Khmer inscription of Sal Cau (pp. 159-160), relate chiefly to regulations regarding religious practices in Louvo (181, 21-23, 24, 27, 29-31).

Several other inscriptions found in the temple of Preah Vihear have been briefed by Aymonier (6, 2, 207-209). A wall-inscription (II), in Sanskrit and Khmer, containing the date 1026, praises Sūryavarman and the god Śikhheśvara. Another wall-inscription (III) says that, in 1028, one -pativarman, grandson of the ancient Seigneur, Śrī Rājapativarman of Avādhapura,

informed Sūryavarman that the cult of the gods of Śikhareśvara and Vṛiddheśvara (Preah Vihear and Kampheng Niai) was assured. It says Sūryavarman was of the line of Indravarman and that Queen Vīralakshmī of Vrah Sruk was of the line of Harshavarman and Indravarman. It mentions also a *Kamrateng* Śrī Mahidharavarman. A Khmer inscription of 1038 says Sūryavarman gave orders to the sons and grandsons of the Lord Rājapativarman. This inscription speaks of Lingapura, of Avadhāpura, "the indestructible city," of Bhadreśvara, and of Śikhareśvara, "god of the peak." In a Sanskrit inscription of 1041, Sūryavarman asked the people to serve the god Śikhareśvara. Aymonier thinks the inscription giving the genealogy of Śivaśakti (which Bergaigne and Barth thought was of the reign of Yaśovarman was dated 1046 or 1047).

A pillar inscription of the temple of Sek Ta Tuy, in Khmer, dated 1039, very much damaged, refers to a donation to a god called vulgarly *Kamrateng jagat vnam brahmana*, "god of the mountain of the brahmins," which is apparently Tribhuvanamaheśvara (402, 49-50).

The Sanskrit pillar inscription of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai (p. 155) seems to celebrate the foundation of that temple to the Buddha by Sūryavarman, whom it praises, especially for his knowledge of the *sastras* and the sacred books. It is undated, but it mentions no later king (352).

A fragmentary pillar-inscription of Prasat Khna (III),¹⁶ dated 1041, in Sanskrit, mentions an image of Krishṇa mounted on Garuḍa, given to Śakavrāhmana by Bhuvanāditya, younger brother of Queen Vīralakshmī, who is said to have been related by maternal lines to King Harshavarmadeva. Bhuvanāditya is said to be Prince of the country of Vanapura, at the foot of the Vnam Kamveng ("the mountain wall," i.e., Dangrek Mountains) (222, 195-197).

RELIGIONS

Sūryavarman I—a conquering alien and a Buddhist—anxious, and wise enough, to conciliate the people, naturally showed great religious toleration. Jayavarman V apparently deposited his *Jayeśvara* in the Phimeanakas, although that temple was not wholly completed until the reign of Sūryavarman I. Sūryavarman continued Śivācārya as *purohita* until his death, early in the reign. He made his nephew, Jayandrapanḍita, Royal Chaplain and Chief of Works. This king erected or finished many monuments on new or old sites. Phimeanakas, Takeo, Prasat Neak Buos, Vat Chisor, Preah Vihear, Vat Phu—all were dedicated to lingas.

The worship of Vishṇu was favored in Louvo—as well as both forms of Buddhism—the first recognition of Hīnayānism by a king of Kambuja. The temple of Prasat Khna seems to have been dedicated to Vishṇu

¹⁵ Later inscriptions at Phnom Chisor seem to belong to the reign of Sūryavarman II.

¹⁶ For inscription of Prasat Khna I and II, see pp. 130 and 144.

in the form of Kṛṣṇa—apparently, the first in Cambodia.

But Sūryavarman I, in spite of his excellent spirit of toleration, was undoubtedly a zealous Mahāyānist. He was of the royal family of Tāmbralinga, whose sovereigns had been given the title, Śrī Dharmarāja, “King of the Law” (181). There are reasons to think that he may have gone further in the establishment of Buddhism in Kambujadesa than has been generally recognized.

THE CENTRAL DEITY OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

As we have seen, Sūryavarman I seems to have abandoned the Phimeanakas as a central temple and to have established a new city with a new central temple—undoubtedly Buddhist—on the site of the later Bayon. He apparently discontinued the exclusive privilege granted by Jayavarman II to the family of Śivakaivalya of furnishing *purohitas* (Chief Priests) of the *devarāja*. Śivācārya was the last member of that family whom the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom mentions as bearing that title. Perhaps this was because this family supported his rival, perhaps because it was too intimately tied up with the worship of the *devarāja*. At any rate, before the king employed a member of that family, he took the precaution to bind him to the Royal Family by marriage, then made him a Royal Chaplain and used him in the construction of public works. At the same time, he took Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, of the house of Lovek, to which the king’s mother belonged, and made him *purohita* (31, st. 32).

Perhaps it was because they had served his rival too faithfully or perhaps it was because of his religion or perhaps it was for some other reason, but it may be significant that all the great hereditary religious families who had furnished priests and ministers to preceding kings, seem to have terminated these connections early in the reign of this monarch or before he had completed the conquest of the country. The line of Bhās-svāminī, after 1002 (p. 149), that of Praṇavātman, after 1005 (p. 149), that of Jayendradāśa (Anditapura), after 1006 (p. 148), that of Hyang Pavitrā, after 1007¹⁷ (p. 149) and that of Śivaśakti, in 1047 (p. 166), all carved their swan-songs and disappeared from history. A representative of the line of Śivakaivalya survived until 1052, but only after he had been safely attached by marriage to the house of Lovek¹⁸ and then in another capacity. Early in his reign, Sūryavarman I seems to have deprived the line of Śivakaivalya of its exclusive privilege of furnishing *purohitas* to the *devarāja*. Whatever form the state-worship assumed during the reign of Sūryavarman I, Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, of the house of Lovek, was at the head of it; and when Udayādityavarman II restored the cult of the *devarāja*, it was Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, and not a representative of the Śivakaivalya line, who became his *purohita* (736).

¹⁷ These are the last dates given in these inscriptions.

¹⁸ Line of Saptadevakula (inscription of Lovek).

There is nothing to indicate that Sūryavarman I ever accepted the worship of the *devarāja* to the extent of identifying himself with Śiva in a *linga*, as his *Brahmanic* predecessors had done. No inscription has mentioned a *Sūryeśvara*. But he probably did not discard the idea of a King-God. The new King-God, established at the first Bayon was probably a sort of Buddha-rāja, and Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, though a Śivaite, was probably its Chief Priest. The syncretism of Śivaism and Mahāyānism, which had been going on for some time in Southeast Asia (p. 107) makes this quite plausible. Jayendrapaṇḍita continued as *guru* for Sūryavarman’s successor, Udayādityavarman II, for some time and probably was the author of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom in 1052 (p. 170), after which the family of Śivakaivalya disappeared from history. Śaṅkarapaṇḍita was *purohita* for Udayādityavarman II and established his *Udayādityeśvara* in his new Central Temple of the Baphuon, after which he was to continue as *purohita* for his successor, Harshavarman III.

DEATH OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

Sūryavarman I died in 1050 (278, 233; 6, 2, 326). He was succeeded by Udayādityavarman, who seems to have been a relative. He received the posthumous name of Nirvāṇapada (358, 92).

ESTIMATE OF THE REIGN OF SŪRYAVARMAN I

It is difficult to give a proper estimate of the importance of the reign of Sūryavarman I; so many phases of it are hypothetical. But enough is known for certain to rate him among the great kings of Ancient Cambodia. Perhaps he was the greatest.

He seems to have been the best balanced of the warrior-kings. He conquered the throne and consolidated his power. Jayavarman II united and consolidated his kingdom and asserted its independence, but he was placed on the throne to fill the role of puppet for distant overlords. Jayavarman VII won the crown, but he procrastinated a long time. Jayavarman II and Jayavarman VII were Cambodians, helping their countrymen to free the country of hated aliens. Sūryavarman I was an alien, of a different religious faith, fighting against Cambodians to replace a king or kings with whom the population was apparently content.

Sūryavarman I seems to have conquered Louvo or to have helped his father conquer it. He organized and consolidated it, and Cambodia held it for more than two centuries, until its conquest by the Tai. The partial Khmerization of the Menam-Meklong valley, and of the basin of the Se Mun, seems to have begun with the reign of Sūryavarman I. He is the only Cambodian king who conquered and so organized a foreign country that Cambodia was able to hold it for several centuries.

He gave the country a period of internal and external peace and of prosperity. No doubt he had a strong government. The Oath of Allegiance of his officials

was one of the first steps in the consolidation of his power. The inscriptions do not mention any internal trouble. He seems to have waged no useless wars against his neighbors.

His reign was one of the great periods of architecture and art. Many new principles and improvements appeared. How much of this may be credited to the king is hypothetical; but it is generally granted that a considerable foreign apport came in at this time with Sūryavarman.

His greatest work seems to have been the planning and development of the city of Yaśodharapura, with its splendid avenues and marvelous waterways, and the construction of works of irrigation in the surrounding fields. Students of the architecture and art and of the inscriptions of Kambujadesa are not all agreed on the amount of credit due to Sūryavarman for this wonderful work. But, as we have seen, recent excavations

seem to point to him as the real founder of the present Angkor, its central site, its radial axes, its waterways. Inscriptions and the study of the architecture and art of the period make it practically certain that he excavated the immense reservoir of the West Baray. And the many mentions during his reign of the excavation of ponds and ditches and the construction of dams, is testimony of his part in the irrigation of the surrounding fields.

On the whole, in his skill as a warrior, organizer and ruler, his fine spirit of toleration, his habit of surrounding himself with scholarly and high-minded advisers, his patronage of art and architecture and his promotion of public improvements, he rates high among the kings of Ancient Cambodia—perhaps the highest. Compared with his rivals, his strength seems to have lain in his balanced judgment. He made few mistakes, exhibited no weaknesses. His work endured.

9. UDAYĀDITYAVARMAN II AND HARSHAVARMAN III (1050–1080)

ACCESSION OF UDAYĀDITYAVARMAN II

Sūryavarman II died in 1050.¹ He was succeeded by Udayādityavarman, sometimes called Udayārka-varman in the inscriptions (6, 2, 214; 358, 94). His exact relationship to his predecessor is uncertain, but it seems to have been close.² At any rate, an inscription of the following reign speaks as if the succession was regular: "Then Udayādityavarman, king of the earth, with the sweet rays of his glory, was born in the race of the masters of the world, as the moon in a new sea of milk" (31, B st. 20).

Regarding his personal qualities, the inscription continues: "He excelled in seducing women to his will by his beauty, warriors by his heroism, sages by his good qualities, the people by his power, brahmans by his charity. Endowed with many noble qualities, when Sūryavarman went to the skies, this Prince of great energy was sworn universal monarch by his ministers" (*ibid.*, st. 21–22).

All we know about his family is that he had a brother named Harshavarman, "younger brother of the same mother" (*ibid.*, st. 27), who succeeded him, and a sister who married Vāsudeva Dvijendravallaha, whose son, Saṃkarsha, established a *caturmūrti* at Prasat Preah Khset and wrote the inscription at that place (33).

Although Udayādityavarman seems to have been the legitimate claimant and was the choice of the ministers, he appears to have had domestic as well as foreign trouble during the early years of his reign.

¹ The inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says Udayādityavarman was reigning in 971 *śāka* (= 1049?); but Aymonier is specific in giving the day of his death (6, 2, 326). Coedès follows Aymonier (274, 175).

² Maspero thinks he was a grandson or grandnephew of Sūryavarman I (573, 40). Leclère follows Maspero (514, 112). Coedès says he was a son (274, 175). None of these writers gives any authority for his statement.

WAR WITH CHAMPA AND WITH THE SOUTH, 1050–1051

Pāṇḍuraṅga had hitherto enjoyed a semi-independent status, when it was not the chief seat of power in Champa, and was a constant source of irritation to Cham dynasties ruling at the north. Just at this time there seems to have been considerable unrest in Pāṇḍuranga, as well as in southern Cambodia, and there was doubtless some collaboration between the restive elements or between the government of one country and the insurgents of the other. A strong king, Jaya Paramesvarman, came to the throne of Champa about 1050 or a little earlier³ and, with his son, the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati,⁴ thoroughly subdued Pāṇḍuranga, according to several inscriptions of Po Klang Garai, Phanrang, dated 1050 (535, 3, 145–151). Another Cham inscription, dated 1056, says the Yuvarāja defeated the Khmers, took the city of Śambhupura, destroyed all the sanctuaries and gave the spoils and the captives to the temples of Śrīśanabhadreśvara at Mi-sön (535, 3, 155). This seems to have occurred in 1050.

The south of Cambodia, the old Funan country, had long been neglected and the unrest in Pāṇḍuranga and consequent sack of Śambhupura seems to have given it occasion to express its pent-up emotions (472, 390–391). In 1051 one Aravindhahrada, who may have been a vassal king of Cambodia, or possibly a chief from Champa, made himself master of the whole southern part of Cambodia, doubtless with the sympathy, if not the active support, of the Chams. Several Khmer expeditions, under famous generals, were sent against him, but were defeated. At last, the Senāpati Saṅgrāma, the great Cambodian general, was sent against him.

³ An Annamite document, according to Maspero (573, 139, n. 1) says one Ung-ni sent an embassy to China in 1047.

⁴ Yuvarāja = Crown Prince; Mahāsenāpati = Field Marshal.

Saṅgrāma totally defeated Aravindhahrade, who fled to Campapura (Champa). Saṅgrāma donated the spoils to a temple of Īśvara, at a place called Rājatirtha (32, B st. 10–25).

THE WESTERN FRONTIER

Prince Damrong, in his *History of Buddhism in Siam* (306, 22), apparently following Aymonier (p. 160), says that in 1050 King Anuruddha of Burma reduced the Mon people to his domination and carried his frontiers up to Lan-na, and to the south to Labapuri and Dvāravati; that King Anuruddha, defender of the Buddhist faith, had it preached in his states as fast as he conquered them; that he exercised direct domination only in the north and left Labapuri to the Cambodians, of whom they required only the recognition of their sovereignty.

This above statement contains several errors. As we have seen, Anuruddha, or Anawratha, did not conquer Thatōn until 1057, which date is well-established, for it is a great year in the history of Burma. Consequently, he did not become the defender of the Buddhist faith in southern Burma until after that date. His army does not seem to have come further east than Thatōn (490, 27–28). The Yun (Tai) kingdom of Lan-na did not come into existence in the upper Meping valley until the end of the thirteenth century (175, 29). In 1050 that region was occupied by the Mon kingdom of Haripunjai, which Śūryavarman I had failed to conquer a few years earlier and which remained independent until conquered by the Yun king, Mangrai, probably in 1292.

After 1057 Anuruddha's position as defender of the Buddhist faith and conqueror of Thatōn, the head of the Mon hegemony, doubtless gave him a great religious influence in all the Mon states. It brought to the Cambodian frontier a triumphant young power and to Haripunjai a new form of Buddhism—Pagan Hīnayānism—to rival the Theravādi Hīnayānism of Louvo and the Mahāyānism of the Khmers⁵ (306, 19–22).

An incident of this time has been referred to as possibly relating to a Cambodian invasion of Pegu or Thatōn. A Pali chronicle of western Laos, at a date which Coedès places about 1050, says that an epidemic destroyed a large part of the population at Lampun and the remainder fled to Thatōn. But as that city was being attacked by the king of Pagan (Burma), they went to Pegu "because their language was identical, without presenting the least difference," and after a few years returned to Haripunjai⁶ (175, 17, 23–24, 70–71). A Burmese chronicle represents this as an attack on Pegu by a "Gywan" army, which the king

⁵ Prince Damrong thinks the Theravādi Hīnayānism of Louvo differed only slightly from the Hīnayānism of Pagan, chiefly in the influence of Mahāyānism on the latter. Both were of the school of Kāñci (306, 22; 490, 55–56).

⁶ These kingdoms—Thatōn, Pegu, Haripunjai—were all members of the Mon confederacy of Rāmanyadesa.

of Burma repelled (529, 92–93). A Thatōn chronicle says the attack was on Thatōn and the invaders were "Krom," which is sometimes translated as Cambodian.

PUROHITA, GURU, HOTARS

Some of the religious reforms of Śūryavarman I seem to have been radical and permanent; at least some changes seem to have taken place in the organization of the service of the *devarāja* between the coming of Śūryavarman I (1006?) and the date of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom (1052) which are not yet clearly understood. The family of Śivakaivalya seems to have lost the exclusive right to furnish *purohitas* to the *devarāja*. Although Śadāśiva succeeded his uncle Śivācārya as *purohita* of Śūryavarman I, that monarch soon apparently divested him of those functions, took him out of the religious life, "gave him the name of *kamsten* Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita, being [already] *rājapurohita*⁷ and *khlon* of the *karmantāra* of the first house."⁸ Although the members of the house of Śivakaivalya apparently continued to serve the *devarāja* during this period, the only person the inscriptions mention as *purohita* during the reign of Udayādityavarman II was Śaṅkarapaṇḍita of the family of Saptadevakula.

A person of very high rank mentioned in the first years of the reign of Udayādityavarman II was Vagīndrapaṇḍita of the *sruk* of Siddhāyatana of Pūrvadiśa. He was a relative on the paternal side of Jayendrapaṇḍita and was apparently his *guru*. He was given the title of *dhuli jeng vrah kamrateng an*.⁹ This title of *dhuli jeng*, "dust of the feet," is the highest title ever granted to a brahman up to that time, a title hitherto reserved to members of the royal family. Vagīndrapaṇḍita seems to have died early in this reign. Jayendrapaṇḍita performed the funeral ceremony and settled the affairs of his charge; "i.e., he regulated the *sruk*, installed and inaugurated a reservoir." As an offering to the memory of his *guru*, he erected a monastery and provided it with slaves (741, D 61–64).

Jayendrapaṇḍita was made *Vrah Guru*, charged with the instruction of the king, who was very young (741, 126, n. 5). He was granted the new title of *Vrah kamrateng an* Śrī Jayendravārman. "The king learned of him all the branches of knowledge, beginning with the sciences, grammar, law and all the other *śāstras*. He celebrated the initiations. He performed great ceremonies and religious fetes, conformably to the secret doctrine" (741, D, 72–74). When Vagīndrapaṇḍita died, he seems to have succeeded to his title *dhuli jeng vrah kamrateng an*.

No more is heard of the families of Pranavātman (Vat Thipdei B), Hyang Pavitrā (Ta Keo B), Bhāsvāminī (Ta Keo A), or Jayendradāsa (Trapang Run).

⁷ Only Śivakaivalya had held the title of *rājapurohita* (p. 82).

⁸ *Khlon* of the *karmantāra* is said to mean, literally, "chief of the funerary rites" (741, 122, n. 2).

⁹ It is not clear of whom Vagīndrapaṇḍita received this title. It seems to have been earlier than Udayādityavarman II.

The only prominent functionaries of this reign mentioned in the inscriptions, in addition to those named above, were the *purohita* Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, the *senāpati* Saṅgrāma (Prea Ngouk) and Vāsudeva and Samkarsha, husband and son of the king's sister (Prasat Prah Kshet). Gunaratnasindu, father of the celebrated Tilakā, of whom we will hear later, was probably a royal paṇḍit during this reign (Ban That), but the current inscriptions do not mention him. Divākara also, who later rose to great prominence, is said by a later inscription to have performed some functions under this reign (742, st. 9–11).

RESTORATION OF DEVASTATED CITIES

Jayendrapaṇḍita seems to have been chiefly occupied, during the first few years of the reign of Udayādityavarman II—as he had been during the reign of his predecessor—in restoring the regions of Bhavālaya, Bhadrapaṭṭana, and Stuk Rmmāṅ,¹⁰ to the west and northwest of the capital, which had been devastated during the wars of Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman. This was a continuation of the work of Śivācārya (pp. 146, 150). Sūryavarman I had granted this land to his (Jayendrapaṇḍita's) family and Udayādityavarman II confirmed the donation of it.

Then the *dhūli jēñ vrah kamraten añ* wished to make a foundation. His Majesty gave a linga of two coudees, with the ensemble of goods constituting the cultural materials of this sanctuary and the ensemble of goods constituting the offerings, charged a dignitary to go and establish another *sruk* named BhadraniKETANA, in the land of Bhadrapaṭṭana, belonging to the *dhūli jēñ vrah kamraten añ*,¹¹ to erect there the linga of two coudees . . . , to give 400 male and female slaves to this god, to build a stone tower, a *valabhi*,¹² to dig a ditch, to construct a causeway, to make fields and gardens (741, D 73-76).

THE FOUNDING OF THE TEMPLE OF BHADRANIKETANA (SDOK KAK THOM), 1052

In 1052 the *dhūli jēñ vrah kamraten añ* founded the *kamraten jagat* Śivalinga at BhadraniKETANA. He informed H. M. Udayādityavarman of it, soliciting that this establishment and these slaves . . . should still constitute a gracious liberality in favor of the *kamraten jagat* Śivalinga of BhadraniKETANA, conferring on him the exclusive right to this establishment and this land—as H. M. Nirvāṇapada had done (to Śadāśiva) by request. . . . The *dhūli jēñ vrah kamraten añ* assigned these slaves and this establishment for the service of the *kamraten jagat* Śivalinga of BhadraniKETANA (741, D 76-85).

There seems to have been another linga founded at this place at this same time. The Sanskrit portion of the inscription of Sdok Kak Thom says:

¹⁰ Stuk Rmmāṅ is definitely identified with the region of Prasat Rolos, srok Svay Chek, province of Sisophon (6, 2, 326; 530, 2, 383; 358, 93, n. 2).

¹¹ Jayendrapaṇḍita.

¹² A *valabhi* signifies a pinnacle or provisional construction on the summit of a house. Here, it probably refers to the "libraries" containing the statues of Brahmā and Harihara (74, 75).

This magnanimous king, in favor of this (*guru*) who wished to make a foundation on his land, installed in the place called BhadraniKETANA this linga (honored with) great offerings. Without talking of this (land) named BhadraniKETANA, . . . (the king) in making to this linga a donation of gold, of precious stones, of elephants, of horses, etc., expressed this vow for it: "May this *Śarva Jayendraparameśvara* project all around it, to dissipate the fogs, its powerful eclat, of a constant splendor, with honor and success, up to the extinction of being" . . . King Udayāditya has given by devotion to Śambhu Jayavarmesvara, in having fixed the measure and placing the boundaries on all sides (741, st. 120-122, 124).

The exact nature of what occurred at BhadraniKETANA at this time and the exact purpose of these two lingas—the *kamraten jagat* Śivalinga founded by Jayendrapaṇḍita and the *Śarva Jayendraparameśvara* (personal linga of Jayendrapaṇḍita) founded by the king—are not very clear. Two other deities were founded here at this time—statues of the ancestors (founders of the cult of the *devarāja*)—(1) a Brahmā in the image of Hiranyadāma¹³ (p. 89) and (2) a Harihara in the joint-image of Śivakaivalya and Śivāśrama.¹⁴ This little temple seems to have been a sort of pantheon of the family of Śivakaivalya, if not a period in the exclusive Śivaic nature of the worship of the *devarāja*, possibly owing to the influence of Mahāyānism and Viṣṇuism and the growing spirit of syncretism (735).

The consecration of this Śivalinga of BhadraniKETANA, doubtless in the little temple of Sdok Kak Thom, where the inscription was found, was the occasion of this most instructive of all the inscriptions of ancient Cambodia. Sdok Kak Thom is in Siam, just over the line established by the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1907, about 25 kilometers northwest of Sisophon. The linga was founded in 1052. The inscription, on a sandstone stele found in the gallery of the enclosure of the temple, was indited probably in the same year, apparently by Jayendrapaṇḍita. This inscription seems to have been the swan-song of the family of Śivakaivalya. Sūryavarman I seems to have taken away its monopoly by appointing a *purohita* of the family of Śaptadevakula. Perhaps its members continued in the service of the *devarāja*, but it had lost its exclusive privilege and is not heard again.

ŚANKARA THE PUROHITA OF THE NEW DEVARAJA

And when Udayādityavarman built his new Vnam Kantāl and installed therein the golden linga, it was the sage Śaṅkarapaṇḍita who was *purohita* of this new *devarāja*, the *Udayādityeśvara*.

The inscription of Lovek says:

Seeing that, in the middle of Jambudvīpa, the dwelling of the gods, arises the mountain of gold [*Hemādri-Meru*], he

¹³ "Hiranyadūma came like a compassionate Brahmā" (741, st. 26).

¹⁴ Probably Śivakaivalya and Śivasoma (pp. 90, 98) united like a Harihara (p. 80).

(Udayādityavarman) made, as by emulation, a mountain of gold [*Svarnādri*] in the center of his city. On the crest of this mountain of gold, in a temple of gold, shining with a celestial brilliance, he erected a linga of Śiva, honored with ablutions at the prescribed times. By this king, the sage Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, versed in all the sciences, was employed as *guru*, in view of the perfect efficacy of his sacrifices. On (this) mountain, the ornament of the three worlds, in the fortunate half of the month, this illustrious sage was instituted priest of (this) linga of gold by this protector of the earth¹⁵ (31, B 23-26).

The new golden (gilded) temple was the Baphuon, next to the Bayon the most important building of Angkor Thom, one of the great specimens of Khmer architecture and decoration, by far the largest one built up to that date, and unfortunately now one of the most poorly preserved.

THE BAPHUON

LOCATION AND CONSTRUCTION

The Baphuon faces the Grand Plaza on the west side, just south of the Royal Enclosure, with which it connects by a postern gate. It is a pyramid-temple of three terraces with a long court in front and surrounded by a wall of sandstone, 125×425 meters, elongated toward the east, to which direction it is oriented. In the front court was a large basin, across which ran a footbridge, probably with *nāga* parapets, like those of Angkor Wat, but which has given way to a crude causeway. A gopura, elongated north-south, opened on to the Grand Plaza and a cross-shaped little edicule cut across the footbridge near the temple, leading down to the pond on either side.

The foundation of the pyramid was 90×120 meters. The *lower stage* was built of laterite, dressed with sandstone and was 3.50 meters high, with stairways unbelievably steep. The gallery at the top of this terrace opened with towered vestibules on each side. These galleries, which extended around the pyramid, had beautiful windows with balusters, false on the outside, true on the court. They were vaulted with sandstone, but to help carry the load the architect buried wooden beams in the masonry above the lintels of the doors and windows, which hastened their ruin. In the yard, 12 meters wide in front and 8 meters on the other sides, in front, were a pair of libraries, both facing the monument. The *middle stage* was 7 meters high, but was cut midway by a platform wide enough to walk around. The galleries resembled those of the lower platform, but were very narrow. A very narrow court separated these galleries from the upper terrace. The *upper stage* was 10 meters high, very steep, but cut by a narrow platform like the middle stage. The upper gallery, all in sandstone, was designed, according to Parmentier,

¹⁵ A further proof that the family of Śivakaivalya had lost its exclusive privilege of serving the *devarāja* is the statement of the inscriptions of Phnom Sandak and Preah Vihear that Udayādityavarman II asked Divākara (then a young brahman) to serve the golden linga of the Baphuon (742, st. 9-11).

to give the illusion of a gallery of sandstone mounted on pillars, by means of a wall through the center, pierced by windows with balusters, separating it into two porticos (284, 167-174; 555, 111-118; 642; 406, 14-16 (plan 10-4; fig. 30).

DECORATION

None of the galleries of the Baphuon loaning themselves to decoration, the sculptors compensated for it on the entrances of the second stage and have covered the walls of it with a multitude of little scenes, separated by a beautiful and extremely varied frame-work. These bas-reliefs have an appearance superior to those of the Bayon, perhaps even to those of the galleries of Angkor Wat, and permit us to appreciate, without otherwise precisizing the date, that the Baphuon is of an epoch when the artists still cared for the execution of the smallest details and when they had already acquired a certain cleverness in the representation of the human body, a quality not yet developed at the time of the decorative works of the Bayon¹⁶ (284, 167). Most of the bas-reliefs of the Baphuon represent scenes from the Indian epics, the *Ramāyāna* and the *Mahābhārata* (fig. 31).

All the decorations of this temple, one of the most perfect of Khmer art, are of remarkable execution; the doors have frames of splendid profile and fine octagonal colonettes; all the lintels are of an excellent facture. . . . The frontons which crown these doors are provided with scrolls with a fine group of figures at the center of the tympan and this is sustained by a curious decoration of the false beam, while the ensemble is framed by a beautiful motif of undulated and bombed body of serpent which ends in remarkable *nāga* heads (642, 7-8).

CENTRAL SANCTUARY

Of the central sanctuary nothing remains. Commaillé thinks the material was carried away or used in other constructions, like that of the galleries (284, 162). Parmentier thinks it was of wood (642, 7-8), and recent excavations have confirmed this view (406, 15). At any rate, it must have been imposing. Parmentier thinks it rose to a height of 50 meters. It was probably covered with gold, or copper, leaf, as the almost contemporary inscription of Lovek speaks of it as a "temple of gold." Chou Ta-kuan, the Chinese traveller who visited Angkor near the end of the thirteenth century, called it a "tower of copper," says it was taller than the Bayon and that its view was very impressive (658, 142).

THE PYRAMID-TEMPLE AND THE NEW ANGKOR

The Baphuon represented a further step in the development of the Khmer all-stone pyramid-temple, with terraces and concentric surrounding galleries. It lacked galleries arched with stone, without wooden beams or central wall, and the central sanctuary in sandstone. But the goal was within reach.

The consecration of the Baphuon marked probably the fourth *Vnaṃ Kantāl* abode of the *devarāja*, at Ang-

¹⁶ When Commaillé's Guide was published (1912), it was thought that the Bayon preceded the Baphuon (737).

kor. The first Central Mount of Angkor, the abode of the *Yaśodhareśvara*, was established by Yaśovarman I on Phnom Bakheng. Rājendravarman II probably built his Vnam Kantāl in light material at the Phimeanakas and stone funerary-towers on the east side of the river, at Mebon and Pre Rup. His inner walled city was the larger rectangle of the Phimeanakas. Jayavarman V transformed the Phimeanakas into stone and built a smaller inner enclosure. If these two earlier cities had an outer palisade and moat, traces of them have not yet been identified. Sūryavarman I built his

Style of the Baphuon. The development of the pyramid-temple continued. At the Baphuon, which gave its name to this Style, the monument was entirely surrounded by two concentric galleries, vaulted in stone, provided with gopuras and corner pavilions.

The decorations do not differ greatly from those of the preceding period. The lintels continue to have vegetable decoration, with the branch bent downward in the center and the *kāla*-head generally mounted by a divinity; but a lower jaw appears on the *kāla*-head. Lintels with scenes reappear. The scenes, from the



FIG. 30. Baphuon: single pyramid temple.

Vnam Kantāl, possibly in wood, on the site of the present Bayon and gave his city somewhat the dimensions and character it has today, without the outer walls and moat. Udayādityavarman II erected his Vnam Kantāl at the Baphuon, just inside Sūryavarman I's enclosure, but far outside of that of Jayavarman V. Coedès has suggested that this city centered at the Baphuon might have had its present boundaries (207, 15). But this would not have been a symmetrical enclosure. Parmentier thinks the boundaries were those of the present Angkor Thom on the south and east, but were more extensive on the north and west (plan 18).

THE STYLE OF THE BAPHUON

The art of the middle and the second half of the eleventh century belonged to what is known as the

sacred books of India, occupy the entire lintel. The colonettes do not show any new development. The border of the fronton becomes simply the undulating body of the *nāga*, the *kāla*-head having disappeared from the extremities. Bas-reliefs appear at the Baphuon, sculptured on the walls for the first time; but they are small square or rectangular compositions, independent of each other. The scenes are taken from the legend of Vishnu, but the treatment is local (367) (fig. 31).

Human sculptures in the round differ little from those of the previous epoch. Both men and women are nude above the waist. The skirts of the women, which are entirely pleated, descend to the knees and are high in the back. It has a drape in front in the form of a fish-tail. The coiffure is dome-shaped on the back of

the head, with hair falling all around. The *dvārapālas*, in half-relief, are generally armed with a lance, but sometimes have a hand on a club at the side.

Lions are rare at this period. They are beginning to stand erect on their hind feet. Neither the bull, the elephant nor the *nāga* in balustrade are found during this period, although it is believed that the footbridge which once ran across a basin in front of the monument originally had a *nāga* parapet (301, 113–115; 284, 163).

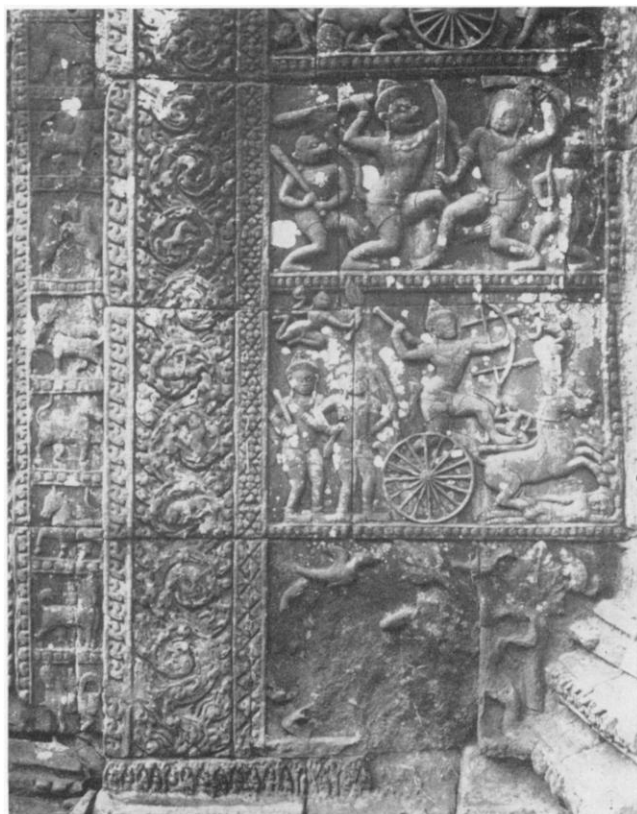


FIG. 31. Baphuon: bas-relief.

WEST MEBON

Among the monuments which Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat consider as belonging to the Style of the Baphuon and contemporary with or following that monument in the reign of Udayādityavarman II are the West Mebon and Prasat Khna (301, 123; 698, 79, 84).

The West Mebon, called Kuk Mebon by Lunet de Lajonquière, was located on an artificial island in the center of the West Baray and was approached from the east side by a causeway. It was a circular island 150 or 200 meters in diameter, in the center of which was an enclosure about 70 meters square, surrounded by a sandstone wall 2 or 3 meters high. This wall was rounded on top and was surmounted by a chaperon of pike-heads and little niches containing personages. It was ornamented with porticos and little towers, three on each side (653), covered with bas-reliefs picturing animals and scenes. Inside the wall was a basin of

water. The causeway extended to the center of the basin, where it ended in a cross, at the center of which are found the ruins of the foundation of a sanctuary which Parmentier thinks was of light construction (6, 3, 82–95; 530, 3, 130–132; 284, 225–227; 555, 189–190; 653).

While no inscription has been found, there is little doubt that the monument was dedicated to Vishṇu. On the esplanade where the sanctuary was located was found a slab with three standing figures, which Moura thought were three statues of Vishṇu (600, 2, 372), and which Parmentier thinks is a Vishṇu between a man and a woman (653). Chou Ta-kuan said there was at the East Baray a bronze Buddha from which water flowed continuously (658, 144). The discovery, in 1936, of an enormous bronze statue of a reclining Vishṇu at West Mebon (335, 611), leads to think that the Chinese visitor made an error in direction. In a newly-discovered inscription of Preah Khan (206), Jayavarman VII boasted of the sanctity of his new city, Jayaśrī, because of the proximity of three holy waters consecrated respectively to Buddha (North Baray), Śiva (East Baray), and Vishṇu (West Baray).

PREAH VIHEAR¹⁷

Parmentier thinks the principal sanctuary of Preah Vihear, which Yaśovarman erected in light material, was rebuilt in sandstone during this period. He thinks its decoration belongs to the style of the Baphuon. Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat agree, but place it anterior to the Baphuon (301, 129). This sanctuary was a redented square prasat, with doors, preceded by porches, on all sides. Its tower was a staged pyramid crowned by a coronation-stone in lotus. Judging by the size of the base and of the coronation stone, it must have been imposing. Lunet de Lajonquière thinks it rose to some twenty meters above the esplanade (530, 2, 175–176).

Apparently before this sanctuary was completed, a geological fault or some similar catastrophe of nature, threw down its upper structure and demolished gopura III.

VAT PHU

The anterior hall in front of the ancient *cella* is believed to have been erected about this time. It was thrown down by the catastrophe referred to above, and the *cella* was rebuilt after the accident. Later, the Laotians established a Hīnayānist bonzery there.

THE REVOLT OF KAMVAU, 1066

In the later years of the reign of Udayādityavarman II, a revolt broke out in or near the capital. It was headed by “a very illustrious emissary, clever favorite of the king, valiant hero by the name of Kamvau, whom the king had made general in the army” (Prea Ngouk—

¹⁷ Except when otherwise specified, this description follows Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Classique* (656, 1, 270–342).

SAṄGRAMA'S GIFT TO THE DEVARĀJA, 1067

Having put down these revolts, Saṅgrāma returned to the capital and offered the captives and spoils of war to King Udayādityavarman II. The king, moved by his fidelity, asked Saṅgrāma to keep them: "All these things which you have conquered, deign to keep them: while they are my treasures, they are certainly yours. What makes me forever happy are the striking proofs of your fidelity and not such riches" (32, D st. 24-26).

But Saṅgrāma prevailed upon the king to accept these spoils as a gift to the golden image (of the *devarāja*) under the vocable of *Udayādityeśvara*, which he had just established in his new "golden temple" (the Baphuon): "If I find grace before you, who are grace itself, deign to make homage of this booty to your invisible me, which is Īśvara lodged in a linga of gold, and my fidelity will have born its fruit" (*ibid.*, st. 27).

INSCRIPTIONS

There were several inscriptions of the reign of Udayādityavarman II, some of great importance (map 13).

The Sanskrit stele inscription of Sdok Kak Thom is one of the longest and the most important in Cambodian epigraphy. It gives the genealogy of a family of brahmans who exercised the hereditary functions of *purohita* of the *devarāja* from 802 to 1052, the probable date of the inscription. It commemorates the foundation of a linga at Bhadrāniketana, probably the temple where the stele was found (358; 6, 2, 250-275).

The stone plate inscription of Phum Da, dated 1054, in Sanskrit and Khmer, seems to come from a cavern. It commemorates the erection of a Śivalinga by an ascetic. The Khmer part mentions a Dharmadāsa, "Chief of the army" (47). The undated inscription of Pong Prah Thvar, or Śambhugriha, "grotto of Śiva," on Phnom Kulen, commemorates the foundation of a spring by a hermit named Dharmadāsa. The paleography is of this period (123).

A Sanskrit stele-inscription of 122 stanzas, from Prasat Khna (IV),²² dated about 1060, commemorates the gift by Udayādityavarman II of a golden Lakṣmī, insignia of the carrier of the royal fans, in honor of a family whose members had performed this function for thirteen successive kings, from Jayavarman II to Śūryavarman I (see p. 143). The servant of the thirteenth king to whom the gift was presented, was one Vagīśa. This inscription seems to illustrate how some of the most familiar titles, were transmitted apparently after the death of the holder—to another person not necessarily of the same family. In this king's service was an eminent sage named Sāla, who, because of his pure wisdom, was given the name of Jayendrapaṇḍita (C st. 85). His favorite disciple, named Phalapriyā, received the name of Kavīndrapaṇḍita (D st. 106). He was a

celebrated poet and composed this inscription in Sanskrit verse (222).

The Sanskrit stele inscription of Prea Ngouk, or Preaṅ Nok, a Buddhist temple near the Bayon, commemorates the victories and pious foundation of Saṅgrāma. It begins with the genealogy of this hero, whose ancestors served the kings of Cambodia, beginning with Jayavarman II; but the inscription is too badly damaged to be certain of the connections. Its last date is 1066 (32; 59).

A wall inscription of the Prasat Preaṅ Khset, a little to the northwest of Angkor, in Sanskrit, relates the restoration, in 988s (1066), by one Saṃkārsha, son of Vāsudeva Dvijendravalabha and a sister of King Udayārkaavarman, of a linga which had been given to Saṃkārsha by King Śūryavarman I and had been broken by Kamvau during his rebellion. The inscription records that the next year 989s (1067) Saṃkārsha added to the linga a *caturmūrti*, composed of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha (the latter of whom had been substituted for Śiva), the whole consecrated to Śiva (33). This inscription teaches us that, during the rebellion of Kamvau, there was fighting in the vicinity of the capital. It suggests that the revolt may have had a religious motive. It also indicates, by referring to Udayādityavarman II by a name other than his posthumous name, that he was still living in 989s (1067).

UDAYĀDITYAVARMAN II SUCCEEDED BY HIS BROTHER, 1066

As we have seen, the inscriptions of Prea Ngouk (32, D st. 15) and Prasat Preaṅ Khset (33, st. 2) indicate that Udayādityavarman was reigning in 988 *śāka* (=A.D. 1066) and the latter inscription (st. 3) gives the date 989 *śāka* (=A.D. 1067) while referring to that king by a name other than his posthumous name. An inscription of the next reign, Prasat Sralau, says that Harshavarman came to the throne in 987 *śāka* (=A.D. 1065) (223, st. 2).

These dates can only be reconciled on the presumption, suggested by Coedès (223, 222), that the inscription of Prea Ngouk and Prasat Preaṅ Khset gave a current year, while that of Prasat Sralau gives a revolved year. This would make the date of the accession of Harshavarman III in 1066. As to the use of his name, Udayādityavarman II may have abdicated in 1066 and still have been living in 1067.

The posthumous name of Udayādityavarman II has not come to light. As we have seen above, after he had ceased to reign, he was referred to in the inscriptions as Udayārkaavarman, which, however, is not a posthumous name.

THE ACCESSION OF HARSHAVARMAN III, 1066

The reign of Udayādityavarman II as we have seen, was a troubled one. Those of his immediate successors, for nearly half a century, seem to have constituted a

²² For inscription of Prasat Khna (III), see p. 166.

period of almost incessant warfare, apparently one of division, during which a new dynasty came to power.

Udayādityavarman II was succeeded by his brother, Harshavarman, apparently in 1066. The new king was consecrated by the sage, Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, who served as *purohita* for him, as he had for his two predecessors. The family of Saptadevakula seems to have succeeded that of Śivakaivalya in furnishing *purohitas* to the king.²³

Harshavarman III was a peace-loving king and in this policy he was undoubtedly supported by his aged and venerable minister, Śaṅkarapaṇḍita. An inscription (Lovek) says: "To the people who consumed formerly the fever produced by the devouring ardor of Kali, this Prince, who united in himself to an incomparable degree, the essences of all the means of success, procured repose by strictly observing the duties of the four castes. This master of the earth, with unequalled majesty in this entire earth, having acquired as *purohita* the venerable Śaṅkara, obtained, to his extreme satisfaction, in the person of this sage . . . , the highest realization of all one desires in view of this world and the other" (31, 13 st. 30-31).

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARSHAVARMAN III'S REIGN

Three ²⁴ important inscriptions are ascribed to this reign, but they do not give us much information about Harshavarman III.

The stele inscription of Palhal, found at a village of that name in the Residence of Pursat in southern Cambodia, dated 991 *śāka* (A.D. 1069), commemorates the erection of a Tribhuvaneśvara. It pretends to trace the genealogy of the founders back to the time of Jayavarman II. The inscription is not very clear, but the family seems to be the same as that of Saṅgrāma, whose genealogy is given in the inscription of Prea Ngouk. Coedès, who edited the inscription, says,

The inscription of Palhal gives us a new example of *vaṃśā* where names of purely Sanskrit and Brahmanic allure are mixed with native names. As Barth has already remarked, the Brahmins of ancient Cambodia do not appear to have been very scrupulous in the matter of caste. It is thus that we see this family of Palhal furnish pell mell a cornac (animal trainer), some concubines of the king, an artisan and a priest of the linga of Lingapura (130; 254).

This inscription shows that Prithivīnarendra, mentioned in the inscription of Prea Ngouk, was a great official of the period of Jayavarman II and appears to have played an important role in the pacification of the country.

The inscription of Lovek celebrates the foundation, by Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, of a linga of Śiva in a "temple of

gold" in the Dviradadesa (the region of Lovek). It gives the genealogy of this family, to which Sūryavarman I claimed to belong, from Punnāgavarman, founder of the village of Saptadevakula. Beginning with the chief of the fan-carriers of Jayavarman II, this family furnished queens, priests, inspectors of qualities and defects, *hotars* and *gurus* for kings down to Harshavarman III. Among its most illustrious members may be mentioned Prāna, queen of Rājendrarvarman I, the poet and sage Kavīśvarapaṇḍita, who served kings from Jayavarman V to Sūryavarman I, and Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, *purohita* of three kings and probably author of the inscription. It is undated, but of the reign of Harshavarman III (31).

The inscription of Prasat Sralau, near Svay Chek, is undated, but its last date is 1071. It eulogizes Harshavarman, whom it says came to the throne in 987 *śāka* (1065-1066). Harshavarman had a servant, Santānaka, of the family of Vrai Kanlong, who received from the king the hereditary name of Narapatindravarman. His city, Vreah Damnap (Prasat Sralau), which had been founded by the Senāpati Virendrarvarman in the reign of Jayavarman V, and had become deserted during the reign of Udayādityavarman II, was restored by the order of Harshavarman III. Narapatindravarman founded there a linga of two coudees and images of Viṣṇu and Bhava (Śiva). The Khmer text gives some genealogical details of the family of Vrai Kanlong. Narapatindralakṣmī, younger sister of the first Narapatindravarman, had been the favorite queen of Sūryavarman I. The Khmer text gives 987 *śāka* as the date of the accession of Harshavarman III. In 993 *śāka* (1071), the younger Narapatindravarman (nephew of Narapatindralakṣmī), as head of the family, became chief of the royal magazines. This was probably the occasion of the inscription (223).

FOUNDATIONS, RELIGIONS

The foundations mentioned by the inscriptions of the early years of the reign of Harshavarman III included a linga under the vocable of Tribhuvaneśvara at Palhal; a linga of Śiva at Lovek; and a linga of three coudees and images of Viṣṇu and Bhava at Prasat Sralau. The *caturmūrti*—Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Buddha—established at Prasat Preah Khset, probably belonged to the reign of his predecessors.

The inscription of Samrong, just north of the north-east corner of Angkor Thom, says that in the last year of Harshavarman III's reign, purchases of land and foundations were made in that vicinity, under the direction of the royal pandit Yogīśvarapaṇḍita and that the king granted lands and redevances, mostly in the name of Bhadreśvara, god of Lingapura, and ordered the erection of a Śivalinga, a Nārāyaṇa and a Bhagavati, which the enemy had pulled up at Stuk Sram (6, 2, 391).

²³ There is no evidence that this family furnished any other *purohita* than Śaṅkarapaṇḍita.

²⁴ The inscription of Prasat Preah Khset gives 989s (1067) as a last date, but its data all belong to the reign of Udayādityavarman II.

It will thus be seen that, while other gods are honored, the foundations and inscriptions of this reign are all Śivaite. The destruction of these monuments seems to indicate that this revolution, like the preceding one, had an anti-Śivaite character.

END OF HARSHAVARMAN III'S REIGN, 1080

The peace,²⁵ so ardently desired by Harshavarman III, seems to have been denied him. His reign, according to Coedès, ended in 1080.²⁶ The manner of

²⁵ The trouble in Champa, mentioned by Maspero (576, 145) and Chatterjee (113, 185), belongs to the preceding reign (see p. 168). It was erroneously attributed to Harshavarman III's reign by Finot's misreading of a date (355, 943-946). See also 535, 155-157.

²⁶ Coedès says the belief that Harshavarman III reigned until

his demise is not known, but his reign seems to have ended in revolt. A prince named Jayavarman, apparently son of a vassal king north of the Daṅgkrek Mountains, is said to have succeeded him in 1080, but he did not come to the capital immediately and war seems to have continued between the rival families. During the last year of Harshavarman III's reign he erected several idols that had been thrown down and gave them lands and redevances. The fact that his successor later rereected these same idols, which had been thrown down again, seems to indicate that the strife had a religious character, at least on the part of the masses.

Harshavarman III received the posthumous name of Śadāśivapada (6, 2, 391).

1090 is due to Aymonier's misreading of a date in the inscription of Samrong (278, 258, n. 4; 372).

10. JAYAVARMAN VI AND DHARANĪNDRAVARMAN I (1080-1113)

THE ORIGIN OF THE DYNASTY OF MAHĪDHARAPURA

According to the genealogical data drawn by Coedès from the unedited stele of Phnom Rung, of the reign of Sūryavarman II, and the stele of Ta Prohm, of the reign of Jayavarman VII, the *vaṃśa* of Mahīdharapura began with Hiraṇyavarman, native of Kshitindragrāma, who was "king" at Mahidharapura. The name Mahīdharavarman has appeared in the reigns of earlier kings of Kambujadesa, always in the north.¹ Jayavarman appears to have been a vassal prince from the upper Mun valley near Phimai, as most of the early inscriptions of his reign come from that region (143) (map 14).

Hiraṇyavarman's wife was Hiraṇyalakṣmī. They had at least three sons and a daughter. The elder son, Dharaṇīndravarman, chose the religious life. Jayavarman was the second. The youngest is known to history only as the Yuvarāja (Crown Prince). The daughter became the grandmother of Sūryavarman II (see genealogical table, p. 186). It is to be noted that the founders of this dynasty did not claim descent from the preceding dynasty of Sūryavarman I, nor, apparently, from any other line of Khmer kings.²

Jayavarman seems to have been an ambitious prince and his ambition apparently was fired by a young brahman named Divākara whom he met early in his career. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, Jayavarman seems to have raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed himself king in the north.

¹ The inscription of Prasat Kravan, 921 (p. 176), speaks of a prince of this name as offering serfs from Bhīmapura. This noble of high rank (*kamrateng an*) seems to have been one of the partisans of Jayavarman IV. Another nobleman of the same name and rank is mentioned in the inscription of Preah Vihear (III) of 1028 (p. 166).

² It is not until Jayavarman VII that we find a king of this dynasty claiming descent from an earlier king of Cambodia.

THE INSCRIPTION OF NOM VAN, 1082

The first appearance of Jayavarman VI as king is found in an inscription of the temple of Nom Van, near the present Korat, which Coedès dates in 1082. This inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer, on the doorpillar of the sanctuary, was a royal order of Jayavarman, who is called king, addressed to many high civil and religious dignitaries, directing them to supervise the monasteries (*devāśrama*) at Ratnapura (Nom Van). It was addressed particularly to one Lakṣmīndravarman, who seems to have been the author of the inscription, and apparently also to one Bhūpendravarman.³ Other notables mentioned in the inscription were: Rājendravarman, general of the Army of the Centre; Kavīndrālaya, Preceptor; Yogīśvarapaṇḍita, Vagīndrapaṇḍita, Śivagupta, and Nirvāṇa, classed as *bhagavans* (chaplains) (6, 2, 110-113). Some of these notables will be mentioned in later inscriptions; so, it appears, Jayavarman had strong support from the beginning of his reign.

This inscription mentions Vimayāpura (Phimai), which may suggest that the temple at that place was in existence in 1082. The upper Mun valley seems to have been undergoing an architectural development at this time, following the reconquest and organization of that region by Sūryavarman I. Of the five temples located in what is now Siam, which Parmentier considers as truly Khmer, three—Phimai, Nom Van, and Phnom Rung—were located in this region (636) and were first heard of about this time. Parmentier thinks these three temples were built during the reign of Sūryavarman I (631, 172).

THE CORONATION OF JAYAVARMAN VI

Little is known about Jayavarman VI before he became king and there is much uncertainty about his

³ Coedès mentions two unpublished inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman VI—one near Angkor and one in the extreme south (274, 197, n. 2).

coronation. In the first place, the date is uncertain. An inscription of Preah Vihear says of it, according to Aymonier: "Then the brahman made sacrifices and numerous donations of goods, beasts, bowls, ewers, gold plate, cuspidors and other sacred utensils; he had basins dug, gave slaves to the brahmans and made offerings to all the gods. For his part, King Jayavarman made pilgrimages and adored the god Campeśvara (Vishṇu)" (6, 2, 214). Aymonier thought this took place about 1090. But Coedès now says that Jayavarman became king in 1080. Perhaps he was not in possession of the capital at first and was not crowned for some time after his accession.

Coedès, apparently basing himself on the location of the inscriptions, thinks Jayavarman VI may never have reigned at the capital (278, 259). The inscription of Ta Prohm—a century later—says: "Having obtained the supreme royalty in the Holy City of Yaśodharapura, King Jayavarmadeva, conqueror of the mass of his enemies, planted pillars of glory in all directions, up to the sea, and fixed the residence of his race at Mahādhara-pura" (157, st. 13). Perhaps he gained possession of the capital, was crowned there, and was either driven out or went back to rule at Mahādhara-pura.

This consecration—whenever it was performed, and it seems to have been early, but not until after 1082—was performed by Divākara. For this purpose he was made *Vraḥ Guru* and received the title of Divākara-panḍita. As insignia of his rank, the king gave him a gold palanquin, a white parasol and carriers for both. The king charged him "to distribute ritual objects in precious metal, animals and slaves to the principal sanctuaries of the country and to perform various works there" (742, 137).

THE CHIEF MINISTERS AND DIGNITARIES OF JAYAVARMAN VI

Jayavarman VI's chief adviser was the *Vraḥ Guru* Divākara-panḍita, who seems to have been the guiding-star of the early destinies of the house of Mahādhara-pura. This distinguished brahman was a native of Vnur Dnang in the district of Sadyā,⁴ belonging to the caste or corporation of the *karmāntara*. As has been seen, Udayādityavarman II had chosen him, as a very young man,⁵ to serve the *devarāja* at the dedication of the Baphuon—and Harshavarman III had apparently made him *ācārya pradhāna*. Jayavarman VI had made him *Vraḥ Guru* and had been crowned by him and accompanied that king on his visits to all the holy places of the kingdom (742, 136–137, st. 8–19).

Jayavarman VI had another famous pandit whom he trusted with important missions and charges. This was the brilliant young sage, Subhadra Mūrdhaśiva, member of a *matrivamśa* whose genealogy is given in the inscription of Ban Theat. To this young brahman

Jayavarman VI gave successively the post of "inspector of religious establishments and arbiter of disputes among the nobility in religious as well as in civil matters" (357, sarga III, st. 25). He was given the title of Bhupendrapaṇḍita and was probably the Bhupendrarvarman of the inscription of Nom Van.

The history of Cambodia has many notable examples of the high social position accorded to women. One of the most interesting of these women, if we are to accept the testimony of the inscription of Ban That, was Tilakā, mother of Subhadra.

His feminine line had for ornament (*tilakā*) a woman named Tilakā, . . . As a child, sparkling with the fire thrown by the gems of her jewels, standing in the middle of the circles of her brilliant companions like the constellations, although her brilliance was dimmed by the surrounding dust, she was the firmament of the earth. Adolescent, she acquired not only the superior beauty associated with perfect conduct, but also a high position worthy of her race, with the esteem of the greatest families. The first of the royal masters, the most eminent savants, rendered homage to this illustrious young woman. "She is Vāgiśvarī Bhagavati," they proclaimed and they awarded her in con-course jewels to profusion. This declaration rendered her celebrated in the world; she carried thereafter the name of Vāgiśvarī Bhagavati. In considering the superhuman things she accomplished, no one doubted her divine nature (357, sarga III, st. 1-5).

This family was from the north and may have flourished at the court of Jayavarman VI before he was crowned at the capital.

Other notable dignitaries of this reign are mentioned by the inscriptions of these and the following reigns.

WARS WITH THE FAMILY OF HARSHAVARMAN III

There is reason to think that Jayavarman came to the throne of Cambodia as a result of a conflict with his predecessor or with the pretenders after the death of his predecessor, that this conflict continued throughout his reign, and that unnamed claimants of the family of Harshavarman III continued the struggle in the south until the coming of Sūryavarman II. The following reasons, first pointed out by Coedès (143, 299–301), suggest such a probability: (1) The important inscriptions of Harshavarman III—Palhal, Lovek, Samrong, Prasat Trau—are near Angkor or further south, while those in the name of Jayavarman VI and his brother, Dharaṇindravarman I, or relating to their foundations—Nom Van, Phimai, Vat Phu, and Phnom Sandak—are in the north. (2) The dynasty of Jayavarman VI did not claim any connection with that of Harshavarman III. (3) The fact that Jayavarman VI ruled before his elder brother seems to indicate that the succession was not regular. (4) The inscriptions of Ban That (pp. 187, 193) and Vat Phu (p. 193) indicate that Sūryavarman II, successor of Dharaṇindravarman I, achieved the unity of Cambodia by conquering two kings, one of whom was his grand-uncle, Dharaṇindravarman I. The other seems to be the unnamed claimant of Harshavarman III's line.

⁴ The locations of these two places are unknown (742, 137).

⁵ See p. 171, n. 15.

ARCHITECTURE: NOM VAN

The three monuments located in the valley of the Se Mun—Nom Van, Phimai, and Phnom Rung—came to notice about this time, but were probably built a little earlier. As we have seen, Parmentier assigns them to the reign of Sūryavarman I. Their epigraphy (136) and decorations (301, 130), seem to suggest a slightly later date. They were probably built late in the reign of Sūryavarman I or in that of one of his immediate successors. They are described at this time because, with the valley in which they were located, they came into prominence with the new dynasty of Mahādhara-pura.

Prasat Nom Van, or Phnom Van, was certainly built before 1082, because an inscription of that date was carved on one of its door-pillars. This monument consisted of a central sanctuary, surrounded by a nearly square enclosure of galleries, a rectangular laterite wall and a wide moat. An avenue of approach, 330 meters long, led to a basin of 300×600 meters. All were oriented toward the east.

The central sanctuary was of grey and red sandstone, and was square and open to the four cardinal points. Each door was preceded by a little porch. The sanctuary was connected in front, by a long passageway, with an elongated nave. The gallery enclosure, of sandstone, was about 50 meters on a side. It was cut by a gopura at the center of each side and had a square tower at each corner. The galleries opened only toward the center, on which side they were supported by square stone pillars. This kind of gallery is thought to have been designed to shelter pilgrims (631, 163). Their vaults and decorations seem never to have been completed. In general, the monument is unfinished and irregular. Libraries seem to be lacking and the gopuras of the north and south galleries are in the center of the gallery, instead of at the axis of the central sanctuary (6, 2, 107–111; 530, 2, 258–265).

The door-pillars of the sanctuary are covered with inscriptions, in both Sanskrit and Khmer, of which one has been mentioned.

THE TEMPLE OF PHIMAI

The city of Phimai, or Vimay (probably the ancient Bhīmapura), is located on the right bank of the Se Mun, about forty-five miles below the modern city of Korat. The river here turns toward the south. A branch—or, rather, an old bed of the river, almost dry part of the year—turns off to the right and runs around a strip of land, making a wet weather island of it. On this strip, the city and temple were located. Although the terrain is flat and the landscape lacks in beauty, this was one of the most beautiful temples of Ancient Cambodia. It has been visited and described by Aymonier (6, 2, 118–130), Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 2, 278–298), and others.

The fact that for some time the upper Mun valley

has been a part of Siam and did not fall into the hands of the French—whose flair for archeology is undeniable—has prevented this temple from receiving the attention it deserves. Those who have visited it insist that it must have been one of the finest specimens of Khmer architecture.

The monument consisted of the central sanctuary and its accessory buildings; three enclosures, the two inner ones concentric, and three non-religious buildings called “palaces.” Contrary to the usual plan, it was oriented to the south. This may be due partly to the river on the east side; but Lunet de Lajonquière suggests (530, 2, xx) that the monument may have been intended to face the great capital, Yaśodharapura. It should be borne in mind that this city was supposed to have been for centuries the seat of a Khmer viceroy and perhaps at times a northern capital for kings.

CENTRAL SANCTUARY

The central sanctuary was a square tower, open on all sides (p. 152), with a double portico for each door. At the south, it was connected, by a long narrow entrance-hall, with a nave. The interior of the sanctuary was plain. A cornice ran around the walls, about 5 meters from the floor, destined to receive a wooden ceiling, of which of course nothing remains. Its corbelled vault designed a truncated pyramid on the outside, rising to 8 meters above the cornice. The pyramid was either unfinished or has been destroyed. Aymonier thinks it must have been 75 or 80⁶ meters high. It rose vertically to 10 meters, then expanded and became a pyramid resembling the towers of Angkor Wat and the later Siamese *prang* (fig. 32). “The principal body of the sanctuary, very finished and well conserved, frees itself exteriorly from an elegant moulded foundation and spreads out at the cornice, in order, by the play of projecting and reentrant angles, by the lowering of the gradins, by the profusion of the corner antefixes, to give to the ensemble of the upper part this silhouette of elongated cupola which characterizes similar parts of the monuments of Angkor and appears to have been the model on which the modern Siamese *prang* was formed” (530, 2, 285).

DECORATIONS

The decorations of this monument were excellent. Aymonier attempts the following description of the frontons:

The beautiful sculptures of this tower, so remarkable, so careful of execution, seem to date it from the epoch of Angkor Wat. The fronton of the south door, or door of honor, represents Buddha, seated on the dragon, surrounded by numerous personages: assistants, musicians and dancers. At the east door, a Brahmanic divinity with three heads and eight arms surrounded by some ten adorers dance on

⁶ No tower of the Angkor group was 75 or 80 meters high. Angkor Wat is estimated at 65; Ta Keo at 70.

two corpses or persons lying feet to feet on an elephant. At the west, the sculptures represent a majestic personage standing, covered with a rich mantle, carrying royal insignia, surrounded by musicians, dancers and a numerous crowd who respectfully offer him presents. Over the north door, a Brahmanic divinity who occupies the center of the composition is flanked by four other gods, similar but smaller, represented seated, with three heads and six arms; they are surrounded by dancers and adorers (6, 2, 120).

Scenes representing cosmic myths, which were first seen on lintels in the seventh century and which covered the entire lintel in the eleventh,⁷ appeared for the last time at Phimai (301, 54). Le May



FIG. 32. Phimai: principal tower.

(520, fig. 71 and 72) figures two Buddhist lintels with scenes.

Many statues of the Buddha have been found at Phimai. Coedès (177, 27–28, pl. xx) and, after him, Le May 520, 67, pl. 64) have described and pictured a Buddha seated on the *nāga*, which may have had some influence on later Cambodian art (fig. 33). A stylized Buddhapāda, or foot-print of the Buddha, has been found at Phimai.

AGE OF MONUMENT

Several inscriptions have been found at this monument. Aymonier speaks of an inscription on a pillar of the south door of the central sanctuary and three

⁷ They began with Sambor Prei-Kuk S 1 (301, 47, pl. XXIV, 89) and covered the entire lintel in the Bayon (301, 54, pl. XXVI, 92).

on the walls of the gallery of the inner enclosure. According to Aymonier, they were short and difficult to decipher (6, 2, 122–123). Coedès translated an important inscription carved on the pillar of the south gopura of the second enclosure. This inscription, whose last date was 1112, seems to indicate that the image of a Mahāyānist deity was dedicated probably in that gopura, in 1108, the second year of the reign of Dha-



FIG. 33. Phimai: Buddha on *nāga*.

raṇīndravarman I. This does not necessarily imply that some parts of the temple might not have been built at an earlier date. Mme de Coral Rémusat, following Stern, assigns the monument to this period, on the basis of its decorations (301, 130); but this, too, does not mean that some parts of the monument might not have been earlier.

Bhīmapura, which is believed to be the ancient name of Phimai, appeared in history in the reign of Īśānavarman I of Chenla, whose conquests are believed to have extended to this region. No building now standing dates back so far; but near the north gate of the first enclosure is a modern pagoda which seems to have been established on the site of an ancient sanctuary

in a rectangular enclosure, about 25×40 meters, oriented to the east and surrounded by a crude laterite wall, with chaperon, about a meter high. Nearby, are found stones of ablution and a somasūtra, showing that a linga had been worshipped there (530, 2, xxvi, 278–298; 6, 2, 118–124).

As has been said above, Phimai seems to have been a capital of this region during the period of Khmer supremacy and at that time was doubtless the most important Khmer city in what is now Siam, except possibly Lophburi. Sūryavarman I's interest in the north and the ancient representations of the Buddha found at Phimai lead to the opinion that the transformation from a Śivaite prasat to a Mahāyānist sanctuary may have taken place during his reign.

PRASAT PHNOM RUNG

As the name indicates, this is located on a hill. This hill rises about 170 meters above the surrounding country, across the Dangkreng Mountains from Banteay Chhmār, on the highway between the capital and Phimai. Although the hill is rocky and sparsely covered with coniferous trees and scant vegetation, the lonely sight is not without a certain grandeur and the monument and its decorations are praised for their exquisite beauty. In its lonely grandeur, its position on the slope of a hill, its lay-out in successive courts instead of concentric enclosures, its series of stairways and causeways, with their mile-posts and nāga-balustrades and in other respects, it bears a close resemblance to the monuments of the latter part of the reign of Sūryavarman I—to which period it probably belongs—and especially to Phnom Chisor.

The monument consists of (1) a central sanctuary, with annexes, (2) an enclosure of galleries, (3) a series of terraces, stairways, and causeways of access, and (4) some edifices outside the enclosure. It is oriented to the east.

The central sanctuary was a redented square of red sandstone, open to the four cardinal points, by doors with porticos. It was preceded by a long passage hall which ended in a vaulted nave. This passage hall was lighted by ornamental doors in the middle of the sides—a disposition unusual in Khmer art (530, 2, xxiii). The library, on the south (right, p. 100) side of the enclosure, was of blackish limonite, preceded by an entrance hall in cross, which occupied the whole front. It was lighted on the south side by windows without balusters.

The decorations of this monument are said to be among the best of Khmer art. Lunet de Lajonquière praises especially the frontons and lintels with scenes. A decoration of a façade of the passage-hall of the central sanctuary, he says is “one of the most remarkable productions of Cambodia art.” He continues: “All the means of ornamental Cambodian art are employed here: mouldings of plinths, of cornices, of door-frames, pilasters with ornamental faces, octagonal colonettes

ringed with mouldings, decorative lintels, frontons whose body of *nāgas* design the undulating ogive, framing scenes treated in bas-reliefs, friezes, antefixes, etc.” (530, 2, 205).

Aymonier thought this monument was Buddhist and assigned it to Sūryavarman I. Coedès has used and commented on a Sanskrit inscription from this monument dating from the reign of Sūryavarman II, which gives important data on the genealogy of that king (143).

One of the great inventions or discoveries of Cambodian architecture—the cruciform terrace—seems to have appeared for the first time at Phnom Rung, or perhaps this terrace belongs to a later period. The general character and purposes of these terraces will be discussed later (p. 184). Here, we will simply quote the description given by Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 2, 211):

The space included between the landing point of departure for the stairways, and the beginning of the causeway is filled by one of those cross-shaped terraces so common in Cambodian constructions and which appear to have been destined to cross basins full of water. The causeway itself and the transversal terrace are, in this work, sustained by sandstone flagstones, forming a sort of foot-path to the causeway and to the transversal terrace, supported themselves on one hand on the sustaining wall and on the other by these pillars, in balcony; a balustrade formed by bodies of *nāgas* posed on the steps, designs the contour of this work and terminates the elegant decoration of it.

VAT PHU

According to a Khmer inscription, in 1102, a king with the aid of his Holy *Guru*, erected some statues of divinities at Vat Phu in honor of Bhadreśvara (6, 2, 163–164). Parmentier thinks the anterior hall in front of the ancient sanctuary belongs to the period between the Baphuon and Angkor Wat and was probably erected by Jayavarman VI at the beginning of the twelfth century. He also thinks the series of *nāga*-balustrades and mile-stones received their final form during this period (614, 30–31).

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF JAYAVARMAN VI

The pillar-inscription of Nom Van has already been mentioned. It says that Jayavarman was king in 1082 (p. 178).

The stele-inscription of Kuk Trapeang Srok (Cong Prei, Kompong Cham), in Khmer, bears 1073 as a last date, but is probably of the reign of Jayavarman VI, as Harshavarman III is designated by his posthumous name and the authors of the inscription were descendants of the *hotar* of that monarch. This inscription gives the genealogy of a sacerdotal family whose members had served kings apparently since Jayavarman II. One—Vindudeva—was *purohita* at Jalāṅgeśvara (=Preah Nang). During the reign of Sūryavarman I, Kaviśvarapaṇḍita was connected with the Pañcarātra sect and was *guru* of the hermitages of Īśvarapura

(Banteay Srei), Śivapura (Phnom Bayang), Śūryaparvata (Phnom Chisor), and Jalēṅgeśvara, and later was *guru* and adviser of the king, with rank in the *karmāntara*. His grandson, Vagiśvarapaṇḍita was *hotar* of Harshavarman III and *guru* of the queen, and his brother, Divākaraṇḍita, had rank in the *karmāntara*. Several foundations of this family are mentioned. The founders of this inscription were descendants of Vagiśvarapaṇḍita. This inscription is "storied," the bottom

donated the cloister for the throne. Nothing could better prove the usurpation of Jayavarman VI than his succession by an elder brother, who only succeeded him then because a younger brother who had been designated as successor died before the king died.

The Yuvarāja, it seems, had died some time after 1092. An inscription of the next reign (Samrong) mentions him as making a donation in that year (6, 2, 392). The undated inscription of Phnom Sandak is quoted as saying that he died before the king. Jayavarman VI then married his (the Yuvarāja's) wife, Vijayendralakṣmī: "Between this woman and the celestial Lakṣmī (Goddess of Fortune), there was no difference; neither could prove superiority over the other; it was with this thought that, in dying, the Yuvarāja gave her to his brother, Śrī Jayavarman." When Jayavarman VI was dying, he gave her, in turn, to his elder brother and successor, Dharaṇindravarman I (143, 302, n. 1).

Dharaṇindravarman I was consecrated by the royal *guru*, Divākaraṇḍita and, in consequence of this event, sacrifices and donations of all sorts were renewed. "Then Dharaṇindravarman, without having desired royalty, when the king, his younger brother, returned to the skies, by simple compassion and yielding to the prayers of the human multitude, without protector, governed the land with prudence" (357, sarga 3, st. 27).

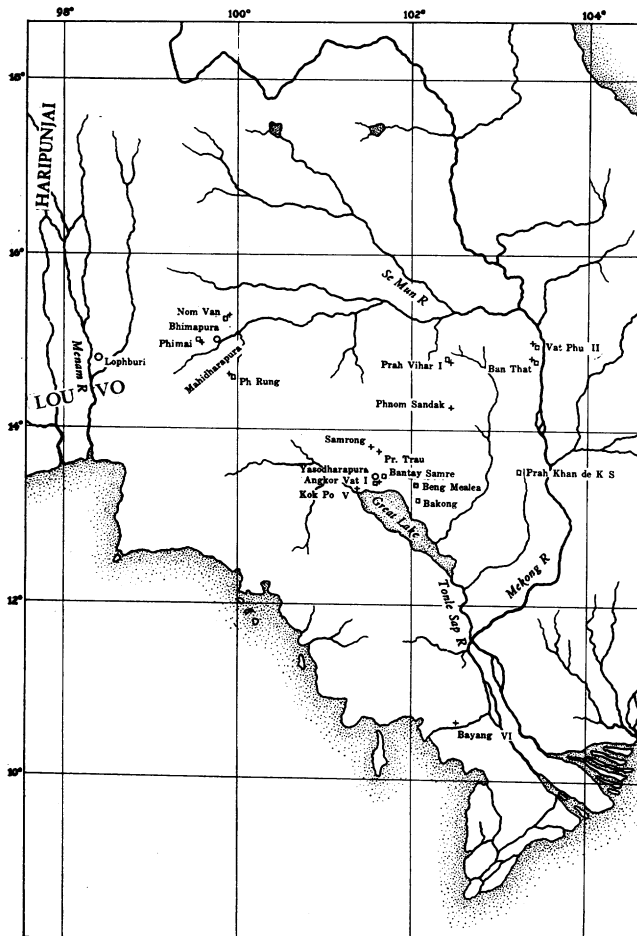
THE MINISTERS OF DHARAṆINDRAVARMAN I

Divākaraṇḍita continued as royal *guru* and, of course, as chief minister. Bhūpendraṇḍita (1) continued his functions as inspector of magistrates (224, st. 48): "Friend of Dharma, he (Dharaṇindravarman) wished that he (Bhūpendraṇḍita), instructed in all the Writings, should teach him the Dharma; for ordinarily one takes pleasure in hearing the object of his affections talk" (357, sarga 3, st. 29). Virendradhipati-varman, who erected an image at Phimai, and Yogīśvarapaṇḍita, who was mentioned in the inscriptions of Nom Van and Samrong and who made many foundations in the vicinity of Angkor, were other notables of this reign.

INSCRIPTIONS OF DHARAṆINDRAVARMAN I

There were several inscriptions during the short reign of Dharaṇindravarman I and some of them are of considerable importance to the history of the period.

The Khmer stele inscription of Phnom Bayang (VI) relates to the erection by King Dharaṇindravarman of the divinity of the hermitage, Śrī Bhadrēśvarāśrama, in the residence of the god of Śivapura, in the *visaya* of Dhanyapura, in 1107 (225, 267-268). An unedited inscription of Phnom Sandak (II) says Dharaṇindravarman came to the throne in 1107 (335, 635). An unedited inscription of Prasat Trau, 30 kilometers northwest of Angkor Thom, mentions Dharaṇindravarman as king in 1109 (225, 267).



MAP 14. Inscriptions, Jayavarman VI to Jayavarman VII.

of the first face having a little image in high-relief representing Śiva and Umā seated on Nandi (250).

The Khmer inscription of Kōk Pō (V), dated 1096, records a donation by King Jayavarman to the god of *Vnaṃ Mās* (= Mountain of Gold), which Coedès thinks was another designation of Kōk Pō (279, 413).

JAYAVARMAN VI SUCCEEDED BY DHARAṆINDRAVARMAN I, 1107

Jayavarman VI died in 1107 (335, 635). He received the posthumous name of Paramakaivalyapada (278, 260). He was succeeded by his elder brother, Dharaṇindravarman I, who, very reluctantly it seems, aban-

A Sanskrit pillar inscription of the temple of Phimai commemorates the erection of an image of Trailokyavijaya, an unusual secondary Mahāyānist deity, in the temple of Vimaya (Phimai), by the *Kamrateng an Śrī Virendradhipativarman* of Chok Vakula, in 1108, and donations to it in 1109 and the foundation of an āśrama there (Virendrāśrama), in the latter year, as well as gifts to the āśrama by the Teng Tvan Prasan, son of Virendradhipativarman in 1112 (136). Coedès has identified this Virendradhipativarman with one of the dignitaries who figure in the great defile of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat (p. 201).

The stele of Samrong commemorates the foundations made by one Yogīśvarapaṇḍita to Bhadrēśvara and the god of Lingapura during the reigns of Harshavarman, Jayavarman, and Dharaṇindravarman. The inclusive dates are 1077 and 1106. The inscription is thought to date from the later years of the reign of Dharaṇindravarman I. Yogīśvarapaṇḍita, who was also mentioned in the inscription of Nom Van is reputed to be the author (6, 2, 388–392).

STYLE OF ANGKOR WAT: FIRST PERIOD

Several architectural changes took place during this period, chiefly at Beng Mealea, which was in many ways the forerunner of Angkor Wat. (1) The three inner enclosures were tied together by a system of galleries. (2) Galleries were vaulted in stone and supported by stone pillars. (3) The enclosing of wooden beams in hollowed stone was abandoned. But the principal innovation was (4) the appearance of the cruciform terrace at Beng Mealea and Preah Palilay. (This terrace appeared also at Phnom Rung which may have been in the preceding period.)

This terrace, or belvedere, which appears before the entrance of some sanctuaries, also appears sometimes at basins and in other places. It is supposed to mark the place where the king and his court appeared for a public religious purpose—worship, distribution of alms, rites in connection with the sanctuaries so honored, etc. It generally interrupted the causeway and consisted of two gradins, supported by pillars and mounted by stairways. The upper gradins were for the king and his familiars; the lower, for members of his court. Both gradins were surrounded by *nāga*-balustrades (594).

In the decorations, *devatās* appeared, jewelled, but with awkward position of the feet. Lintels with scenes which cover the entire face of the lintel disappeared.

Buddhic sculptures appeared, at Phimai. The Buddha seated on the fold of the *nāga* from which the chaperon has disappeared (fig. 33) is said to be wholly Khmer in execution, but doubtless influenced by the Dvāravati school. It has the *uṣṇīṣa* and the hair in curls, the face is slightly downcast, the eyes nearly closed. The *śivara* is noticeable only as it joins the left arm to the side, while the right arm is free.

ARCHITECTURE: BENG MEALEA

This is said, by its decorations and sculpture, to belong to the very beginning of the style of Angkor Wat, in the last years of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth (301, 130). No inscriptions nor sculptures in the round have come to light and, except in the two annexes, only one fronton has been found. This monument was built of bluish sandstone from near-by quarries. Though it was well-constructed, it is now very ruined. Its ruin, seen especially in the third gallery, seems certainly to have resulted from religious or political vandalism (592, 17).

Beng Mealea, "Lotus Pond," is situated in what is now an uninhabited forest, on the north side of the ancient road which ran east-a-little-north from Angkor Thom to Preah Khan of Kompong Svai and Chok Gargyar. It is just south of the east end of Phnom Kulen. It was formerly supposed to have been the Mahendraparavata, fourth capital of Jayavarman II, and, by fiction, located on Mount Kulen, and some have believed it to be a supplementary capital (6, 3, 466; 87, 126–130). The predominance of Vishṇu in the frontons, lintels, and pilasters seems to indicate that it was dedicated to that deity.

Data are lacking for a complete description, but Beng Mealea was one of the largest and most magnificent of Khmer temples. It consisted of (1) a central sanctuary and its three slightly rectangular enclosing galleries, tied together by cruciform galleries, foreshadowing the later arrangement of Angkor Wat and (2) two large edifices on the south (right, p. 100) side of the third enclosure, thought to be "palaces" or halls of ritual ablutions and ritual dances (530, 1, 283; 592). On the east, a causeway with magnificent *nāga*-balustrade led to a large moat. A cruciform terrace preceded each gopura of the outer galleries. The whole ensemble was oriented to the east.

The most remarkable characteristic of this monument is in the galleries, where two innovations are found: (1) wide galleries, entirely vaulted in stone, and (2) a vault supported on one side by a wall and on the other side by a row of pillars. (In some places, there were two rows of pillars, without walls, but there the galleries have crumbled.)

These galleries are said also to mark the abandonment of stone-enclosed wooden beams (631, 173), begun at Banteay Srei. Delaporte, who attempted to restore a picture of this monument (fig. 41), gave it 11 towers, foreshadowing in appearance those of Angkor Wat. It has been praised by Aymonier (6, 3, 471), Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 283–285), Groslier and others. Groslier says of it: "There emanates from Beng Mealea a harmony, powerful and sober, which permits to place this temple first among the first and to consider it the prototype, the classic and purified specimen of Khmer art" (469, 113, 117).

BENG MEALEA: DECORATIONS

The walls of Beng Mealea are bare and do not seem to have contained bas-reliefs, but they may have been covered with frescoes. No sculptures in the round have been found, but "its sculptors have spread to confusion figures of Brahmanic divinities and scenes on the lintels, frontons, corners and, in the southwest annex, even on the bases of the pilasters." Coedès has made a special study of them (167). They are mainly scenes from the legends of Viṣṇu and his avatars—Rāma

ARCHITECTURE: PREAH PALILAY

This is a little sandstone sanctuary, enclosed by a laterite wall, north of the Phimeanakas, just outside of the wall attributed to Rājendravarman. In its ensemble it resembles a miniature Baphuon. It has a cruciform terrace in front of the east gopura of its wall. Its decorations place it in the first period of the Style of Angkor (301, 130). It is now surrounded by a dense forest and the remains of its central tower resemble a ruined chimney (530, 3, 58; 594; 646).

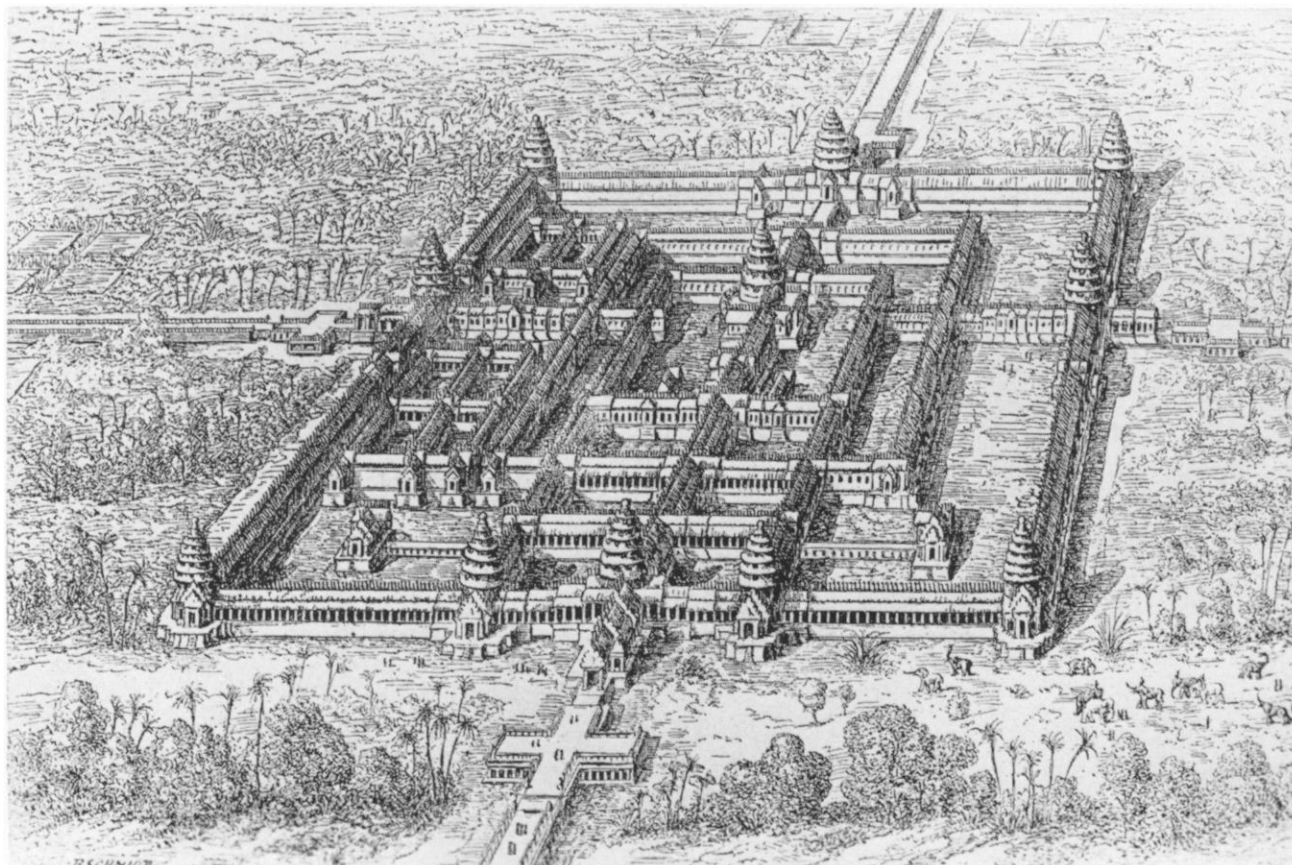


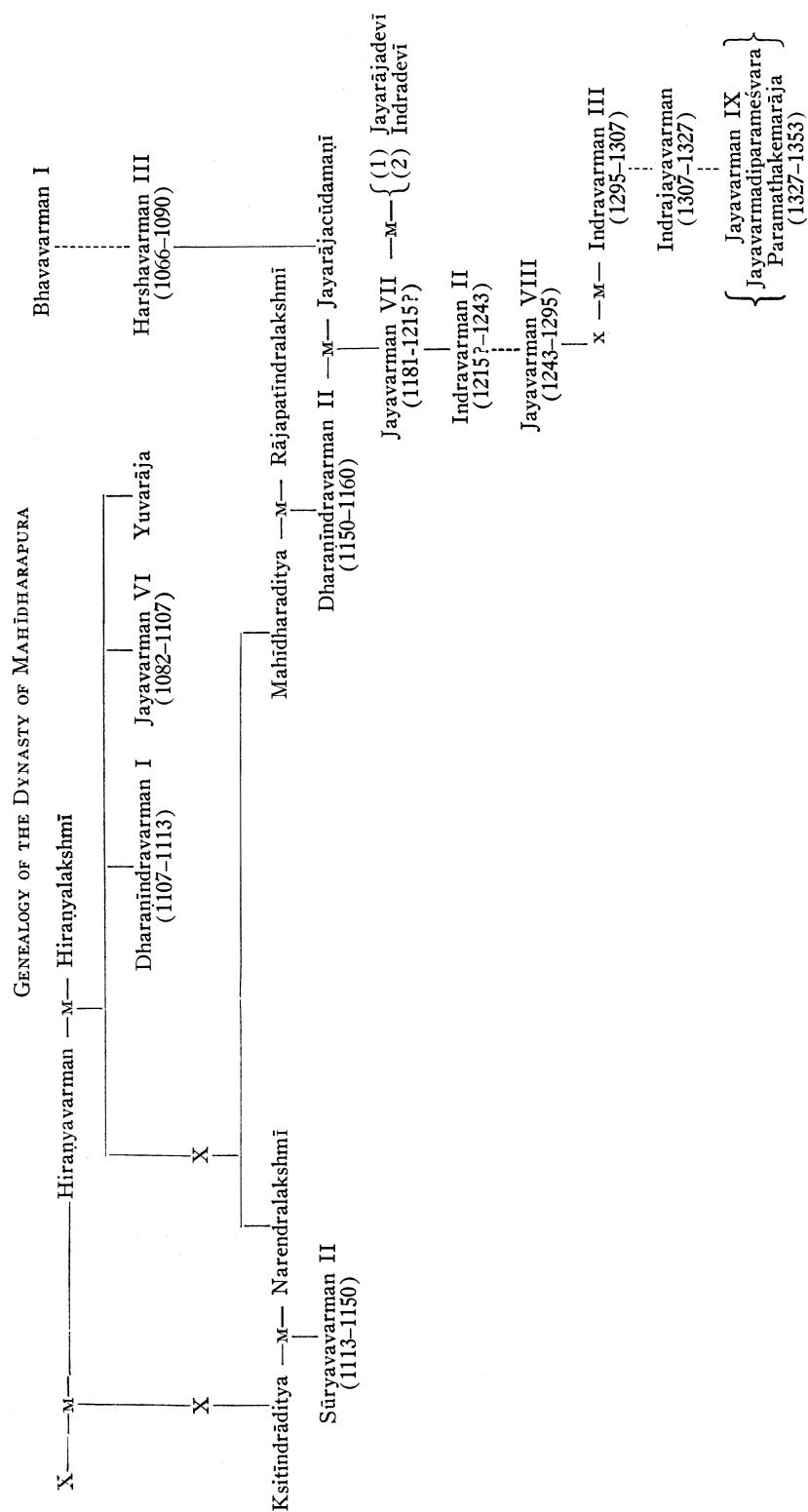
FIG. 34. Beng Mealea: Delaporte's restoration.

and Kṛiṣṇa; but other Brahmanic deities, Śiva, Brahmā, and Gaṇeśa, also figure in scenes.

The decorations of the lintels, colonettes and frontons were of the period and did not offer anything special. *Devatās* appeared, with long pleated skirts and a fold of cloth in the middle in front, a modification of the fish-tail of the Baphuon. They were jewelled and, apparently for the first time, appear with the ridiculous sidewise position of the feet so noticeable at Angkor Wat.

The *nāga* in balustrade presented two innovations: (1) the appearance of the aureole in solid spearhead, like the Russian turban, and (2) the beginning of blocks of support for the body at convenient intervals (301, 44, 45, 88, 101, 106 (fig. 50c).

The decorations of this monument, particularly the mouldings, lintels, and frontons, belong to the best period of Cambodian art. The lintels are generally of type III (530, xxxi-xxxiii), with a divinity seated above a monster as central motif. The colonettes copy those with great bare spaces of Banteay Srei (p. 136). The frontons, very ruined, continue the development of foliage from bottom to top. *Dvārapālas* in the round appear, with hands resting on the club, a forerunner of those of the Bayon. The *nāgas*, seven-headed on the balustrades (283, pl. xxxi) or five-headed on the fronton (301, pl. xxxvii, 133) show the same characteristics as those at Beng Mealea (301, 60, 67, 101, 106) (fig. 50D). Although Viṣṇuite, and especially Sivaite, motives appear in this monument, Marchal thinks it



was Buddhist and was probably connected from the beginning—certainly later—with the neighboring monuments of Tep Pranam (547). Parmentier thinks it was rebuilt or repaired by Jayavarman VII (646), when many of the Buddhist motifs may have crept in.

ARCHITECTURE: CENTRAL SANCTUARY OF THE BAKONG

We have seen (p. 101) that Indravarman I started the Bakong, probably in stone, and probably finished it in light material and that it was torn down and rebuilt by one of his successors. It was repaired many times and torn down until nothing but a mass of rubbish remained. In 1937, inspired by the success in the anastylosis of Banteay Srei (p. 135), Maurice Glaize, Conservator of the Angkor group of monuments, began the reconstruction of this sanctuary "without any other data on its nature, and dimensions than the indication in furrows on stone paving of the upper platform of the exterior contour of the ancient prasat." The result was a beautiful sanctuary of the early eleventh century (336, 629–630). Mme de Coral Rémusat places it between Preah Palilay and Preah Pithu (301, 130).

The decorations are of the first period of the Style of Angkor Wat. The lintels are of type III, with central monster head placed very low. The colonettes are octagonal, without bare spaces. The tympana of the frontons with scenes—"a dancing Śiva, a Churning of the Ocean, a Vishṇu Anantaśāyin and a Lakṣmī in the middle of monkeys, bound by the serpents of Indra-jit—may be judged as contemporary of Angkor Wat" (336, 631).

SŪRYAVARMAN OVERTHROWS THE DYNASTY OF HARSHAVARMAN III

Dharaṇīndravarman I was a peace-loving king, who had no taste for the affairs of government. He was already at an advanced age when he came to the throne.

Apparently after a generation of strife, the dynasty of Harshavarman III still held out in the southern part of the kingdom.

Then Sūryavarman, seeing that the kingdom was without defense (143, 307) came to the defense of his dynasty:

Still young, at the end of his studies, he approved the desire of the royal dignity of his family: now, he was then in the dependency of *two* masters. . . . Leaving on the field of combat the ocean of his armies, he delivered a terrible battle; bounding on the head of the elephant of the enemy king, he killed him, as Garuḍa on the edge of a mountain would kill a serpent. The earth was plunged into this sea: the destruction of his enemies; like the Boar (Vishṇu), he drew it out without injuring it, by means of this defense (tusk), his arm, and reestablished it in its normal anterior state (357, sarga III, st. 32-35).

This seems to refer to his defeat of his rival of the house of Harshavarman III, with which house his own dynasty seems to have been engaged in warfare for at least thirty years.⁸

SŪRYAVARMAN DEPOSES DHARAṆĪNDRA-VARMAN I

But Sūryavarman's task was not complete with the destruction of the rival dynasty. "In consequence of a combat which lasted only a day, King Dharaṇīndravarman was despoiled by Śrī Sūryavarman of his kingdom, which was without defense" (143, 307). Having conquered his other rival, who had divided the kingdom with Dharaṇīndravarman I, Sūryavarman began to rule over a Cambodia, apparently now united for the first time since the reign of Udayādityavaman II.

Dharaṇīndravarman I received the posthumous name of Paramanishkalapada (405, 6-7).

⁸ An unfinished inscription at Pre Rup has led Coedès to believe that Harshavarman III may have been followed by a king named Nripatindravarman who may have ruled until 1113 (278, 259).

11. THE REIGN OF SŪRYAVARMAN II (1113-1150)

THE ACCESSION OF SŪRYAVARMAN II

An undated inscription of this reign—Preah Vihear (IV)—gives an account of the inauguration of Sūryavarman II:

Then in 1035 *śāka* (A.D. 1113), His Majesty Sūryavarman . . . , grandnephew on the maternal side of Their Majesties Jayavarman and Dharaṇīndravarman, mounted on the throne and invited the Vraḥ Guru [Divākarapaṇḍita] to proceed to the royal anointment. The King then performed the sacrifices, beginning with the sacred mysteries, had the solemn fetes accomplished, . . . and gave rich presents, such as palaquins, fans, fly-swatters, crowns, buckles, pendants, bracelets and rings.

The donations to the various temples included "ornaments, utensils, lands, slaves, and livestock offerings of all kinds, made by the *Vraḥ Guru* to the gods of

all places of devotion, beginning with the Śrī Bhadrēśvara."¹ The magnificence of the inauguration seems to have far surpassed anything which had preceded it. "The Seigneur Vraḥ Guru Divākarapaṇḍita made offerings to the god Sikhareśvara² in ornaments encrusted with precious stones. Precious ornaments covered the surface of the holy pyramid, the sacred avenue, even the area where the paddy was burned" (6, 2, 215).

The coronation took place six years later. In 1041 *śāka* (1119), Sūryavarman was in his royal hall (with his counsellors),³ when the venerable *Guru Śrī Divāka-*

¹ The divinity of Vat Phu (7, 138).

² The divinity of Preah Vihear (7, 138).

³ Those present were the brahmins, the members of the Royal family, the princes, the great counsellors, the generals, the four

rapaṇḍita pronounced the formula of oblation. H. M. Sūryavarman descended, making the *āṇjala*, and ordered that this inscribed stele be erected (738, st. 3-7).

SŪRYAVARMAN II'S RELATIVES

Sūryavarman II's mother was Narendralakshmi, granddaughter of Hiranyavarman and Hiranyalakshmi, and his father was Ksitīndraditya, son of Hiranyavarman and another wife (143, 301). Neither of his parents seem to figure in any events of his reign. His wife's name is not given in any inscription which has been published. A Cham inscription—(Mi-sön IV)—says the Harideva whom he tried to maintain upon the throne of Champa was a younger brother of his first wife (530, 3, 178-180). He seems to have had no children. On his death, the crown went to his cousin, the son of Mahīdharaditya, brother of Sūryavarman's mother.⁴

MINISTERS: DIVĀKARAPAṆḌITA

The chief adviser of Sūryavarman II was undoubtedly Divākarapaṇḍita. The inscription mentioned above relates that some time between 1119 and 1121, "this eminent brahman, Divākarapaṇḍita, received the honorific title of *Dhuli Jeng*, 'dust of the feet,' habitually reserved to the king and the most elevated title among all those which the Cambodian monarchs bestow"⁵ (6 2, 214). At this time or a little later, he received divine honors, the first brahman in Cambodian history to be so elevated during his lifetime.

It was then perhaps forty years since the young brahman, Divākara, and the young prince, Jayavarman met, probably in the upper Mun valley, and pooled their personal ambitions and desires to rule over Cambodia. Since that day, Divākara had received the highest honors attained up to that time in Cambodia by a man of his profession and had performed the coronation ceremony for three monarchs in succession—Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I, and Sūryavarman II. We hear no more of the *purohita*, or grand priest of the *devarāja*; but if such an office existed at this time, its functions were probably performed by Divākarapaṇḍita. Perhaps the growing popularity of Viṣṇuism was replacing or modifying the worship of the *devarāja*.

MINISTERS: BHŪPENDRAPAṆḌITA I AND BHŪPENDRAPAṆḌITA II

The learned brahman, Bhūpendrapaṇḍita (Subhara Murḍhaśiva), son of the brilliant Tilakā, continued to grace the Royal Court and performed important civil

inspectors of qualities and defects, the four Anak Sañjaks, the chief of the royal treasury, and some others whose functions are not identified.

⁴ See genealogical table, p. 186.

⁵ This title had been held previously by Vagīndrapaṇḍita and by Jayendrapaṇḍita (p. 169).

and religious functions.⁶ About 1128 he made a foundation at the temple of Ban Theat, near Vat Phu, and took occasion to indite there an inscription, which gives the genealogy of his family and praises the three kings under whom he served.

The inscription of Prasat Tor, near the East Baray of a later reign (p. 209) continues the genealogy of this family. It says that Bhūpendrapaṇḍita I, who died during the reign of Sūryavarman II, erected, at Prasat Tor, a *linga* which seems to have been his image. He was succeeded by his son, Bhūpendrapaṇḍita II, who also bore the titles of Rājendrapaṇḍita and Sūryapaṇḍita and who exercised the functions of Sabhāpati (President of the Court) under Sūryavarman II. During this reign, he erected an image of his mother, Bhagavatī, as well as his own and that of his wife. He consecrated also an image of his parents in a village situated at the foot of a mango tree.

OTHER MINISTERS AND NOTABLES

The inscription of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat mention some servants of the king whose names have been identified elsewhere. Rājendravarman, General of the Army of the Center, was mentioned also in the inscription of Nom Van. Virendrādhipativarman of Chok Vakula was mentioned in the inscription of Phimai as having erected an image there in 1108 and as founding an *āśrama* there. He was probably the author of that inscription. Jayasiṃhavarman was mentioned in the inscription of Angkor Wat as commander of the troops of Louvo.

Harideva, whom Sūryavarman II seated on the throne of Champa and tried to maintain there, was said to have been a brother of one of Sūryavarman's wives. He may have been a Cham. The Senāpati Saṅkara was also mentioned as commanding troops in the Champa campaign.

VAT PHU: FOUNDATIONS AND GIFTS

This period seems to have witnessed the completion, or at least the decoration and furnishing of the massive temple of Vat Phu, which we have ascribed to the reign of Sūryavarman I. According to Aymonier, between 1102 and 1139, to which latter date he attributes the completion of the monument and its inscriptions, seven dates are carved on a stele found there. These inscriptions record the erection of statues and gifts of donation, in 1102 and 1104, to Bhadreśvara, who seems to have been the principal deity of the temple; impressive ceremonies and donations on the occasion of the coronation of Sūryavarman II in 1113; the erection of a Saṅkara-Nārāyana (Śiva-Viṣṇu) in the Vrah Prang, or holy pyramid, in 1122; the erection of a Vrah Viṣṇu in 1127; and the erection, at some time

⁶ The inscription of Prasat Tor says Bhūpendrapaṇḍita I exercised the functions of inspector of magistrates under Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I, and Sūryavarman II (224, 227.)

between 1118 and 1127, of a Vrah Śrī Guru (the sacred representation of Divākaraṇḍita?). Finally, in 1139, there took place there the erection of statues, the founding of villages, the establishment of sacred slaves, male and female, to the number of 109, each mentioned by name; the enumeration of the goods given: cattle, male elephants, implements of cult in gold, silver and bronze alloy, rings, plates, urns, etc.; the division of revenues among the divinities, as well as the daily and New Year's redevances (6, 2, 162-164). (While these foundations and gifts are recorded in an inscription of Vat Phu, they were not necessarily all made to that temple.)

Aymonier thinks this temple was built during the reign of Jayavarman VI; but, as we have seen (pp. 163, 188), some of the decorations certainly assign parts of it to a still earlier period. Coedès thinks the Divākaratātāka, said to have been dug in this reign, was the great basin of Vat Phu (plan 16) (742, st. 42-44, p. 148, n. 1).

PREAH VIHEAR

Parmentier thinks one of the predecessors of Sūryavarman II transformed gopuras IV and V into mixed constructions and built the little tower at the north end of the monument and that Sūryavarman II made some modifications of the long hall and gopura of enclosure II and put the final touches on the stairways and causeways⁷ (656, 270-342).

A stele inscription—Preah Vihear (IV)—found in the monument gives the date 1121 and commemorates several events of the reign of Sūryavarman II. It was probably indited by Sūryavarman II's great *guru* and minister, Divākaraṇḍita, who seems to have paid some attention to this temple. After this time, it seems to have been abandoned and neglected.

RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA, 1116

It was early in the reign of Sūryavarman II that diplomatic relations with China, which had been broken early in the reign of Jayavarman II (p. 91), were resumed. For several centuries, China, engaged in internal dissensions and border warfare, paid little attention to the countries to the south and we have missed the commentaries of Chinese travellers and envoys and their dynastic histories with their stale accounts, many times repeated, of Chenla, as they still continued to call Kambujadesa. Now, as inscriptions begin to grow fewer, Chinese historical documents accommodately reappear to add to our knowledge of the country of the Kambuja. Ma Tuan-lin, a Chinese writer of the thirteenth century, thus relates the account of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries:

Under the Sung dynasty, at the twelfth moon of the sixteenth year *ching-ho* (A.D. 1116), the king of Chenla sent as ambassadors, two great dignitaries of the kingdom.

⁷ See pp. 160-163 and plan 15.

. . . They came with a suite of 14 persons. They were given court clothes and then . . . [one of the ambassadors] said to the Emperor: "From afar, the nations of the south and west have their regards fixed on the changes of fortune which operate on the fate of the peoples by the sacred institutions of the Empire. Scarcely have we arrived to contemplate anear your glory than we are already filled with your benefits. Although we have not yet been able to prove our great attachment nor demonstrate our gratitude, we solicit permission to appear at the Imperial disposition with the clothes you have given us." The Emperor gave them all they asked and ordered that all the details of their reception should be recorded in the official annals. The following year (1117), at the third moon, these foreigners took their leave and returned to Chenla. The second year *suau-ho* (1120), new envoys of the same country arrived again. Their king received investiture with honors equal to those accorded to the king of Chen-Ching⁸ [Champa]. The third year *kien-yuen* (1128), the Emperor conferred high dignities on the king of Chenla . . . , who was recognized great vassal of the Empire. Some difficulties relative to the affairs of commerce were then examined and regulated (1136-1147) (584, 485-488).

BOUNDARIES OF KAMBUJADESA

Between the paragraphs given above, was inserted the following paragraph, said to be extracted from the later Geography of the Ming, which may not refer to this period.

Chenla touches the southern frontiers of Chen-ching. It has the sea at the east, Pu-kān (Pagan = Burma) at the west and *Kia-lo-hi* (Grahī, on the Bay of Bandon) at the south.⁹ Its fortified cities, villages and also the customs of its inhabitants resemble much those of Chen-Ching. Its extent is 7,000 *li*. One sees in this country a tower of copper and eight figures of elephants of the same metal, placed as to guard the towers, each weighing 4,000 pounds. The kingdom possesses war-elephants to the number of 200,000 and a multitude of horses, but they are small.

The copper tower referred to above has often been considered as the Bayon, but we now know that temple was not in existence during the reign of Sūryavarman II. The temple on Phnom Bakheng or the Baphuon fill the conditions better. The number of elephants is either an error or an exaggeration.

ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH

Sūryavarman II seems to have spent much of his time in the north—in what is now Siam and Laos. Most of the inscriptions of his reign which have come to light are from this region. They show that he founded temples and made inscriptions there.

The upper valley of the Mun—apparently the cradle of the dynasty of Mahīdharapura—seems to have been an active part of the Khmer Empire at this time. Rājendra-varman, Chief of the Army of the Center, and Virendrādhīpativarman of Chok Vakula, mentioned in the inscriptions of Nom Van and Phimai, have been identified in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat. In the

⁸ An error for Chan-ch'eng (p. 255).

⁹ These boundaries are those given by *Ling-wai-tai-ta* in 1178 (see p. 208).

dependent kingdom of Louvo, in the Menam valley, small groups of Tai had already begun to filter. The defile of soldiers past Sūryavarman II, in the above mentioned bas-relief, shows them under their native leaders, wearing their native costume (pp. 199–202).

Monuments of genuine Khmer architecture were being erected in the upper Mun valley; while in Louvo, monuments of Khmer influence, of the *prang* type—were becoming characteristic of a new school of Siamese art, called the School of Labapuri, or Lophburi. There are many monuments of this school in northwestern Siam, but their dates are difficult to determine (632; 119). The school of the same name in art was just coming into prominence (177, 26–30; 314, 52–53; 519, 67–81). The characteristics of the images of this school of sculpture as given by Coedès (177, 28) were: eyebrows forming a projection; nose, often a little longer than that of Cambodian images, presents a sharper ridge; the chin is more projecting; the hair is ridged in front by a sort of rim, much sharper than the simple edge of the Cambodian statues dating from the end of Classic Art; finally, the *ushnisha*, of conical form, recalls the *mukuta* of Brahmanic idols. The type, figured by Coedès (177, pl. xxi), is a Buddha seated on a lotus flower from Wat Mahādhatu of Lophburi.

WARS WITH THE ANNAMITES, 1123–1136

Although it is known that Sūryavarman II was a warlike king, the inscriptions of Kambuja do not give any definite information about any wars waged by him except those which preceded his accession. But Cham inscriptions and Annamite documents give some information on the subject. From 1113 to 1139, Champa was governed by a weak king, Harivarman, who, during the later years of his reign was under the influence of his Yuvarāja, an adopted son named Jaya Indravarman, whose growing power excited the jealousy of the legitimate heirs. The Annamites, who had won their independence from China in 939 and were now organized as the Empire of Dai-Viet, were undergoing a succession of weak minorities. Sūryavarman II seems to have been bent on attacking Dai-Viet through Laos and started to bring pressure to bear on Champa to render him assistance.

Sūryavarman II seems to have begun his activities as early as 1123–1124; for Annamite documents quoted by Maspero say that during those years Cambodians and Chams began to take refuge from their enemies at the court of Dai-Viet. In 1128 Sūryavarman II is said to have led 20,000 soldiers against Dai-Viet, doubtless following the old route taken by the embassies of Upper Chenla (p. 59) from Savannakhet to Nghean; but he was defeated and driven out. The next autumn he sent a fleet of more than 700 vessels to ravage the coast of Dai-Viet; and thereafter constantly harried that kingdom, by land and sea, sometimes dragging Champa along with him. In 1132 the combined forces of Cambodia and Champa again invaded Nghean, but

were driven out. In 1136 Jaya Indravarman III, now ruling as Yuvarāja, having made peace with Dai-Viet, refused to join Sūryavarman II in a new campaign, which ended disastrously for him (576, 155, n. 7).

STYLE OF ANGKOR WAT: SECOND PERIOD

ARCHITECTURE

Sūryavarman II was a great builder, as well as a warrior and a religious reformer. To him is credited the construction of the temples of Preaḥ Pithu, Chau-say Tevoda, Thommanon, Banteay Samré, and a part of Preaḥ Khan de Kompong Svai, as well as the crown jewel of Khmer architecture, Angkor Wat. Groslier thinks he erected also the central tower of Banteay Chhmar, in the style of Angkor Wat and like it dedicated to Vishṇu, and also, what is much less reasonable, that he began the temples of the Bayon, Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei, and Preaḥ Khan, which are credited to Jayavarman VII.

The style of the monuments of this reign is called the Style of Angkor Wat. The monuments of the two preceding reigns were of the first period of this Style—a sort of transition to it from the Style of the Baphuon. The common characteristics of the monuments of this style, however, apply mainly to the decorations. In their ensemble, the monuments of this Style, except Beng Mealea and to some degree, Banteay Samré, do not bear much resemblance to Angkor Wat. All were on the flat plan. The pyramid-temple seems to have gone out with the Baphuon.

Wide, vaulted galleries, all in stone, with a wall on one side and pillars on the other, appeared first at Beng Mealea; but these galleries were too wide and the construction was faulty and they crumbled. Durable galleries of this type were first achieved at Banteay Samré and Angkor Wat. The covering was in light tile (301, 44–45).

DECORATIONS

The lintels of the Style of Angkor Wat resembled those of the preceding period, but they were richer, denser and contained many little personages. A new type, a series of upright scrolls without branch, appeared at Thommanon and Angkor Wat. The central *kāla*-head, at the bottom of the lintel, contained two supplemental teeth, “wisdom teeth.” The colonettes were the most loaded of Khmer art. They were nearly a succession of deeply-carved rings (301, 54–60; 123–124).

The bas-reliefs of the temple of Angkor Wat are treated separately. The decorations of the other monuments of this Style merit a brief description. Figures became larger. Masculine clothing shortened. A *dvārapāla*, in high relief, at Thommanon was richly jewelled and supported itself with both hands on the top of a club in front of the body. *Dvārapālas* in the round were found at Preaḥ Palilay and Banteay Samré.

Devatās of the type described at Beng Mealea were found also at Thommanon; those described at Angkor Wat were found at Chau Say Tevoda and Preah Khan of Kompong Svai.

SCULPTURE

Sculptures in the round were prevailingly Buddhist. From the sixth to the twelfth century, there was no school of Buddhist sculpture in Kambujadesa. Some pieces doubtless belong to this period—probably some of those ascribed to the pre-Angkorian period. In general, they probably followed the rules of Brahmanic sculptures of the period. New images of the Buddha, standing or seated on the *nāga*, apparently of South Indian influence, appeared in the tenth and eleventh centuries (314; 318). Jewelled Buddhas appeared with the twelfth century. A lintel of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai shows the earliest standing jewelled Buddha found in Cambodia. One of the earliest jewelled Buddhas seated on a *nāga* was found in the same shrine. Dupont has called to our attention that the early development of the jewelled Buddha on *nāga* came in a period of intense Vishnuism, when representations of Vishnu on Śeṣha were common (318, 632).

Nāgas in balustrade, spit by a *makara*-dragon, with a lotus-flower ornamenting the stomach, seem to have been found first at Beng Mealea, but were found also at Preah Palilay, Preah Pithu, Chau Say Tevoda, and Banteay Samré. They seem to be characteristic of the immediately pre-Angkor Wat period. The lions of Chau Say Tevoda have the tail along the back; those of Banteay Samré are like those of Angkor Wat (p. 203). A statue of Nandi in the round—the last one in Khmer sculpture—was found at Chau Say Tevoda. It is more slender and graceful than the preceding ones. Its head is erect and it is in the act of rising. Elephants in the round appear to have disappeared temporarily from Khmer sculpture (301, 105–115; 123–124).

ARCHITECTURE

PREAH PITHU

Just to the north of the North Kleang, on the same side of the Royal Plaza, was a group of monuments known as Preah Pithu. This group consists of two cruciform terraces, in front of the temples facing the Plaza, and five stone sanctuaries, irregularly disposed, some with walls, moats, and basins. Four of these sanctuaries are thought to belong to this period. Lingas found in them probably denote their consecration to Śiva. They are all redented square temples, with porches preceding doors or false doors on all sides, and are all mounted on low, staged, stone terraces. All are oriented to the east and those facing the Plaza open also on that side (530, 3, 66–73; 285, 190–193; 555, 127–131; 645). Some think they were connected with a monastery or a Śivaite seminary (6, 3, 109; 285, 188). The two cruci-

form terraces indicate that the king performed some rite there (p. 184).

The decorations of these monuments are said to be among the best in Khmer art. Of the two terraces, Marchal says: "These terraces are, with that of Preah Palilay, among the most beautiful which exist at Angkor. In these two temples, the *nāga*-heads are of extreme elegance and of a proportion entirely harmonious. The superposition of this motif on two different levels produces a very happy effect" (555, 127).

CHAUSAY TEVODA AND THOMMANON

These are two little temples, situated, respectively, on the north and south side of the Avenue of Victory, a little outside of the Gate of Victory, toward the temple of Takeo. Parmentier dates them, on archeological grounds, in the second quarter of the twelfth century (652).

Chausay Tevoda, or Chausay, consists of a redented cruciform tower of sandstone, oriented to the east, but open on all four sides and preceded by a long rectangular hall; two libraries, regularly placed and oriented, and a cruciform gopura on each side, to mark the position of a wall, about 40×60 meters, which formerly enclosed or was planned to enclose the monument. Stone-enclosed beams were used.¹⁰ The sculptures were of remarkable execution and included a *nāga*-balustrade, perhaps the first example of this decorative feature at Angkor, and a statue of Nandi (fig. 28*b*). This seems to identify the monument with the worship of Śiva, although its decorations are mostly of Vishnu.

Thommanon has the same general disposition as Chausay, but it has gopuras only on the east and west axis and a library only in the southeast (right, p. 100) corner. Its vaults are corbelled and it does not employ stone-enclosed wooden beams; for which reason, it is in a much better state of preservation than Chausay. Its decorations are remarkable. Some of the scenes of the frontons and gables represent scenes from the Indian epics. The tower of its central sanctuary resembles those of Angkor Wat. It is considered a Vishnu temple, although several lingas have been found there (555, 138–140; 652).

BANTEAY SAMRÉ

About 400 meters east of the southeast corner of the East Baray was the beautiful little temple of Banteay Samré, "the citadel of the Samré."¹¹ Although located in a dense forest, it is in a remarkable state of preservation. The monument was on the flat plan and was slightly rectangular. It consisted of a central sanctuary and two enclosures. Although the sanctuary was ori-

¹⁰ At that time, Parmentier thought Beng Mealea was later than Chausay.

¹¹ The Samré are a mountain people who inhabit the mountains south and east of Angkor. They are probably related to the Khmers (11).

ented to the east, the main gate of the outer enclosure opened toward the west. A path led from this gate to the East Baray and another from the eastern gate to a great basin about 250 yards to the east (530, 3, 221–227; 555, 175–177; 653).

The central sanctuary is a square sandstone edifice, with porches on all sides and false doors on three sides and preceded on the east by a long rectangular hall. It consists of a very high first storey, rising well above the porches with their superposed frontons, and four much-rendented slowly-receding upper storeys, ending in a circular coronation piece, 21 meters from the ground. This coronation-piece, in the form of a lotus, is coiffed with a double cap, from which an ornament in wood or metal projected. Two libraries, with long porticos, are regularly placed and oriented.

The inner enclosure, 35×44 meters, consisted of a laterite gallery, vaulted in sandstone and cut by gopuras at the radial axes of the monument. The principal gopura was on the east. This gallery was lighted from the interior.

The outer enclosure consisted of a laterite gallery, 80×85 meters, cut by sandstone gopuras, corresponding with those of the inner enclosure; but, almost alone among Khmer temples, the principal gopura is on the side opposite that to which the sanctuary was oriented, due without doubt to the proximity of the East Baray in that direction. The walls of this gallery were very high and it was lighted on three sides from the interior by highly-placed windows with balusters. The south side was lighted from the exterior. These galleries were probably covered by light material, as no trace has been found of a covering. They were surrounded on the inside by a portico, open to the court and supported by square pillars.

The central sanctuary and the principal gopura have recently been the subject of a very successful anastylosis, which revealed some of the finest work of Khmer art. The trunconic tower of the sanctuary, which bears a resemblance to that of Phimai (fig. 35), is the last step before the towers of Angkor Wat (335, 610; 336, 632–633; 338, 337–338; 339, 487).

The decorations of this temple—lintels, frontons, ante-fixes, and *nāga*-balustrades—are among the best (fig. 50*e*). The predominance of scenes from the life of Vishṇu seem to indicate that it was dedicated to that deity, but Parmentier thinks it may have been Buddhist (653).

PREAH KHAN OF KOMPONG SVAI

The central sanctuary and the outer enclosure of this monument, as we have seen, were probably erected during the reign of Sūryavarman I. Mauger (508, 204–208) thinks the monuments of the second enclosure belong to the reign of Sūryavarman II. Mme de Coral Rémusat thinks the whole central group belongs to this later period (301, 130) (fig. 36).

WARS WITH CHAMPA, 1144–1149

Sūryavarman II never forgave his former ally for what he considered his treachery (p. 190). In 1144–1145 he invaded Champa, defeated Jaya Indravarman III, then king, captured and sacked the capital Vijaya (Chaban) and made himself master of the country. Jaya Indravarman III disappeared from history.

The Chams rallied around the legitimate claimant, Rudravarman, in Pāṇḍuraṅga, and proclaimed him



FIG. 35. Banteay Samré: tower.

king. His reign was short. He died in 1147 and his son came to the throne as Jaya Harivarman I and proved to be one of the greatest kings of Cham history. When Sūryavarman II heard of his coronation, he sent the Senāpati Saṅkara, with a force of Cambodians and Chams from Vijaya, to conquer him. Jaya Harivarman I met them at Chaklyang (Chakling) in the valley of Phanrang, and annihilated their force. The next year (1148), a larger army was despatched against him. It met a similar fate at Kayev, in the plain of Vīrapura. The Cambodian king now consecrated his brother-in-law, Harideva, as King of Champa and commanded various generals to lead the Cambodian troops and to protect Prince Harideva until he became

king in the city of Vijaya. Jaya Harivarman I marched northward, seized Vijaya and totally destroyed the Cambodian and Cham forces at Mahiśa. Harideva and all his officers were killed. Then Jaya Harivarman I was duly consecrated at Vijaya, 1149 (535, 3, 178–188). Henri Maspero says Sūryavarman II made a new invasion of Champa in 1150, which ended disastrously (579, 34).

INSCRIPTIONS

The Sanskrit stele inscription of Ban Thet, a group of three prasats, about thirty kilometers southwest of Basak, gives the genealogy of a matrivaṃśa which, according to the inscription, held the hereditary post of chief-priest of a linga on Mount Bhadreśvara (Vat Phu). The founder of the family had acted as *hotar* of a King of Cambodia in performing the *abhiśeka* of his son and was granted a piece of land near Mount Bhadreśvara (apparently at Ban That) and founded the above-mentioned linga. The founder of this family was the sage Vagīśvara. His son-in-law and successor in the *matrivaṃśa* was the intelligent Vijayendrasūri. Then followed the royal pandit Gunaratnavindu, whose daughter, the brilliant Tilakā, with her son, Subhadra Mūrdhaśiva, as has been seen, flourished at the court of Jayavarman VI, apparently at the north before that king's coronation. This pandit performed various charges successfully under Jayavarman VI, Dharanindravarman I, and Sūryavarman II. The inscription is undated and seems to celebrate the three towers of Ban That, dedicated respectively to a linga of Īśa (Śiva), to Sadānana (Skanda), and to Gaurī Mahiśāsūrārī (358, 7, st. B 44–45; 6, 2, 167–170).

The twin-inscriptions of Phnom Sandak (III) and Preah Vihear (IV), in Sanskrit and Khmer, dated 1119, were made known long ago by Aymonier, but have recently been the subject of a careful study by Coedès and Dupont. The chief interest and importance of this inscription is that it gives a biographical sketch of Divākaraṇḍita, who served kings from Udayādityavarman II to Sūryavarman II and who was the spiritual counsellor of the early kings of the family of Mahīdharapura. The inscription gives, in some detail, lists of goods distributed and foundations made by him at the principal temples during the reigns of the above-named kings, mention of which is made in the preceding paragraphs of this book. A postscript of the inscription of Preah Vihear shows that, between 1119 and 1121, Divākaraṇḍita was promoted to the dignity of *dhūli jeng kamrateng* an and that a *kamrateng jagat* linga, personal to Divākaraṇḍita, was founded at Vnūr Dnang, his natal region. This seems to have been the occasion of the inscription (6, 2, 213–216; 742).

A stele-inscription, in Sanskrit and Khmer, found at Phnom Chisor—(III)—commemorates a gift of land, slaves and property in 1116 to Sūryaparvata, the god of that Temple (252; 6, 1, 192).

A Sanskrit stele-inscription of the temple of Vat

Phu—(II)—whose last date is 1139, recorded many foundations and donations (p. 187) (6, 2, 162–164). A Khmer pillar-inscription of Vat Phu—(III)—dated 1136, records a donation to “the god of Lingapura” by a man and his son of the country of Bhadreśvarapada, of the corporation of workers of the *visaya* of Śreshṭhapura (363).

An unedited and undated stele inscription of Phnom Rung gives some interesting data on the *vaṃśa* of

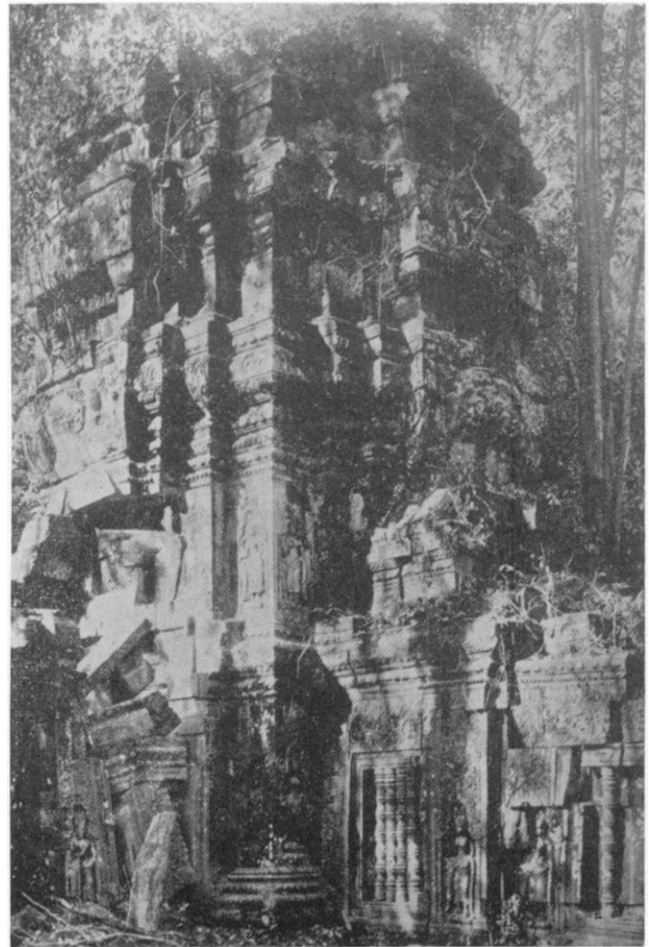


FIG. 36. Preah Khan of Kompong Svai: tower.

Sūryavarman II (p. 178), according to the résumé of it given by Coedès (143, 300–301).

The inscriptions of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat (p. 181) have been of great value in identifying the personages portrayed there. It is from them that we have learned that this monument was built by Sūryavarman II and dedicated to that monarch identified with Vishṇu.

RELIGIONS

Vishṇuism was supreme during the reign of Sūryavarman II. Buddhism, which had had its day—a brief one—under Sūryavarman I, was quiescent during this reign. Buddhist statues were beginning to appear.

Buddhism was still alive at the great temple and monastery at Preah Khan of Kompong Svai and possibly at Beng Mealea and Banteay Samré. But this was not a period of Buddhist activity in Kambujadesa.

The Śivaism of the period seems to have been perfunctory and official. The great inscriptions of the reign came from the old Śivaite shrines—Preah Vihear, Vat Phu, Phnom Chisor, Phnom Sandak, and Ban Theat—where foundations were being made. Of his ministers, the two Bhūpendrapaṇḍitas were fervent Śivaite. Divākara probably performed the rites of the state cult of the *devarāja*, but this did not prevent him from taking the lead, as he is supposed to have done, in the construction of Angkor Wat¹² and the development of a new cult, that of a combination of the king with the god Viṣṇu.

This was the golden age of Viṣṇuism in Cambodia. Under Divākaraṇḍita and the dynasty of Mahādhara-pura, this spirit seems to have developed slowly under Śivaic forms. Beng Mealea, Chausay Tevoda, Thommanon, Banteay Samré, Angkor Wat, were the architectural expressions of it. But it was a Viṣṇuism strangely interwoven with the old State Śivaism.

SYNCRETISM OF ŚIVAISM AND VIṢṆUISM

One of the most engaging facts of the history of religions in Southeast Asia during this period was the syncretism of Śivaism and Mahāyāna Buddhism. We have already noted the dawn of this movement (p. 107) and will see its culmination in the transformation of the cult of the *devarāja* into that of a Buddharāja in the reign of Jayavarman VII, probably already foreshadowed in the reign of Sūryavarman I (p. 107).

Not less singular was the syncretism between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism during the reign of Sūryavarman II. It seems that this monarch did not, any more than his Buddhist namesake, identify himself with the worship of the *devarāja* to the extent of having his own image combined with that of Śiva and set up in his temple as *Sūryeśvara*. We have seen that, early in the reign of Īśānavarman I of Chenla, at the beginning of the seventh century, the prevailing deity seems to have been Harihara, a curious combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Later inscriptions record erections and donations to such deities as Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, in which Śiva and Viṣṇu seem to be combined in some way. Indeed, an inscription of Vat Phu, of this very reign, records the erection of such an image in the "Vrah Prang," or holy pyramid, in 1122, by which Angkor Wat was probably meant. During the reign of Sūryavarman II, the cult of the *devarāja*, apparently revived by Udayādityavarman II and his successors, seems to have been superseded, temporarily at least, by that of a Viṣṇurāja, and the pyramid-temple, apparently

associated from its origin with the worship of the *linga*, seems to have been taken over by the new cult (703; 735).

THE YAŚODHARAPURA OF SŪRYAVARMAN II

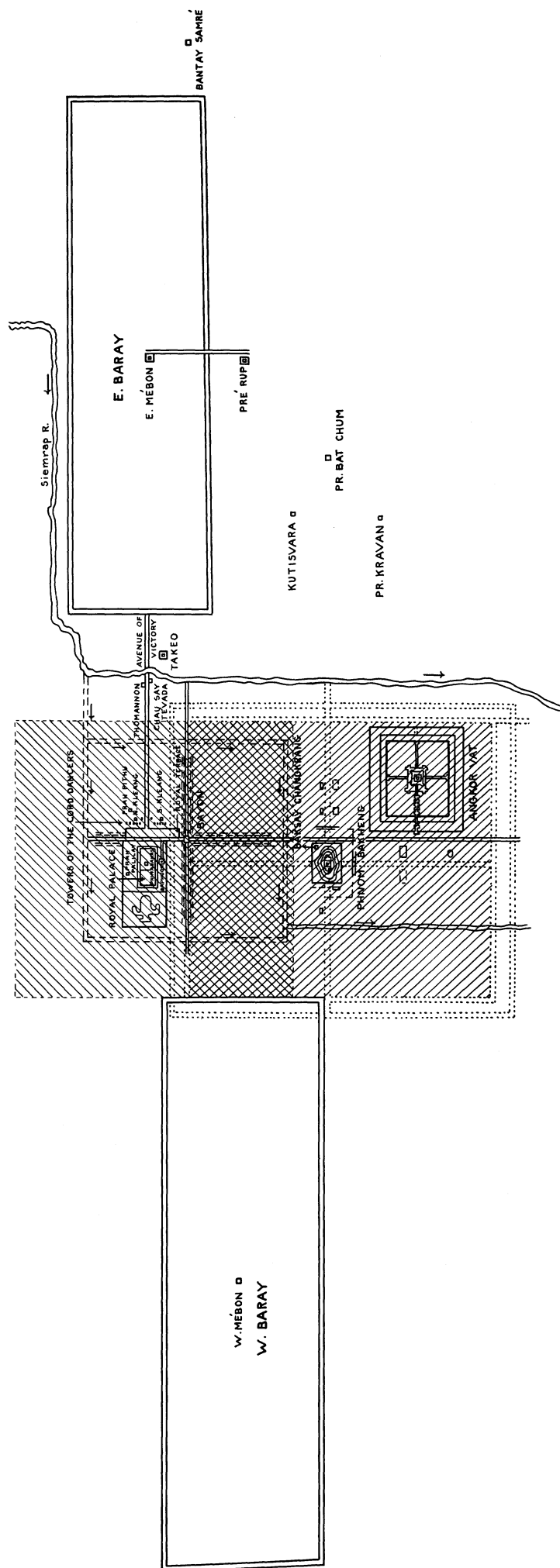
Just what the relation was between Śivaism and Viṣṇuism during this reign is not very clear, as may be gained from the preceding pages; and this relationship has much to do with the true nature of the royal city during this reign. There may have been two deities worshipped at the capital at this time. An image of Viṣṇu-Sūryavarman, which seems to have been a sort of Viṣṇurāja, was undoubtedly the central deity of Angkor Wat. Its chief priest was apparently Divākaraṇḍita, reputed founder of that temple and apparently the chief architect of the merger of Viṣṇuism and Śivaism, which seem to have been going on for some years and to have been nearly complete at the end of this reign (735). There may have been also, at the capital, a sort of impersonal *devarāja*—a *Kamrateng jagat ta rajya*, "God of the royalty, of the kingdom." The chief priest of this deity—successor to the former *purohitas*—if such a deity existed, may have been also Divākaraṇḍita, but was more probably the head of one of the prominent Śivaite families, such as Bhūpendrapaṇḍita I, who held high rank during this reign and who erected a *linga* at Prasat Tor, in the vicinity of the capital (p. 188), which was maintained by his family.

Angkor Wat is surrounded by a wall and a moat, like the later cities of Jayavarman VIII—Angkor Thom, Preah Khan, Banteay Chhmar, and Preah Khan of Kompong Svai. This suggests that Angkor Wat may have been the center of a new capital and that the official city may have been within its walls. But Przyluski maintains that its nature and location with reference to Angkor Thom, shows it was primarily a tomb and could not have been a city (p. 204). Parmentier maintains that at all times in Kambujadesa walls of durable material surrounded the *temple*, not the city, and that the outer walls of the city were earthen ramparts with, sometimes at least, wooden palisades (641). So the Yaśodharapura of Sūryavarman II seems to have remained as before, with the addition of a few temples within and without the enclosure (p. 172). The center of the state-cult was apparently within its walls and its great temple and the Viṣṇurāja, center of royal worship, outside its gate (plan 19).

THE DEATH OF SŪRYAVARMAN II

The last date of the reign of Sūryavarman II found in Cambodian inscriptions is 1145; but Cham inscriptions make it practically certain that he was reigning in 1149 (p. 193). He probably died shortly after that date; for, as will be seen, three kings reigned in Kambujadesa between the date of his death and the Cham invasion of 1177. Coedès thinks he was reigning in 1150 (278, 278).

¹² Aymonier believed the construction of Angkor Wat was the personal work of Divākara (6, 3, 521).



PLAN 19. The Yaśodharapura of Sūryavarman II.

Sūryavarman II received the posthumous name of Paramavishṇuloka (405, 6-7), which is found in the inscriptions of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat and in

other inscriptions. As builder and religious reformer, he rates among the greatest of Khmer kings. His foreign wars were not so successful.

12. THE FUNERARY TEMPLE OF ANGKOR WAT

DATE

Angkor Wat,¹ the "Pagoda of the Capital," as the name has been corrupted in modern Cambodian and Siamese, is the greatest and best preserved of Khmer monuments. Except possibly Banteay Chhmar, hidden in the forests of the northwest (p. 225), it is the largest religious edifice ever built by man. In combined magnitude and magnificence, it stands alone.

It is difficult to compare Khmer with modern sanctuaries because of the trouble in deciding where the Khmer sanctuary proper begins. Because of the character of their architecture, Khmer sanctuaries contain vast open spaces. But these spaces, though unroofed, are part of the sanctuary. Khmer temples were not designed to hold the audience between walls and under roofs. The outer dimensions of the third terrace of Angkor Wat, from which point the monument is tied together, are 187×215 meters, more than half a mile in circumference, and the workmanship in some sheltered places that have been able to withstand the ravages of time and the weather, is of extreme delicacy.

The monument was begun by Sūryavarman II, probably early in his reign, but was probably not completed until after his death. Some believe it was designed by his great minister, Divākaraṇḍita, and that echoes of its construction are found in the inscriptions of the early part of Sūryavarman II's reign, such as the statement in the inscription of Preah Vihear (IV) that in 1119 Sūryavarman gave order "to raise the corveable workmen of the second and third (and probably fourth) categories. They erected towers, dug basins" (6, 2, 213-216; 742, st. 20-22). The erection of the Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa in the "Vat Prang," or holy pyramid, in 1122, and the erection of the Vrah Viṣṇu in 1127, mentioned in the inscription of Vat Phu (p. 193), seem much more applicable to a Viṣṇuite pyramid-temple like Angkor Wat than to a flat Śivaite temple like Vat Phu.

Sūryavarman II appears twice in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat and is called by his posthumous name of Paramavishṇuloka in the accompanying inscriptions (fig. 39a and b). This makes it practically certain that the monument was built during his reign and that it was completed, or at least some of the bas-reliefs were carved, during that of one of his immediate successors.

¹ Angkor Wat is a combination of a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Nagara*, meaning city or capital, and a modern Siamese and Cambodian word *Vat*, meaning pagoda. It is properly spelled with a *W* in English. It is spelled with a *V* in Sanskrit, French, Cambodian and Siamese, because those languages have no *W*.

THE ENSEMBLE AND THE TOWERS

The plan of Angkor Wat is not confusing, like that of the Bayon (p. 224); but because of its immensity, it should be studied first in its ensemble, preferably from the air, which is now possible. There, its plan stands out in bold relief—the moat, the two external enclosures, the approaches, the three concentric galleries, the central mass; the large tower in the center, the smaller towers on the corners of the two inner galleries and the three still smaller ones on the west entrance of the outer enclosure—twelve in all (fig. 37) 1100 (400, 59; 100, 59).

The central tower and those of the inner galleries are in a fairly perfect state of preservation, those of the second gallery are half-crumbled, while the entrance towers are almost wholly destroyed. These towers, in imitation of lotus-buds, are among the most unique and striking motives of Khmer architecture and decoration. Their slender, conoidal shape and the succession of ridges which circumscribe them, resemble, on the one hand, the towers of Phimai (p. 181), Thommanon (p. 193) and Banteay Samré (p. 192), which preceded them and the Siamese *prang*, which followed. The disposition of its towers had been foreshadowed only by Beng Mealea (p. 185). A representation of a temple like Angkor Wat, in the bas-reliefs of the Bayon, shows each tower surmounted by a trident (284, 134). (See note, p. 261.)

THE MOAT AND THE TWO ENCLOSURES

The outer dimensions of the moat were about 1300×1500 meters, nearly a mile square, but slightly elongated east-west. The moat was 200 meters wide. It was crossed at the west entrance by a stone causeway, about 15 meters wide. (At the east, it was crossed by a simple earthen embankment, while at the north and south it was free.) On each side of this causeway was a *nāga*-balustrade, supported on blocks, as at Beng Mealea (p. 185). The *nāga*-heads rise to a height of about 4 meters, among the largest in Khmer architecture (fig. 50). A path, 30 meters wide, runs around the inner edge of the moat, between it and the wall of the first enclosure.

The first enclosure, whose dimensions are about 815×1000 meters, was surrounded by a wall of laterite and sandstone. It was cut in the middle of three sides by cruciform gopuras. The western entrance was in itself a monument of importance. It consisted of three pavilions, each surmounted by a tower, connected by galleries extending over a distance of more than 200

meters. At the ends were gates to admit the passage of elephants and carts.

From the central entrances a paved causeway, nearly 350 meters long, about 10 meters wide and 1.60 meters above the surrounding terrain, ran to the entrance of the second enclosure. This avenue also was bordered by a *nāga*-parapet. Near the middle, on each side, is a building of the type identified as libraries (fig. 41). Near the entrance to the second enclosure was a basin on each side.

The second enclosure, about 270×340 meters in

THE THREE TERRACES AND THE CENTRAL TOWER

The first terrace was surrounded by a covered gallery 187×215 meters in dimensions. This terrace was about $3\frac{1}{2}$ meters above the level of the second enclosure. A central door opened from the platform and a door on each side opened on the terrace. On the east side were three smaller doors, while on the north and south single doors led to the terrace. On each corner was a pavilion with two doors. The walls of this gallery were covered with bas-reliefs. Two libraries occupied the north-



FIG. 37. Angkor Wat: general view (west approach).

extent, was surrounded by a low stone wall. The enclosure consisted of a terrace of earth, two meters above the level of the first enclosure. This terrace was about 80 meters wide on the west and about 40 meters wide on the other three sides. Most of the width of this enclosure, to the stairway at the entrance of the first terrace, was covered by an immense cruciform terrace, whose arms measured, respectively, 35.75 and 49.50 meters. It was in two stages, the upper one two and a half meters above the ground. The passage was two meters wide. Lions guarded the stairways. As usual with this kind of terrace, a *nāga*-balustrade surrounded the upper gradin. Stairways on the north and south led down to the court, that of the west led down to the causeway.

western and southwestern corners of the terrace. They were a little smaller than those of the first enclosure. An immense covered courtyard, 45 meters square, connected the first terrace with the covered stairway leading to the second, its three corridors connecting the three doors of each of the terraces. The arms of the cross divided the intervening space into four basins.

The dimensions of the second terrace were 100×115 meters. It was 7 meters above the level of the first. It had a single door on each of the other three sides and two doors in each of the corner pavilions. The four corners were surmounted by towers, now in a bad state of preservation. The plain walls of the galleries were decorated by false windows with round balusters and bas-reliefs representing *devatās* with strange and

complicated coiffures. Marchal thinks these galleries may have been little cells where priests came in retreat at certain periods. Two small edicules were on the two sides of the west entrance.

The third terrace measured 75×75 meters. It was 13 meters above the level of the second. A single stairway on each side and two on each corner led to the terrace below. The galleries, 60×60 meters around,

height of 42 meters, making its summit about 65 meters above the surrounding country (fig. 38).

EVOLUTION OF THE PYRAMID

Angkor Wat was the culmination of the pyramid-temple peculiar to Khmer architecture—concentric rectangular enclosures and covered galleries on successive terraces with open courts between and tied to-



FIG. 38. Angkor Wat: central quincunx of towers.

opened to the exterior. From each corner arises a tower, larger than those of the second terrace and in a good state of preservation. The platform of the central massif was a few meters above the floor of the third terrace and was reached by a stairway of dizzy steepness. On the platform was the broken socle of a large statue of the tutelary deity of the temple,² doubtless a Vishnu under the lineaments of Sūryavarman II. The surmounting tower, larger than the others, rose to the

²This statue has not been found. Foucher says, "When the French archaeologists first arrived, they found four idols of the Buddha seated against the four walled-up doors of the cella and inside the latter only shapeless fragments of the old statue." (418, 23).

gether by cruciform galleries, the whole culminating in a central massif—a culmination due to more than three and a half centuries of evolution. Stern (698; 703) and Mme de Coral Rémusat (301, 41–45) have shown the various steps in this evolution. As we have seen, Jayavarman II may have become familiar with the pyramid-temple connected with the worship of the Sivalinga in Java and decided to try it out in his temples at Ak Yom and Rong Chen. There is no doubt that this type of pyramid temple was intended to represent Mount Meru, legendary abode of the gods and center of the universe—a representation on the fronton of Banteay Srei shows it and several inscriptions attest it. The pyramid of Bakong, built to shelter

the *devarāja*, had five gradins, faced with sandstone. Yaśovarman I's central temple, built on the natural pyramid of Phnom Bakheng, had also five gradins, faced with masonry. The artificial pyramid at Prasat Thom, Chok Gargyar, consisted of seven gradins, faced with sandstone. At Mebon and Pre Rup the number of gradins was reduced to three and this number became fixed. They were faced with sandstone or laterite. At Phimeanakas the three gradins were of laterite. Takeo was the first Khmer monument entirely in sandstone. At the Baphuon, the lower stages were in limonite, the upper ones in sandstone. Angkor Wat, like all pyramid-temples after the Mebon, contained three gradins and, like Takeo, they were all in sandstone.

EVOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL TOWER

The sanctuary underwent an evolution parallel to that of the pyramid. Ak Yom, Rong Chen, and the Bakong were isolated towers, the first two in brick, the third at first apparently in wood. The sanctuary at Phnom Bakheng contained two innovations—there were five towers arranged in quincunx, to represent the five peaks of Meru, and the towers were all in sandstone. Prasat Thom and Baksay Chamkrong reverted to the single tower, in brick or masonry. The five towers of the Mebon and Pre Rup were in brick, arranged in quincunx and the central tower was slightly elevated. At Takeo were five towers in quincunx, all in sandstone. The Phimeanakas and the Baphuon were isolated towers, probably in light construction. During the century after the Phimeanakas, some of the largest towers of Cambodia—Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, Phnom Chisor, Preah Vihear, Vat Phu, Beng Mealea—were single towers, generally in stone.

Angkor Wat reverted to the type of Takeo—five towers in quincunx all in sandstone, but with an important innovation. The central tower was much enlarged and elevated to form a separate gradin, overlooking the other four towers.

EVOLUTION OF THE GALLERIES

There was a similar parallel development of the galleries. Wooden halls and small towers were scattered irregularly around the base of the earliest pyramid-temples. At Bakong, eight brick temples were arranged irregularly around the base of the pyramid. At Phnom Bakheng, twelve small temples were arranged regularly on each gradin and forty around the base. At Mebon and Pre Rup, there were important innovations. Eight small temples were arranged regularly on the second gradin, while the lower gradin was almost surrounded by long halls with porches, pillars and windows with balusters. They were roofed with wood. At Phimeanakas the galleries became continuous and were vaulted with sandstone, but they were narrow and were supported by wooden beams, buried in the masonry. At Takeo, the gallery completely surrounded the terrace, with

openings only in the center of each side, like the Phimeanakas. The galleries were wider than those of the Phimeanakas, but were still narrow. They were covered with tiles or brick. The galleries of the two lower terraces of the Baphuon resembled those of the Phimeanakas. Those of the upper terraces were all in sandstone, but were divided by a wall through the center into two porticos.

At Beng Mealea we find two innovations: (1) wide galleries, entirely vaulted in stone and (2) the vault supported on one side by a wall and on the other side by a row of pillars; but they were poorly constructed and crumbled. At Angkor Wat the galleries were wide and all in sandstone, including the roof. They were open on the inner court, supported by large square pillars, while the outer walls of the lower gallery were covered with bas-reliefs, very well preserved. An innovation was the cruciform covered gallery connecting the galleries of different terraces.

Thus this great temple “merges and develops the different plans of the Baphuon and Beng Mealea—adding to the pyramidal form of the one the wide-spread galleries of the other” (631, 175).

THE DECORATIONS

Regarding decorations in general, Parmentier says:

The great temple of Angkor Wat is remarkable, not only for its architectural arrangement, but also by the perfect subordination of the sculpture to the composition of the ensemble; the decoration is almost everywhere treated as embroidery, in order not to draw the eye and, by the variety and intensity of the shades, breaks the unity of the simple walls. And also the ornament is everywhere, even at the most invisible corners; one feels there is an homage to the god more than an attraction for the pilgrim. This decorative minuteness is pushed to the extreme; if one is struck by the work and the formidable expense represented by the 10 kilometers of border in chiselled sandstone of the moats, one is none the less stupified when one thinks of the execution of the 10,000 ridge-crests which were aligned on all the ridges, so delicate that not a single entire specimen has come down to us.

The frontons of Angkor Wat were, in general, those characteristic of the second period of Classic Khmer architecture. The border was formed by the bombed or undulating body of the *nāga*, flamed at each point of the dorsal fin. The tympan generally presented human figures, especially scenes from the legend of Vishnu. The lintel had lost much of its importance. The central motive had almost disappeared and the low lintel seems to be decorated mostly with stereotyped scrolls (fig. 44a). The colonette approached the form of a succession of decorated mouldings without smooth spaces between (639).

THE BAS-RELIEFS

The bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat offer the greatest continuous expanse to be found in any existing monument. (Those of Borobudur cover more space, but

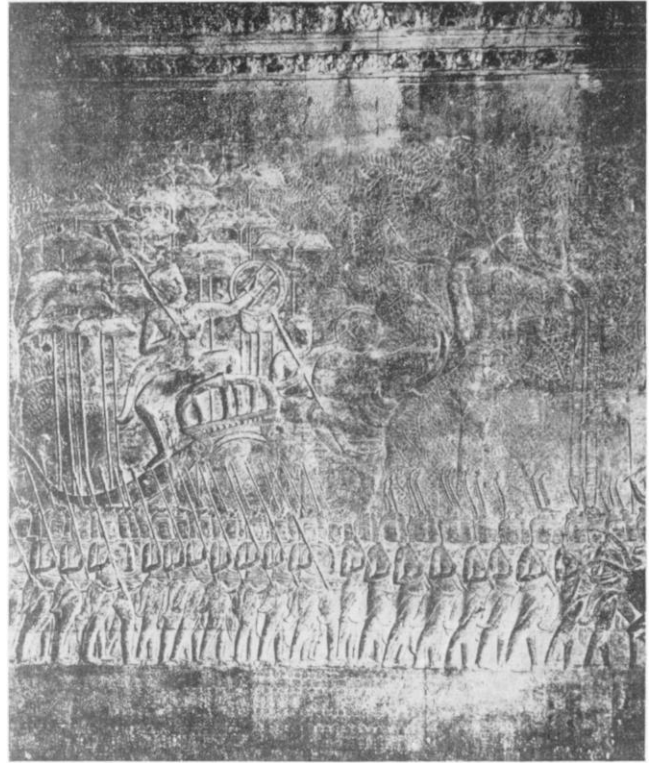
on several terraces.) Those of the outer gallery measure over 800 meters, more than half a mile in extent, and those of the frontons, lintels, panels, and other parts of the temple amount to nearly as much more. Aside from the shallowness of the sculpture, which often makes the feet appear in profile instead of in front, and a few other similar defects, they are of very good

facture. Most of the subjects are drawn from the Indian epics and sacred books—*Ramāyāna*, *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃsa*, *Purāṇas*—and portray legendary scenes from the lives of Rāma and Kṛishṇā, avatars of Viṣṇu. They begin less than a meter from the floor and cover more than two meters in height.

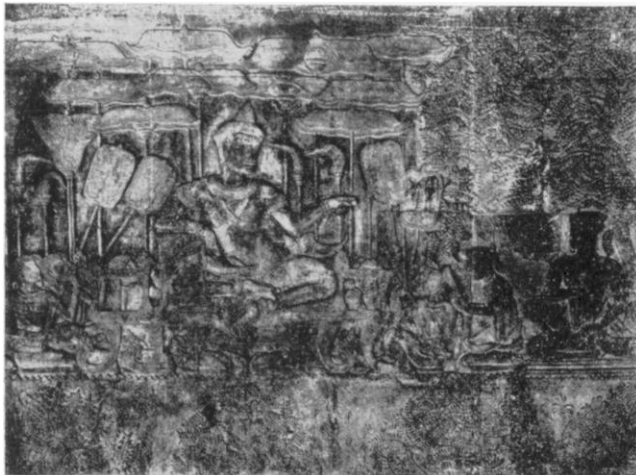
Owing to their extent, their accessibility, and their perfect lighting, these bas-reliefs are among the most striking specimens of Khmer art and among those longest remembered. The scenes have been identified



a. Paramavishṇuloka (Sūryavarman II) : Review of troops.



c. Troops of Louvo under Khmer general.



b. Paramavishṇuloka (Sūryavarman II) : Audience.



d. Tai (Syām) mercenaries under native officers.

FIG. 39. Angkor Wat : bas-reliefs.

and detailed studies have been made of them by Coedès (166; 126), Bosch (96), Przyluski (672; 674), and others, as well as by the Guides of Commaille (284) and Marchal (555). The accompanying plan (20) of the great panels was adapted from the recent work of Mme de Coral Rémusat (301).

The panels have two, sometimes three registers. They are read from left to right, but do not always have a well-defined sequence. Beginning, for convenience of



FIG. 40. Angkor Wat: Bayaderas, in shallow relief.

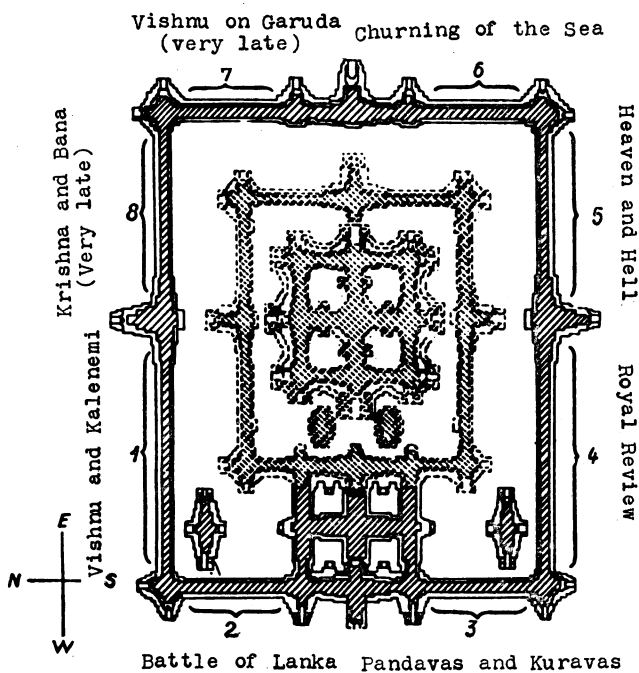


FIG. 41. Angkor Wat: library.

description, with the southeast corner, the first panel (6) is a well-known scene from the *Rāmāyāna*. The next three (7, 8, 1) are from the *Harivaṃśa* (genealogy of Hari, Viṣṇu). Two (7, 8) are said to have been carved under one of the early successors of Sūryavarman II, but they were probably sketched by the original sculptors. Goloubew (436) thinks the presence of purely Chinese motifs betrays a foreign handiwork. The two panels in front are well-known scenes respectively from the *Rāmāyāna* (2) and the *Mahābhārata* (3).

The two panels on the south (4, 5) are of a different type and were apparently carved by an immediate suc-

cessor of Sūryavarman II, as they represent him under his posthumous name of Paramaviśṇuloka (fig. 39a-b). The first (4) is divided into two registers: the upper represents the king on the summit of a mountain, giving orders; the lower, represents him on an elephant, accompanied by a royal escort of nineteen members, participating in a long march-past of soldiers. Aymonier (6, 3, 260) identified the Rajendravarman pictured in this panel with the Rājendravarman mentioned as General of the Army of the Center in the inscription of Nom Van (p. 178). Coedès (136, 346) identified the Sri Virendrādhīpativarman of Chok Vakula of the bas-reliefs with the dignitary of that



PLAN 20. Angkor Wat, plan of bas-reliefs.

name who was the author of the inscription of Phimai (p. 184). The troops of Lvo (Louvo) march past under their commander, Jayasinhavarman, and those of "Syām Kuk,"³ Tai mercenaries of strange aspect, under their native chiefs. This panel is of great historic interest. It establishes the approximate date of the monument. It marks the first historical appearance of the Tai within the limits of the ancient Khmer empire. Aymonier devotes some space to their bizarre and savage aspect (6, 3, 262-263) (fig. 39c-d).

The second panel at the south (5) represents Heaven and Hell, or at least what corresponds to them in Indian cosmology. Regarding the connection of this panel with the others, Bosch (96) presents an interesting view, which has a bearing on the destination of the monument. In the other registers where he appears, Sūryavarman II is represented in his divinized form as

³ "Syām," or "Sayam," means brown or black. The meaning of "Kuk" here is not understood.

Vishṇu or one of his avatars. In the west panel of the south side (4), he is represented in his posthumous form, marching with his 19 dignitaries toward the "Empire of the Dead." This procession, according to Bosch, "takes its natural end . . . in the empire of the dead, from where he is resuscitated and divinized as Vishṇu and adored in Vishṇuloka, the central tower of Angkor Wat." Bosch advanced the hypothesis that the nineteen dignitaries may have shared in the apotheosis of Sūryavarman II, as, later, the four Sanjaks did in that of the Crown Prince Śrī Indrakumara at Banteay Chhmar. "This supposition," says Bosch, "would imply that Angkor Wat was a mausoleum, whose central tower contained the statue-portrait of the king under the traits of Vishṇu-caturbhuja and that the towers and pavilions of the corners and perhaps all other parts were destined to celebrate the memory of the 19 seigneurs, divinized like their master and participating like him in the happiness of celestial life."

SCULPTURE: HUMAN FIGURES

Sculpture of human figures in the round is poorly represented at Angkor Wat. Both devatās and apsaras appear in low relief, singly in niches or in groups on the walls (fig. 40). They are nude above the waist and the long skirt which they hold in a fold seems to be of gauzy material. They are richly jewelled and their coiffure assumes the form of a diadem, generally with three long points. The shallowness of the relief, making it necessary to represent the feet in profile, gives them an awkward appearance; but they are otherwise pleasing. "The great walls are exquisitely ornamented with tevadas emerging from niches, a form which never occurs later" (631, 175). Dvārapālas, guardians with trident and mace, are absent at Angkor Wat.

The type of the pandit is represented in profusion on the outside of the monuments, in the decorative friezes and, in the interior, at the bottom of the pillars. The characteristic coiffure, a long-pointed beard, the thinness of the members and the lion-cloth of asceticism permit to recognize him easily (283, 34).

Buddha heads, of foreign inspiration, were beginning to appear at Angkor Wat.

ANIMAL SCULPTURES

The *nāga*, "the best invention of Khmer decoration" (283, 28), is found, in low relief, on the borders of frontons and gables and, in the round, in *nāga*-balustrades. The *nāga*-heads of Angkor Wat are among the largest of Cambodia and are carved from a single block of stone. They are not spit by the *makara*-dragon and their stomachs do not bear the imprint of the lotus flower, like those of Banteay Samré (pp. 191, 220). The contours of the aureoles are more freely redented.

The lion flanked all the stairways. Commaille esti-

mated that there must have been at least 300 at Angkor Wat. It was very stylized and unreal—the most unnatural lion of Khmer art—high front quarters and short body. The lion of Classical Art stood erect on its four feet and was not seated like the "poodle-lion" of Sambor-Prei Kuk and the crude lion of Mount Kulen; but the unusual length of its front legs made it appear to be squatting. It had lost the luxurious mane of early art. Even the tail seems to be missing (fig. 42a).

The elephant of the early periods of Khmer art seems to have disappeared temporarily.

DISCOVERY OF THE SACRED DEPOSIT

It has long been known that the ancient Khmers deposited gold leaf and little gems on a slab covered by the pedestals of the statues enshrined in the temples. While clearing up the monuments at Angkor, it was discovered that another deposit was placed under the coping of the temple tower. Long ago, this became known to treasure-seekers, with much resulting damage to the temples.

The excavations carried out in 1938 by G. A. Trouvé, Conservator of Angkor, first at Prasat Ak Yom and afterwards at the Bayon, have revealed a new and hitherto unexpected arrangement, which appears to be peculiar to the temple-mountain, where the principal idol was placed on the top of a stepped pyramid. In these monuments the presence of a vertical pit originating under the pedestal of the central sanctuary (a pit due to the architects or to treasure-hunters) proves the existence of a deposit at a certain depth from the surface. At Prasat Ak Yom, this deposit was concealed in a vaulted chamber on a level with the surrounding country; in it were found two leaves of beaten gold, showing figures of elephants.

It now became tempting to ascertain whether a similar arrangement existed at Angkor Wat, a monument which had never been completely abandoned and where consequently the treasure-seekers had not enjoyed as much liberty as elsewhere to exercise their wicked industry.

This excavation, carried on during 1934 by Trouvé, resulted in the discovery, of "a laterite slab having a circular cavity which contained two pieces of crystal and two gold leaves" (193).

WAS ANGKOR WAT A PALACE?

According to Cambodian legend, Angkor Wat was originally a palace (423, 1, 123–124). In 1880 Aymonier wrote: "It seems to me incontestable that tradition is right regarding the primitive destination of this building; it was a palace, even a harem" (4, 73); but, as we shall see, he changed his opinion later. As late as the first decade of the nineteenth century, General de Beylié considered it a palace (88, 144–165) and wrote a book to prove it (87).

Coedès, in 1911 (166), pointed out the probable origin of the legend that Angkor Wat was originally a palace. According to the story told by the monks to Bastian, Moura, Aymonier, de Beylié, and others and

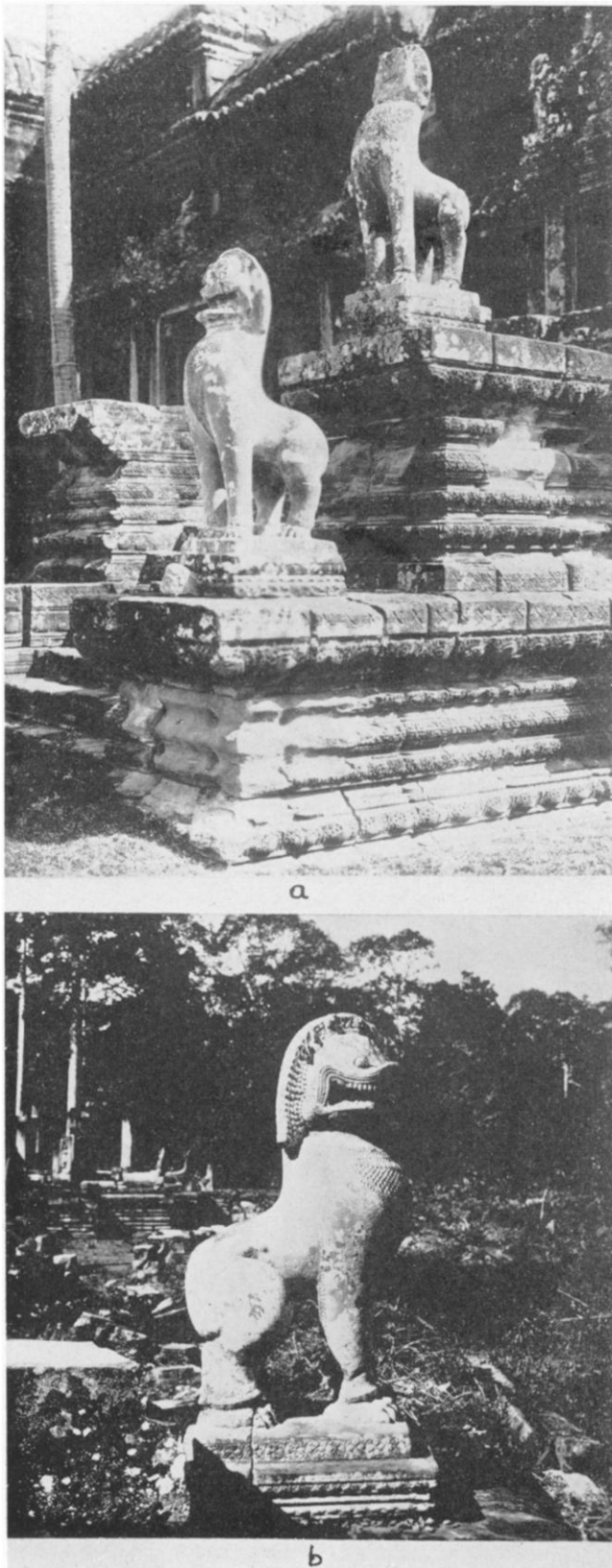


FIG. 42. Lions of (a) Angkor Wat and (b) the Bayon.

a *satra* published by Aymonier (4), Brah Ket Mealea, son of Indra and a princess, was taken by Indra to the abode of the thirty-three⁴ Indian gods; but as the gods objected to "the odor of man," Indra sent him to Kok Thlok,⁵ and sent with him Visvakarman,⁶ god of architects, to build a palace identical with the abode of the thirty-three gods. So, Brah Ket Mealea came to Kok Thlok to reign in his second life on earth. Coedès thinks the legend that a king named Vishnūloka, who had probably become identified with Vishṇukarman and who reigned at Angkor Wat and was buried there, was current in 1296 and that Chou Ta-kuan substituted Lou Pan, Chinese god of architects, and believed Angkor Wat was the tomb of Lou Pan. An echo of this may be found in the name Angkor Wat (Nagara = palace, which became a temple = Wat), which was applied to the monument in an inscription of 1632 (6, 3, 302; 42, 429). An inscription of 1563 says Indra had this monument built for Brah Bisnūloka (6, 3, 291). The legend of Ket Mealea was repeated in the great inscription of 1702 (6, 3, 322): "If I return after this life, may it be, like *Cau* (Lord) Ket Mealea, in the loins of a queen, who flew to heaven where Indra received him as a son, who returned to reign here and to build this nagara (palace) with the aid of Brah Bishnukar." The figures of Paramavishnūloka in the bas-reliefs were identified as Brah Ket Mealea by the bronzes who told the legend to Bastian, Moura, Aymonier and de Beylié (405).

TEMPLE OR TOMB?

Henri Mouhot, the first European to study these monuments, thought they were all Hīnayānist temples (599, 1, 280), as indeed they were when he visited them. Doudart de Lagrée thought Angkor Wat was a temple or a tomb, perhaps both (719). Adolf Bastian, German historian and traveler, was the first to recognize the Brahmanic character of the bas-reliefs and to relate them to the Brahmanic epics (42, 429). In 1904, Aymonier had reached the opinion that Angkor Wat was a Śivaite temple (6, 3, 228). According to legend, when the transformation to Hīnayānism took place of Buddhaghosha returned from Ceylon with the Sacred Books, this monument was given to him and became a Buddhist monastery; but several inscriptions of the monument during the seventeenth century, show that the gods of Kambujapurāna (= Ancient Cambodia) were still worshipped there (6, 3, 299).

According to the legend quoted above, after the death of Ket Mealea, his palace became his tomb. The tomb-like character of the monument was attested in the thirteenth century by Chou Ta-kuan, who called it the tomb of Lou Pan. Some have thought that it was because it was a tomb that, alone among the great

⁴ See p. 110.

⁵ Kambujadesa. See p. 26.

⁶ See p. 124.

temples of the Angkor group, it faces the west; others, however, attribute its orientation to the fact that, even in the twelfth century, an important highway ran to the Great Lake along the west side of the enclosure of Angkor Wat, while the proximity of the river on the east side would have made it difficult to have had an important highway there.

In 1911 Coedès attempted an interpretation of the bas-reliefs of the outer gallery, based largely on photographs taken by General de Beylié. He emphasized the essentially Vishṇuite character of the bas-reliefs and believed that Angkor Wat was originally a Vishṇuite temple, built by Sūryavarman II during his life and that it became his tomb after his death (166).

TEMPLE AND TOMB

A discussion has recently arisen, not so much about the facts regarding the original destination of Angkor Wat as about the exact term to be used in describing it. Przyluski (674) objected to the use of the term *temple* in describing this monument and maintained that it was primitively a tomb, not a temple. He based his argument on the arrangement of the bas-reliefs with reference to the central shrine. In Hindu religious ceremonies, if the procession moves from left to right, i.e., keeps the shrine always to the left, it is called a *prasavya* which is practised in the case of a tomb; in a temple, the procession moves in the contrary direction and performs a *pradakshina*. Now, in reading the bas-reliefs of the outer gallery of Angkor Wat, according to Przyluski, one performs a *prasavya*; consequently, the monument was originally designed as a tomb. In reply, Coedès pointed out (209; 152) that, while the bas-reliefs proceed from left to right on each panel, the panels were arranged for the convenience of the sculptor and are not arranged exactly according to a symmetrical pattern. While admitting the funerary character of the monument, he insists that the architecture and decoration mark it also as a temple, where was worshipped a god, to whom perhaps the king was identified even during his life. Coedès suggests the use of the term "funerary temple," which had previously been proposed by Bosch (96) and approved by Finot (405). The recent discovery by Coedès (152)

that most of the great Khmer monuments were originally destined as funerary temples indicates that Angkor Wat did not differ essentially in this respect from the other monuments of Cambodia.

Przyluski took up the question again in 1937. He reiterated, with considerable force, his belief that Angkor Wat was not a temple, even though it had adopted that architectural type. "But even though all these edifices are built on the same style, certain features make it possible to know a tomb and to distinguish it from a temple. Angkor Wat is away from the royal city because the dead must not dwell with the living. Angkor Wat is South East of Angkor Thom; the South East is the region of the dead. The main entrance of Angkor Wat is on the West Side, the direction of the setting sun. The succession of the sculptures in the Angkor Wat galleries follow the direction of the '*prasavya*'; if Angkor Wat was a temple, this would be in the direction of the '*pradakshinā*'" (750).

Chinese dynastic histories of the early part of the sixth century mention cremation as one of the methods of disposing of the dead in early Funan (p. 29) and Chou Ta-kuan, at the end of the thirteenth century, said that the King of Angkor was buried in a tower, although he did not know whether his ashes or his bones were so interred (p. 247). Coedès's researches on the great monuments of the reign of Jayavarman VII brought to light several stone vessels, some of which may have served as sarcophagi for the corpses of deceased kings and some of which may have contained their ashes after cremation, as is the custom today at Phnom Penh and Bangkok. These studies, combined with a study of the funerary character of the temples of Java and Bali, countries of Hinduized culture similar to that of the Cambodians, led Coedès to the conclusion that Angkor Wat, though a tomb, is "an edifice which is distinguished from the other Khmer monuments only by its orientation to the west, and which was destined, like the others, to shelter, in the sanctuary, an image of the divinized king. To designate a construction of this type, where the central idol was placed above the body or the ashes of the king which it represents under divine traits, I do not know any other expression than 'funerary temple,' or 'mausoleum'" (277, 85).

13. FROM SŪRYAVARMAN II TO JAYAVARMAN VII (1150-1181)

ACCESSION OF DHARAṆĪNDRAVARMAN II; GENEALOGY

Sūryavarman II died about the middle of the twelfth century. He was succeeded by Dharaṇīndravarman II. According to the genealogy later prepared by the servants of the court of Jayavarman VII (157, 45)—pp. 62, 222—Dharaṇīndravarman II was a cousin of Sūryavarman II (see genealogical table, p. 186). This genealogy shows that Dharaṇīndravarman was a son

of Mahīdharaditya, brother of Sūryavarman II's mother, Narendralakṣmī, and one Rājapatīndralakṣmī. He married Jayarājacūdamanī, daughter of a King Harshavarman, who descended from Śreṣṭhavarman and Bhavavarman, early kings of the Kambuja.¹

¹ In his recent book, Coedès, calling attention to the lack of direct filiation, to the change of religion and to the silence about the last years of the reign of Sūryavarman II, thinks Dharaṇīndravarman may have come to the throne as a result of a palace revolution (274, 210).

There have been some differences of opinion about the identity of this King Harshavarman. Bergaigne (68, 75), who had read the inscription of Ta Prohm, mentioned him, but did not try to date him. Coedès, who edited the inscription of Ta Prohm in 1906, called him Harshavarman IV, in his genealogical table (157, 45), but did not assign any definite period for his reign. Later (1929) Coedès, basing himself on some other inscriptions in addition to Ta Prohm, showed there was no reason for not identifying him with Harshavarman III (143, 297-303).

THE REIGN OF DHARAÑINDRAVARMAN II, 1150-1160

All we know of Dharañindravarman II is that the inscription of Ta Prohm (157, st. 17) says he was an ardent Buddhist:

Finding his satisfaction in this nectar which is the religion of this moon which is the Śākya [family of the Buddha], putting the best of his power at the disposition of the *bhikshus*, brahmans and all subjects who implore him, desiring to extract the marrow from this body without marrow, impure sojourn, he honored without ceasing the feet of Jina [= the Buddha].

On his death, he received the posthumous name of Paramaṇishkalapada (405, 6-7).

The period from the uncertain date of the accession of Dharañindravarman II to the accession of Jayavarman VII in 1181, is very obscure. There are no Cambodian inscriptions of this period. All our information about it is gained from the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII and inscriptions and other documents of Champa and other neighboring countries. We do not know the names of any notables of this period. Divākaraṇḍita and Bhūpendraṇḍita I and II died during the reign of Sūryavarman II and Bhūpendraṇḍita III seems to have served only under Jayavarman VII.

Groslier, Parmentier, and others have believed that some of the monuments attributed to Jayavarman VII were built, or at least begun, at this period or earlier (pp. 206, 210); but in a period during which no inscriptions were carved and when kings followed each other in rapid and irregular succession, a period characterized by revolts, foreign invasions, and anarchy, it is unlikely that much building was attempted.

ACCESSION OF YAŚOVARMAN II

Until recently, it was thought that Dharañindravarman II was succeeded by Jayavarman VII, who was his son (6, 3, 524; 573, 45-46; 514, 119-120; 113, 214). This belief was based chiefly on the fact that the genealogy of Jayavarman VII, as given in the inscription of Ta Prohm, gives Jayavarman VII after his father, Dharañindravarman II, without mention of any kings between them. But the purpose of this inscription was to give a genealogy, not a list of kings. A recent rereading of some inedited inscriptions and some

others briefly summarized by Aymonier has led Coedès to conclude that there were two kings between Dharañindravarman II and his son (143, 308).

We do not know the date of the death of Dharañindravarman II, but the events of the reign of his successor seem to place it before 1160. He was succeeded by Yaśovarman II, who is mentioned by several inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman VII.² As later events will show, Yaśovarman II seems to have been a member of the line of Dharañindravarman II, possibly a son of that monarch.

THE RENUNCIATION OF PRINCE JAYAVARMAN

When Dharañindravarman II died, the legitimate heir to the throne seems to have been his son, Prince Jayavarman (the future Jayavarman VII). He was at least thirty-five years of age, with sons who were soon to become men. He was a fervent Buddhist and had married a wife, Jayarājadevī, who was of a deeply religious and mystical nature. Yaśovarman—brother or cousin—certainly a close relative, appears to have claimed the throne. Rather than shed the blood of his countrymen in fratricidal strife, Jayavarman seems to have renounced the throne and to have gone on a voluntary exile to Champa.

There seems to be evidence of such a renunciation, not, however, of a nature to affect his son's loyalty to Yaśovarman II. We know by the inscription of Phimeanakas that Jayavarman left his wife, the charming Jayarājadevī, and went on a long voyage to Vijaya (Champa). As Coedès has pointed out, this inscription tells us of her "asceticism, her virtuous conduct, her tears, her likeness to Sita, found by her husband and then separated from him, her body thinned by observances, her religion, her devotion to him, her joy at this ultimate return."

This theory is speculative, it is true; but it seems the most reasonable conclusion from the known facts. It is not unconformable with what we shall later learn of Jayavarman's deeply religious nature.

YAŚOVARMAN I OR YAŚOVARMAN II?

So there was a Yaśovarman II and he was the successor of Dharañindravarman II and reigned from about 1160 to 1165 or 1166. As early as 1901 Aymonier gave a résumé of the inscription of Banteay Chhmar (p. 235), which tells of a revolt and an attack on the capital and later of an expedition into Champa, both of which events Aymonier thought occurred during the reign of King Yaśovarman I.

Historians of Cambodia (6, 3, 478; 578, 33; 514 91-92; 103, 104-105), believing that the Bayon and similar types of architecture—including the temple of Banteay Chhmar—were built in the ninth and tenth centuries, easily ascribed these events to the reign of Yaśovarman I. The inscription of Phimeanakas, be-

² Phimeanakas, Prasats Chrung, Banteay Chhmar.

longing to the reign of Jayavarman VII, translated and edited by Finot in 1925, mentions a King Yaśovarman as one of the immediate predecessors of Jayavarman VII; but Finot credited this reference also to the earlier Yaśovarman (389, 373). To Coedès, in his translation or retranslation of the steles of the Prasats Chrung, is due the credit for having established Yaśovarman II on a firm footing as one of the kings of the Kambuja.

THE REVOLT OF THE RĀHUS

In one of the inscriptions of the Prasats Chrung, which Coedès has recently read but which has not yet been published in translation, it is learned that King Yaśovarman conquered the obscurity of the *Daitya* or the *Daitya Rāhu* (whatever that may mean).

An inscription of Banteay Chhmar, summarized by Aymonier (6, 2, 343–346), and recently retranslated, corrected and resummarized by Coedès, gives a more detailed account of this revolt (143, 309–312). The translation of Coedès reads as follows:

When *Bharata Rāhu* manifested his spirit of treason against the King Śrī Yaśovarmadeva to take possession of the holy (royal) palace, all the troops of the capital . . . fled. The Prince³ engaged the combat. The anak Sanjak Arjuna and the anak Sanjak Śrī Dharadevapura fought to defend the Samtac. They fell before (him). The Prince struck the nose of *Bharata Rāhu* and upset him. In the meantime, order was given to award the title of *Vrah Kamrateñ añ Śrī Nirpasinhavarma* to the anak Sanjak Devapura, son of the anak Sanjak (Arjuna and Śrī Dharadevapura) and to erect their statues; as to all the members of their families, the Prince accorded them riches and dignities.

A note says that a bas-relief of Banteay Chhmar represents two beings with demon-heads, one of them fighting with a young man. Coedès thinks *Bharata Rāhu* may represent two persons (fig. 56a).

This seems to have been a revolt of the lower classes, from the contempt with which the leaders are mentioned in the inscription and the way they are represented in the bas-reliefs.

WHO WAS THE SAMTAC?

The inscription of Banteay Chhmar gives also an account of an expedition into Champa in which two other Sanjaks, Śrī Deva and Śrī Varddhana, natives of Vijayapura, sacrificed themselves for the prince (Aymonier says the king) in a similar manner. These Sanjaks also were granted posthumous honors and their statues were erected (see above).

The leader from whom these four Sanjaks sacrificed their lives is called the Samtac in the inscriptions. Aymonier, perhaps because King Yaśovarman was mentioned in the first part of the inscription, thought the Samtac was the king. Coedès disagrees, partly because the language does not apply so well to a king and

partly because the bas-reliefs represent the Rāhu's opponent a young warrior, not a king. According to the inscriptions, the statues of the four Sanjaks were erected at the four corners of a temple with that of the *Kamrateng jagat Śrī-Srindradeva*, image of the *Kamrateng an Śrī Srindrakumārārājaputra*,⁴ i.e., the Crown Prince Śrī Indrakumāra, son of Jayavarman VII who was Crown Prince when the inscription was indited). It is difficult to explain the presence of the statue of this prince in the center of the statues of these four Sanjaks unless he was the Samtac for whom they sacrificed their lives.

If this is true, Yaśovarman II must have been a close relative of Jayavarman VII and accepted by the family as the legitimate claimant or Jayavarman's son would not have risked his life for him, as he did in the revolt of the *Rāhus*.

WAS BANTEAY CHHMAR THE CAPITAL OF YAŚOVARMAN II?

Groslier thinks Banteay Chhmar was a citadel and a capital. He once wrote a learned article (471) to prove its identity with Amarendrapura, one of the capitals of Jayavarman II. He mentioned a legend, which Aymonier before him had known, that this region was the site of an ancient kingdom called Chambak Borei, in the name of whose king Aymonier saw a possible vestige of that of Yaśovarman (484, 185). He mentioned an inscription of the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002–1049) at Nak Ta Ci Ko, near Banteay Chhmar which records the purchase of lands at Vijayapura by a personage named Nṛpasimhavarman (471). Now, the two Sanjaks who defended the prince in Champa were natives of Vijayapura and Nṛpasimhavarman was the title granted to the son of one of the Sanjaks who defended the prince against the Rāhus. Groslier asks, why should a king erect a statue of a crown prince for four Sanjaks in a distant and barren region like Banteay Chhmar for deeds done in Champa or elsewhere unless the capital was at Banteay Chhmar and one of the events took place there?

Groslier thinks the inscription of Banteay Chhmar was the work of Yaśovarman II. On this point, he seems to be mistaken. His later opinion is that the central of the three principal sanctuaries of Banteay Chhmar, which was Vishnuite and had staged towers, belonged to the reign of Sūryavarman II, which seems possible. He thinks the statues were placed in this already existing sanctuary, which, as we shall see, seems improbable.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRIBHUVANĀDITYAVARMAN

An inscription of Prasat Chrung (143, 306–307) says Yaśovarman was despoiled of his kingdom by Tribhuvanāditya. The inscription of Phimeanakas (II) says Yaśovarman was despoiled of his kingdom and

³ Aymonier translates this as King instead of Prince.

his life by "a servant ambitious to arrive at the royal power" (389, st. 65; 262, st. 65-66).

According to the inscription on the plates of Phnom Svam, one of which mentions Tribhuvanādityadeva and the other the date 1088 *śāka* (=A.D. 1166), it appears that this king was ruling at that time and that he probably came to the throne during the preceding year, 1165 (143, 306).

THE RETURN OF PRINCE JAYAVARMAN

When Prince Jayavarman, who seems to have been a voluntary exile in Vijaya (Champa,⁴ Chaban) since the accession of Yaśovarman II, heard of the revolt of Tribhuvanādityavarman, he hastened to return to Cambodia, perhaps to support King Yaśovarman II, perhaps to assert his own rights to the throne. The inscription of Phimeanakas says: "Seeing the moment come, he rose to save the land heavy with crime." His wife, "having, by her exertions recovered her husband, she ceased her efforts; she desired to see (freed) the land plunged into a sea of misfortunes" (389, st. 66-67; 262, st. 66-67).

But Jayavarman was too late. When he arrived, King Yaśovarman II was already dead and Tribhuvanādityavarman firmly seated on the throne. Again, not desiring to engage in fratricidal strife for the throne, he bided his time.

WAR WITH CHAMPA, 1167-1176

About 1165 another usurper, Jaya Indravarman IV of Gramāpura, came to the throne of Champa. He was an unscrupulous adventurer, eager for plunder wherever and however it could be obtained. He seems to have begun his offensive against Cambodia as early as 1167. The attack was renewed in 1170. The war was indecisive for some time (535, 161-163).

Ma Tuan-lin says that

in 1171 there was a [Chinese] mandarin shipwrecked on the coast of Champa. . . . On both sides, elephants were used for fighting, without great advantage. The mandarin advised the king of Champa to use horsemen armed with crossbows, to whom he taught the art of using their bows on horseback. . . . The success of the innovation was enormous; victory declared itself for Champa (584, 555-556).

This refers perhaps to border fighting, as there does not seem as yet to have been any serious invasion of Cambodia by the Chams.

THE CHAMS SACK YAŚODHARAPURA, 1177

King Jaya Indravarman then tried to secure enough horses in Kwang Tung and Hunan to invade Cambodia by land. Failing in this, he decided on an invasion by sea. In 1177 his fleet guided along the coast by the

⁴ Coedès says Jayavarman went to Champa at an undetermined date on a military expedition (274, 220).

shipwrecked Chinaman, "the king of Cheng Ching⁵ [Champa] suddenly assailed the capital of Chenla [Cambodia] with a powerful fleet, pillaged it and put the king to death, without listening to any proposal of peace" (584, 557). Thus Tribhuvanādityavarman suffered the same fate he had meted out to his predecessor twelve years earlier. An inscription of Prasat Chung says (143, 307): "The latter [Tribhuvanādityavarman], proud of his force, was, in his turn, despoiled of it (the kingdom) by the king of Champa named Jaya Indravarman."

This was the greatest blow Cambodia had suffered since its conquest by the Malays. The Cham fleet sailed up the Tonle Sap and probably the Siemreap river to Yaśodharapura (576, 164). The wooden palisades offered no adequate defense. The wooden residences and public buildings and many temples with their gilded spires and idols of gold were sacked or burned. The many stones used in reemploy in temples after this date show that the destruction was not confined entirely to buildings of wood and brick. The spoils must have been great.

A PERIOD OF ANARCHY, 1177-1181

The king slain, a period of anarchy seems to have ensued. Jayavarman, returned from Champa in 1165, seems to have been unwilling to attempt to overthrow Tribhuvanādityavarman by force. He waited twelve years and was apparently an unwilling witness of the destruction of the capital, which he was powerless to prevent.

Now, however, he exerted himself to bring order out of the chaos which had arisen. The land was "heavy with crimes" and his wife, Jayarājadevī, again united with her husband, desired to see him "draw the earth out of this sea of misfortune into which it was plunged" (389, st. 66-67).

THE CAMPAIGN IN CHAMPA

According to the inscription of Banteay Chhmar, the Khmers made an expedition into Champa at this time. The inscription says:

Formerly the Prince was allied to the country of Champa. After he had taken the fortress the Cham King called Jaya Indravarman⁶ had erected on Mount Chek Katāng,⁷ the Prince returned. . . . The advance-guard of the Cham army, taking a short cut, followed (the Khmers) furtively and surprised by ruse their rear-guard, which was not able to mass. The Prince made all his forces return to the rear, in order to bring aid (to the rear-guard). Arrived at Mount Traya, he ascended this mountain, when the Chams collected in order that the advance-guard should

⁵ See p. 189, n. 8.

⁶ Jaya Indravarman of Grāmapura came to the throne before 1161 (Mison (VII)—535, 3, 195-198). He was the king who sacked Yaśodharapura in 1177 and was driven out by Prince Jayavarman. The inscription of Ta Prohm (st. 18) seems to indicate that he was killed.

⁷ These places are not identified.

ascend (to the assault of the mountain). The people of the (Khmer) rear-guard were all broken down; not thirty remained. The Prince descended fighting to the foot of the mountain. The Chams surrounded the Samtac⁸; there were none of his men who dared fight.

The anak Sanjak Śrī Deva and the anak Sanjak Śrī Vardhana, who were relatives (of the Prince) were sworn; the people of Vijayapura⁹ . . . when the future Buddha will be born. They came to find the Prince and informed him of it. Then they fought and threw themselves before him, lowering the head, and repulsed the Chams, who ascended in great numbers. . . . The Chams, struck by their lances, reached them in the stomach. They fell (faithful to) their oath.

(The Prince) ordered all the royal ceremonies. When he led the four divisions of the Khmer army to fight in 78 places, (its people) defended him all on firm foot. Arrived at the country of the Kambuja, he deigned to confer on the two *anak Sanjaks* the title of *amten* and to erect statues to them (143, 312-315).

Important as this campaign sounds in this inscription and great as its interest is to Cambodian history, it seems to have been a mere border raid. No Cham inscription mentions it and no hint of such a campaign is found in any history of Champa.

LOUVO AND HARIPUNJAYA

This period of disorder seems to have extended to the uttermost limits of the Empire. It was at this time that Adittarāja, or Adityarāja, an ambitious king of Haripunjaya, a Mon kingdom founded by Louvo but which had resisted the attempt of Sūryavarman I to subdue it after he had conquered Louvo, formed the design of conquering the mother country, which was now subject to the Kambuja.

Coedès thinks this king came to the throne of Haripunjai about the middle of the twelfth century. One of the documents of western Laos translated by the Mission Pavie says this king, whom it calls Atteutarach, was already a long time on the throne when he raised some troops and marched upon Louvo. This document says the king of Louvo proposed that they each build a pagoda. The army of Louvo finished first and that of Haripunjaya fled to their country, pursued by that of Louvo. Here they dug basins. Stories of this kind are common in the legends of Buddhist countries in Indo-China. The truth seems to be that an army from Haripunjai attacked Louvo and was repulsed, while Louvo returned the attack and met a similar repulse (175, 169-171; 596, 160-165).

PRINCE JAYAVARMAN EXPELLED THE CHAMS

During a period of which we have very little information, Prince Jayavarman seems to have beaten the Chams in a great naval battle, to have quieted the

country and to have been crowned king as Jayavarman VII. "In a combat, having . . . conquered this (king) whose warriors were as an ocean without limits, (and) having received the *abhiśeka* he possessed, by the conquest of Vijaya and other countries, the purified earth which could be called his house" (143, 324-325).

Does the following stanza of the inscription to Ta Prohm indicate that he killed the Cham king, Jaya Indravarman IV? "King Jayavarman, . . . founding himself in the law, killed in combat the enemy chief with a hundred million arrows to protect the earth" (157, st. 18).

THE KHMER EMPIRE IN 1178

Hirth and Rockhill, in their translation of Chau Juqua's *Chu-fan-che*, give a chapter on Chenla, said to be taken chiefly from *Ling-wai-tai-ta* (1178) (495, 37). It gives as boundaries: on the north, Chan-ch'eng (Champa); on the east, the sea; on the west, P'u-kān (Burma); on the south, Kia-lo-hi (or Chia-lo-hsi), (Grahi), a dependency of San-fo-t'si (Śrīvijaya). It names twelve "foreign" localities which it calls dependencies. The first six, in order, were: Tōng-liu-me'i, Po-ssi-lan, Lo-ho, San-lo, Chênli-fu, and Ma-lo-wōn.

Tōng-liu-me'i, which is said to be west of Chenla and southwest of Chen-li-fu is doubtless Tāmbralinga. It was formerly a dependency of Funan and was conquered by Śrīvijaya before 775. It seems to have been independent or nearly so at the time of the Chola raids and under its king, Sujita, to have helped his son, Sūryavarman, to conquer Louvo, including the peninsula as far south as Chia-lo-hsi (Grahi) in Kalah. Sūryavarman I of Cambodia seems to have inherited Tāmbralinga, along with Louvo, from his father. As Grahi lay between it and Louvo, it probably communicated with the Empire only by water; hence the direction given. *Po-ssi-lan* has not been identified with certainty. Ma Tuan-lin says it borders Chen-li-fu on the southeast. Hirth and Rockhill think it may be the same as the Pa-sseu-li mentioned later by Chou Ta-kuan as a vassal of Cambodia. Its position in the list seems to indicate that it may be on the peninsula. It does not occur in the list given by Chau Ju-kua in 1225. Lo-ho is Louvo. San-lo is unidentified. Hirth and Rockhill think it may be an attempt to transcribe the name of the country or people called Syām in the Khmer inscriptions and later called Sien and Sien-lo by the Chinese. Its position in the list lends credence to this belief. Chen-li-fu has probably been correctly identified with the region of the present Chantabun. Ma-lo-wōn is probably the Malyang of Khmer inscriptions and the Mou-liang of Chou Ta-kuan. These six dependencies were probably added or consolidated by Sūryavarman I (495, 52-57; 734).

The other six "foreign" dependencies are more uncertain or more doubtful. P'u-kān is, of course, Pagan, which certainly was not a dependency of Cambodia at

⁸ Samtac = Prince.

⁹ Groslier thinks this was the name of the village of Nak Ta Cik Ko, near Banteay Chhmar, where a stele of the reign of Jayavarman VII mentions a Nṛpasimhavarman (471, 370).

this time. Wa-li is said to figure on both lists (1178 and 1225). It is said to be sixty days from Pagan on the Irrawaddy. Hirth and Rockhill thought it might be Laos or the Karen country. This author suggests the Wa country. The other four are unidentifiable, but

are probably small Tai states which were forming on the upper Mekong (see G. Maspero's map—574).

This seems to have been the state of the Khmer Empire at the beginning of the reign of Jayavarman VII (map 15).

14. JAYAVARMAN VII (1181–1215+): EARLIER PERIOD

ACCESSION AND GENEALOGY

Jayavarman VII was crowned king in 1181 (389, st. 5). His genealogy, given in inscriptions of his reign (p. 186), traces his descent through his father, Dharaṇindravarman II, back to Jayavarman VI, founder of the dynasty of Mahīdharapura. Chief emphasis, however, was laid on the genealogy of his mother, Śrī Jayarājacūdāmanī,¹ daughter of Harshavarman III—and back through Kambujarājalakshmi and the mother of Śreṣṭhavarman, to the hermit Svayāmbhuva Kambu and the *apsaras* Merā, fabled founders of the race (143, 301).

Jayavarman VII must have been well advanced in years when he came to the throne. As Coedès has pointed out, if his son was old enough to fight before 1165 (see following paragraph), he (Jayavarman VII) was very probably born before 1130,² which would have made him at least fifty-one years of age at the time of his coronation in 1181 (143, 319).

JAYAVARMAN VII'S WIVES AND SONS

Jayavarman VII's principal wife, when he was crowned king, seems to have been the devoted Jayarājadevī, who mourned for him while he was absent in Champa, apparently from about 1160 to 1167. Another queen, Rājendradevī, whose son was old enough to indite the inscription of Preah Khan in 1191, is said by that inscription to be his principal wife³ (228, st. 179). As will appear later, on the death of Jayarājadevī, he married her talented sister, Indradevī.

Jayavarman VII had several sons, of whom four or five are mentioned in the inscriptions. There was the Samtac Śrīndrakumāra, who Coedès thinks defended Yaśovarman II some time between 1160 and 1165, who seems to have died young, and to whom Jayavarman VII erected a monument (along with monuments to each of the four Sanjaks who risked their lives for him) in one of the temples of Banteay Chhmar (143, 309–319). There was -indravarman, governor of Louvo (262, st. 57), whom Jayarājadevī advised against celibacy (389, st. 56–57), between 1160 and 1165 (143, 326–327). There was Sūryakumāra, author of the in-

scription of Ta Prohm (in 1186) and mentioned in that inscription as Crown Prince⁴ (157, st. 145). These seem to have been sons of Jayarājadevī. And there was Virakumāra, author of the inscription of Preah Khan (in 1191), son of Rājendradevī (228, st. 179). Then there was Indravarman, who succeeded Jayavarman VII, and who may have been one of the above, but it does not seem to be certain that he was a son of Jayavarman VII.⁵

GURUS, MINISTERS, HOTARS

The inscriptions do not mention a *purohita* during this reign. The worship of the *devarāja*, or Royal Śivalinga, seems to have been the state religion only nominally, if at all. Its place as the royal deity apparently came to be taken by a Buddharāja.

The inscription of Ta Prohm mentions a *guru*, who received the title of Jaya Maṅgalārthadeva, whom the king showered with gifts and honors, as he apparently did also the brother of this *guru*, whose family was given royal titles. The king erected an image of this *guru* and also of Jaya Kīrtideva, probably a brother, but possibly another name of the *guru*.

The chief Buddhist ministers of Jayavarman VII appear to have been this *guru* and the sons of the king. Important inscriptions are ascribed to two of these sons and they may have supervised the erection of important buildings.

The inscription of Prasat Tor, near the northeast corner of the East Baray (715, 207), indited by Śrī Sūryasuri (Bhūpendrapaṇḍita of Kuśasthali) says the author, Bhūpendrapaṇḍita III, nephew of Bhūpendrapaṇḍita II, was Chief of the Magistrates and the First President of the Court of Jayādityapura (224, st. 60–61), probably at or near Vat Phu. This family was Śivaite but it had served Śivaite, Viṣṇuite and Buddhist kings, since Jayavarman VI at least (p. 193).

Late in this reign, as we shall see later (p. 236), a young brahman named Hṛṣhikeśa, native of Burma, came to Kambujadesa and became Royal Chaplain (*Hotar*),⁶ with the title of Jaya Mahāpradhāna.

⁴ Prince Sūryavarman. *kumāra* = prince.

⁵ The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma says that *Shin Tāmalinda*, son of the King of Kamboja, was one of the four Pali scholars who returned from Ceylon in 1190 with Chapata to establish Singhalese Hīnayānism in Burma (529, 143–144); but no Cambodian inscription nor other document mentions him.

⁶ Coedès says he was royal chaplain, or *purohita*, (278, 292). Does that mean *purohita* of the *devarāja*?

¹ Coedès calls her simply Chūdāmanī (278, 286), the two first syllables of her name probably being due to Jayavarman VII's tendency to attach his name to everything relating to him and his reign.

² Coedès now thinks he was born not later than 1025 (277, 178).

³ These may have been the same person.

THE REVOLT OF MALYANG, 1182

In the very first year of his reign, Jayavarman VII was called upon to down a revolt of his subjects in the dependent kingdom of Malyang, in the southern part of the present province of Baṭṭambang (192, 11). He entrusted this campaign to a young Cham refugee prince named Sri Vidyānandana, native of Tumprauk-Vijaya.

This young prince had just arrived from Champa. Why he left his country, we do not know. The king of Champa at that time was Jaya Indravarman ong Vatuv. We do not know when or how he came to the throne. Perhaps his succession had something to do with the flight of young Prince Vidyānandana to Kambujadesa.

The story of this prince's life in Kambujadesa is told in a Misōn pillar inscription ⁷:

In 1104 *śāka* [1182], he went to Kambujadesa. The king of Kambujadesa seeing him possessed of all the 33 marks, received him favorably and taught him like a prince all the varied branches of knowledge and instructed him in the various branches of military science. During his stay in Kambujadesa, a dependent town called Malyang, inhabited by a multitude of bad men, revolted against the king of Kambujadesa. The latter, seeing the prince well versed in arms, ordered him to lead the troops of Kambujadesa and to take the town of Malyang. He did all the king desired. The latter, pleased with his valor, conferred on him the dignity of Yuvarāja and gave him all the pleasures and the good things which could be found in the kingdom of Kambujadesa (535, 203).

BUILDING ACTIVITY: NAGARA JAYASRI

The foreigner driven out, the country quieted and Jayavarman VII firmly seated on the throne, there seems to have commenced a feverish period of building activity, unparalleled in Cambodian history, or perhaps in that of any other country. Jayavarman had been an unwilling witness to the destruction of the capital by the Chams, which he was then powerless to prevent, although he afterwards succeeded in defeating them and expelling them from the country. The palace and other buildings in light material had been destroyed, statues and other booty carried off, and some of the stone buildings destroyed or damaged. Jayavarman VII doubtless began to plan a more impregnable city, with stone walls instead of the wooden palisades which had proven so futile; but at first his activities seem to have taken another course.

On the spot where he won his final victory over the Chams—just to the north of the northeast corner of Angkor Thom—so close that the outer moats are only 250 meters apart, Jayavarman VII founded a holy city, to which he gave the name of Nagara Jaysrī, "Fortunate City of Victory." This name is practically equivalent to Preah Khan, "Holy Palladium," a name also

applied to the Sacred Sword. The discovery of the stele consecrating the central temple of this city leaves no doubt that this was the beginning of the city later known as Preah Khan—one of the several cities known to have been built by Jayavarman VII.⁸ It has been considered a temporary capital of that king—while he was planning and preparing his later capital (206, 17–18)—and this view seems reasonable.

THE ART OF THE BAYON

The reign of Jayavarman VII was accompanied by some changes in architecture and art, which have given to the art of this period the name of the "Art of the Bayon." The innovations, according to Marchal as quoted by Coedès, were (1) "towers with face, (2) elephants in the masonry, (3) balusters no longer round, but engaged in the wall, (4) *dvārāpālas* in the round on socles, (5) *nāga* and *Gāruḍa*, and (6) bas-reliefs with Avalokiteśvara⁹ as the principal personage." This art was characterized by great haste and carelessness of construction (138, 90–92).

Jayavarman VII was a fervent Buddhist, as was his father, Dharaṇindravarman II, and probably also Yaśovarman II, who seems to have been a member of the family. Perhaps some of the buildings finished by Jayavarman VII were begun by his Buddhist predecessors. But the period had been too troubled to undertake much construction work. Coedès assigned the "Art of the Bayon" *in toto* to the reign of Jayavarman VII (138, 81). To this, Groslier demurred on the ground of lack of time for the construction of so many buildings in the short space of twenty years (1181–1201) and advanced the idea that the constructions with face-towers date back to 1170 or earlier and possibly came into Kambujadesa by way of Banteay Chhmar, which he believed was the capital of Yaśovarman II (483; 484, 181–186). Groslier's argument has been weakened somewhat by the discovery that there is no reason to think that Jayavarman VII's reign ended in 1201 (p. 223). Parmentier presents strong arguments that the Bayon and the walls of Angkor Thom were conceived and built by Jayavarman VII and he thinks this is true also of the other constructions with face towers; viz., the enclosures of Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei and the additions to Banteay Chhmar (626). The most recent expert opinion, however, seems to be that parts of some of the most ancient buildings were erected or at least begun before Jayavarman VII.¹⁰

⁸ Banteay Chhmar, Angkor Thom, and Ta Prohm, and probably Preah Khan of Kompong Svai were others.

⁹ The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is generally called Lokeśvara in Indo-China (394).

¹⁰ Coedès now says—and he cites Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat in support of his views: "The present opinion is that the most ancient of these edifices—Preah Khan, Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei—may have been commenced before Jayavarman VII" (228, 260).

⁷ This quotation is from the English of Majumdar, with the substitution of Kambujadesa for Cambodge.

STYLE OF THE BAYON: FIRST PERIOD

Stern and Mme de Coral Remusat have divided the Style of the Bayon—as they call it—into four periods. The first period includes the first parts of Ta Prohm of Angkor, Banteay Kdei, and Preah Khan of Angkor and all or parts of Ta Prohm of Bati and Vat Nokor. Architecturally, the first period did not differ so much

consisted of a series of upright scrolls without branches, like that of Angkor Wat (301, 54, 61, 67, 24) (fig. 43*b, c*).

Sculpture was represented by personages in high relief on the walls and human figures in the round. The figures on the wall were mostly feminine and were surmounted by an arch with *nāgas* (fig. 44). At this

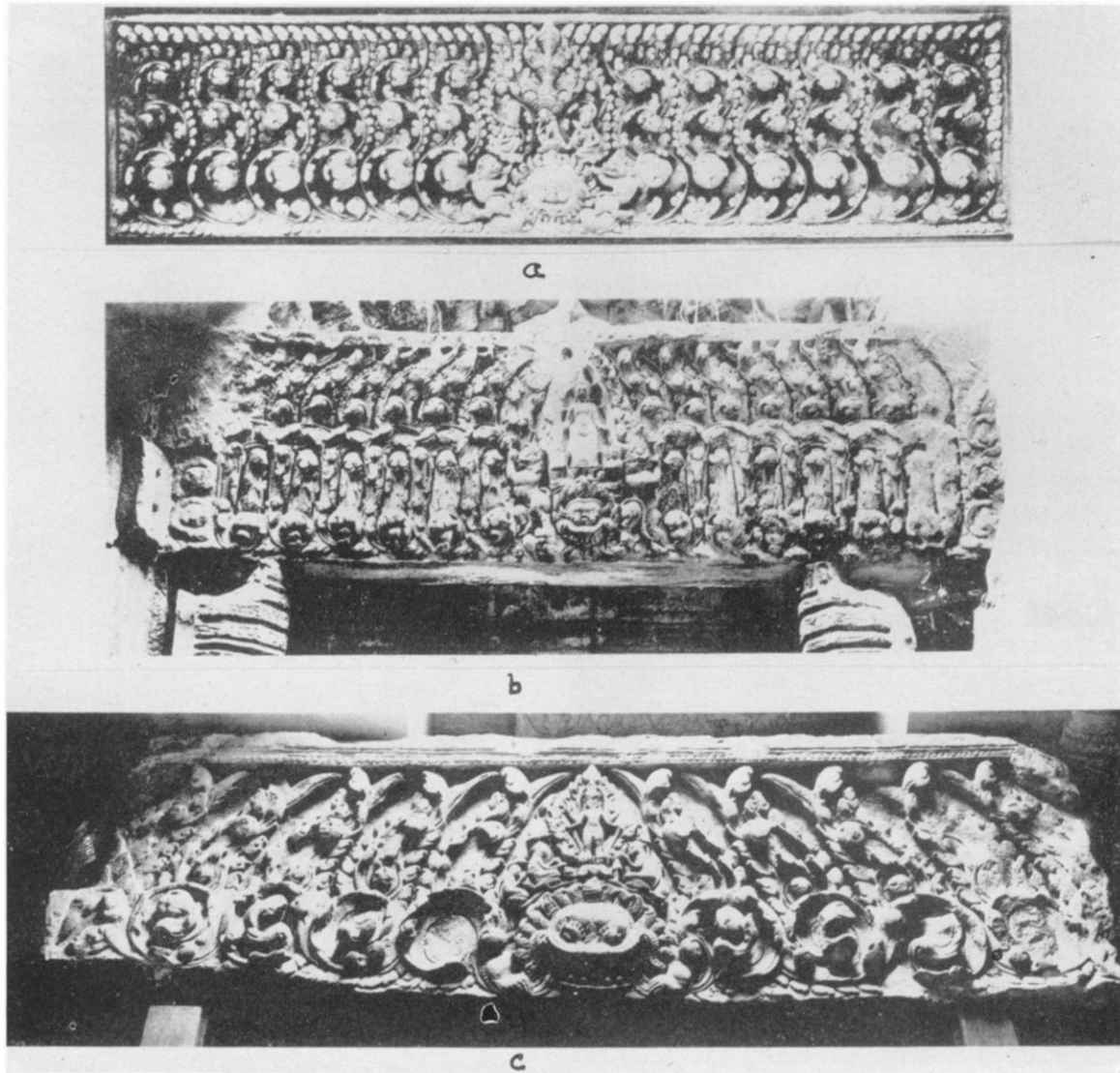


FIG. 43. Lintels of the Styles of (a) Angkor and (b, c) the Bayon.

from the Style of Angkor Wat; but its buildings were all on the flat plan. Moats, enclosures, galleries, towers, still remained, but the central mass was no longer a series of towers in quincunx.

The decorations of this early period presented little that was new. With the development of immense walls and galleries, lintels and colonettes began to lose their relative importance. All through this Style, the central motif of the lintel, which was generally a *makara*-head, was at the bottom of the lintel. The lintels generally

period appeared the famous smiling Buddha of the Art of the Bayon—which became one of the most striking, artistic and characteristic motifs in Khmer sculpture (301, 103, 105).

FIRST BAYON PERIOD: THE BUDDHA

Jewelled Buddhas, standing or seated on the *nāga*, were introduced into Kambujadesa during the twelfth—perhaps the eleventh—century. During the first period of the Style of the Bayon, a smiling Buddha appeared.

This type of the Buddha is thought to have had its origin in the old kingdom of Dvāravatī. Here, in the eleventh century, after the conquest of the region by Sūryavarman I, grew up a school of sculpture known as the School of Labapuri, or Second School of Dvāravatī, a blending of Mon and Khmer forms, which afterward returned to exercise an influence over Khmer sculpture of the Bayon period and also exercised a considerable influence on later Siamese art. The characteristics of the Buddhas of Labapuri, as given by Coedès, were: (1) conical *ushnisha* and skull covered

Dupont gives the following description of this statue, which is 1.78 meters (5 feet, 10 inches) high:

It has an *ushnisha* and the hair is done up in little pressed curls, scarcely distinct, bordered by an edge which designs a point above each temple. The eyes are half-closed and the face, smiling, takes a very collected expression. The robe, uniting, covering both shoulders, moulds the body very closely and carries in front a sort of belt from which a long vertical fold falls. The contour of the legs is very crudely indicated. It is, in sum, in great lines, a late reproduction, a little deformed, of the Indian type of the Buddha, as it takes form at the end of Gupta art. . . . (315, 63) (fig. 45).



FIG. 44. Ta Prohm of Angkor: *Devatā* in shallow relief.

with haircurls, (2) eyebrows projecting, (3) eyes half closed and elongated toward the temples, (4) nose thinner and longer, (5) chin more projecting, (6) seated Buddhas not inscribed in a square (as were the Khmer Buddhas of the period) and (7) standing Buddhas wearing the Gupta robe (177, 27–28; see also 314, 50–53).

The Buddhas which appear in the Angkor region at this period have most of the above-mentioned characteristics, especially the half-closed eyes and the enigmatic smile. "The standing Buddhas of the type discovered at Preah Khan of Angkor wear a Gupta robe never before found in Khmer art, except at Prei Krabas, six centuries earlier" (314, 50; see also 318; 301, 103)



FIG. 45. Preah Khan of Angkor: standing Buddha.

While Dupont attaches this Buddha to the Art of Dvāravatī, he does not think the connection is very satisfactory and asks if it was not inspired by archaic images which existed at Cambodia in the twelfth century, but have since disappeared (318, 633).

Two other unjewelled smiling Buddhas, apparently of this period are the Buddha found by Commaile at Angkor Wat and now in the Musée Albert Sarraut at Phnom Penh (318, 633) (fig. 46), and that found at Preah of Khan Kompong Svai, now on the Trocadero, Paris (fig. 47).

TA PROHM OF ANGKOR AND BANTEAY KDEI

Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei are neighboring monuments, located just to the south of the southeast cor-

ner of the East Baray. They were among the largest monuments of the Angkor group, but it is impossible to give more than a general description of them, for their plans were complicated, they are still overgrown by a dense forest and, unlike the other monuments of the Angkor group, nothing has yet been done to restore them or even to clear away the underbrush which has engulfed them. The outer walls of these monuments were built in a later period of Jayavarman VII's reign

closures seem to have been surrounded by pavilions consisting of a bare wall supported, either on the inside or on the outside, by a double row of pillars. They seem to have been designed as a shelter for pilgrims. Only the first enclosure seems to have been surrounded by a vaulted gallery (530, 3, 188).



FIG. 46. Bayon: "Commaille" Buddha.

and will be described elsewhere. Both monuments are oriented to the east.

Ta Prohm consisted of an inner sanctuary and five enclosures. The sanctuary and the four inner enclosures are believed to have been built early in this reign. They are on the flat plan and the architecture does not differ much from that of the preceding reign—laterite and sandstone walls, with cross-shaped gopuras, square towers preceded by ante-chambers on the four sides. But their plan was more complicated—a multitude of pavilions and independent tower-temples with in the first three enclosures, a row of little square temples—perhaps sixty—between the moats of the third and fourth enclosures. The second and third en-

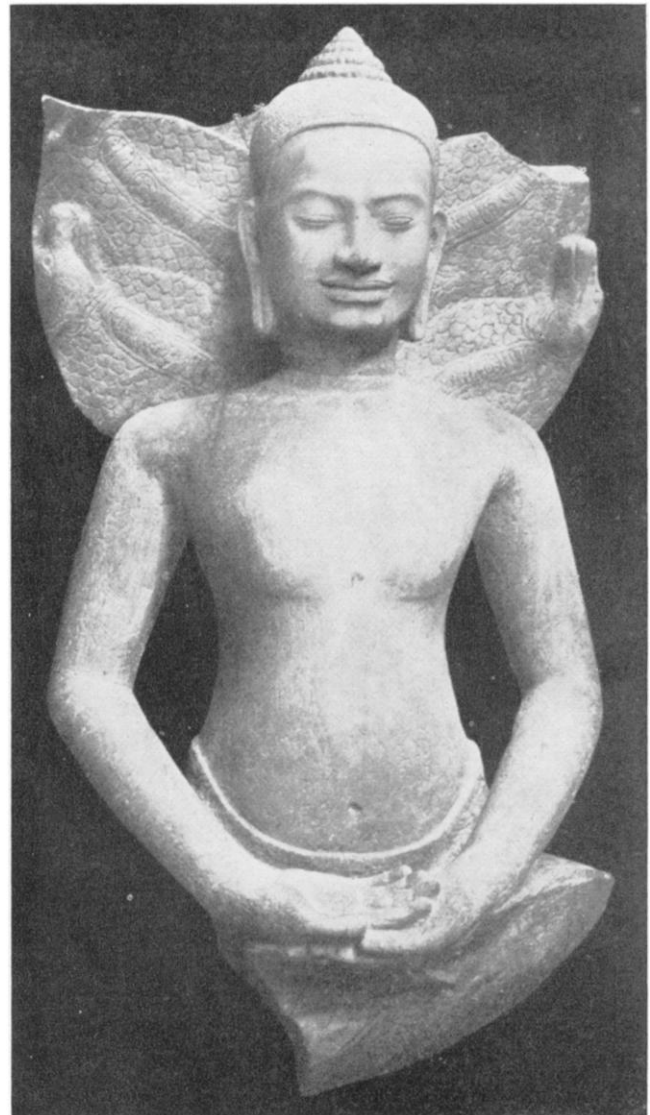


FIG. 47. Preah Khan of Kompong Svai: smiling Buddha on *nāga*.

The temple of Banteay Kdei, located near the little temple of Kutīśvara in the old Kutī region, from which both probably take their name, resembles that of Ta Prohm, on a smaller scale, even to its outer enclosure and to the two unusual edifices mentioned about (530, 3, 200–208). Just outside of the outer moat, at the beginning of the causeway running to the basin, is a cruciform terrace of the usual type, with *nāga*-balustrade. Coedès thinks Banteay Kdei was the first of Jayavarman VII's buildings in the Angkor region (274,

225). Its foundation-stele has not been found; but from its resemblance to Ta Prohm and Preah Khan, it was doubtless the funerary temple of some member of the royal family.

Several inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions have been found at Banteay Kdei. Finot mentions two inscriptions brought to light in 1920–1921. One (I), carved on two inscribed hexagonal colonettes of a little sanctuary of the outer enclosure shows evidence of being in reemploy from the earlier temple of Kutisvara and probably belongs to the reign of Rājendravarman (p. 131); the other (II), a fragment in the debris of the porch of an inner west gopura, probably belongs to the reign of Jayavarman VII (p. 223). Both are in Sanskrit. Aymonier mentions an inscription in Khmer (III) consisting of three short lines carved on the wall of a gallery and probably belonging to this reign. In a little sanctuary of this monument was found, in 1922, a bronze statue, with eight heads and eight pairs of arms, dancing on an extended body. It is believed to represent Hevajra (406, 29; 327, 1922, 383).

About 150 meters to the east of the exterior enclosure of Banteay Kdei, and about twice that distance from its third enclosure, was an immense rectangular basin, elongated east-west, about 400×800 meters in dimension, which was probably dug at this time. It is called Sras Srang, "bathing pond" (284, 211; 530, 3, 209).

TA PROHM OF BATI

This temple is located in the Province of Bati, between Phnom Penh and Phnom Chisor. It is one of the few monuments of some importance erected in the region south of Phnom Penh during the Angkor period. In fact, there must have been a monument here in light material during the Funan period; for one of the earliest inscriptions was found here.

The present monument, about 150 meters from Lake Bati, has been known for a long time and has been described by Moura (600, 2, 392–400), Aymonier (6, 1, 176–179), Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 37–44) and Groslier (467). According to Lunet de Lajonquière, it consisted of (1) a central sanctuary of sandstone, square, oriented to the east, but open on all four sides and preceded on each side by a porch and tied to the east and west gopuras by an antechamber; (2) two library buildings, in laterite, conventionally situated and oriented; (3) an inner enclosure of vaulted galleries, in laterite, 30×30 meters, with monumental gopuras on each face; narrow, dark, divided very irregularly into rooms of various sizes, receiving light only from the interior and some of them entered only through an interior window, like those of Preah Vihear, and (4) an exterior enclosure, formed by a laterite wall, 100×130 meters, opening on all four sides. It was preceded on the east by an avenue bordered by sacred basins.

The original sanctuary, in light material, was dedicated to the Buddha. Groslier thinks this temple was rebuilt in sandstone, not later than the twelfth century and that much later (sixteenth century), the edifice behind the central sanctuary was erected by Hinayānists and the central sanctuary was disaffected. Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat place the central sanctuary in the first period of the reign of Jayavarman VII¹¹ (698, 85; 301, 130).

The temple is now abandoned and is celebrated as one of the most bat-infested monuments of Cambodia.

VAT NOKOR

Vat Nokor, "Pagoda of the City," called also Phnom Bachey, and Preah Chei Preah Ar, is one of the most accessible and best known monuments of Cambodia and shares with Phnom Baset the misfortune of being the most pillaged. It is located about five kilometers from the modern city of Kompong Cham, on the west bank of the Mekong River a little above Phnom Penh. It has been described by Doudart de Lagrée (719, 264), Garnier (423, 1, 89), Moura (600, 1, 384–386), Aymonier (6, 1, 333–337), Lunet de Lajonquière (530, 1, 93–93), Parmentier (617) and others.

The group consisted (1) of a redented, square, sandstone temple, oriented to the east, and preceded on all sides by porches; (2) two libraries in laterite, regularly placed and oriented; (3) a system of laterite galleries, narrow, lighted only from the interior and accessible only from the interior except through the east and west gopuras and cut at the axes of the sanctuary, by sandstone gopuras, nearly as large as the central sanctuary; (4) a gallery, roughly concentric to the preceding, cut on the four axes by cruciform gopuras similar to the corner towers, closed on the inside and forming on the outside a sort of portico supported by two rows of square pillars and open at the east gopura by three mammoth gates, separated by two large rectangular halls supported by two rows each of four square posts, and (5) two rectangular laterite walls, the outer one about 300×400 meters. In front of the temple, at a distance of about 400 meters, was a basin, about 300×450 meters in dimension. Some Garuḍas used as corner stones have been found and some erect lions along the causeway near the east outer gopura. A statue of the Buddha has been found there.

Parmentier, Stern (698, 85) and Mme de Coral Rémusat (301, 130) agree that Vat Nokor was a Buddhist temple of the Bayon period. Parmentier thinks part of the temple was later than this date, perhaps as late as 1566, the date of a stele-inscription found near the temple. Doudart de Lagrée thought it was the monument described by Fray Gabriel (Quiroga) de San Antonio in 1604, which the Fray thought was a description of Angkor (681, 96).

¹¹ Coedès thinks this monument and that of Vat Nokor may have sheltered images of Jayabuddhamahānātha (p. 230).

PREAH KHAN OF ANGKOR

The temple of Preah Khan, which was the center of Jayavarman VII's city of Jayasrī, has been the subject of a recent study and partial anastylosis. Formerly, it was overgrown with jungle, which added to the difficulties of a very complicated plan (100, 55-56). The monument at this time, consisted of: (1) the inner sanctuary, (2) two enclosures, 55×60 and 83×98 meters, surrounded by galleries, tied together in several places, and (3) a laterite wall, 175×200 meters. A fourth enclosure was of later construction.

The ensemble was on the horizontal plan, like all the other constructions of the period. The central sanctuary was a cruciform domed tower in sandstone, preceded

THE CONQUEST OF CHAMPA, 1190

Jayavarman VII was a warrior, as well as an organizer, builder, and public benefactor. The greatest military achievement of his reign—perhaps the greatest of the entire history of Cambodia—was the capture and sack of the capital of its rich and powerful neighbor, Champa. We have seen that Jayavarman VII had witnessed the destruction of the capital of his own country by Jaya Indravarman IV in 1177 and that, after the death of the Khmer king, Jayavarman had driven out the invaders, quieted the country and seated himself on the throne. He made a long preparation to avenge this action on the part of the Cham king. In 1190, after thirteen years of secret preparations and

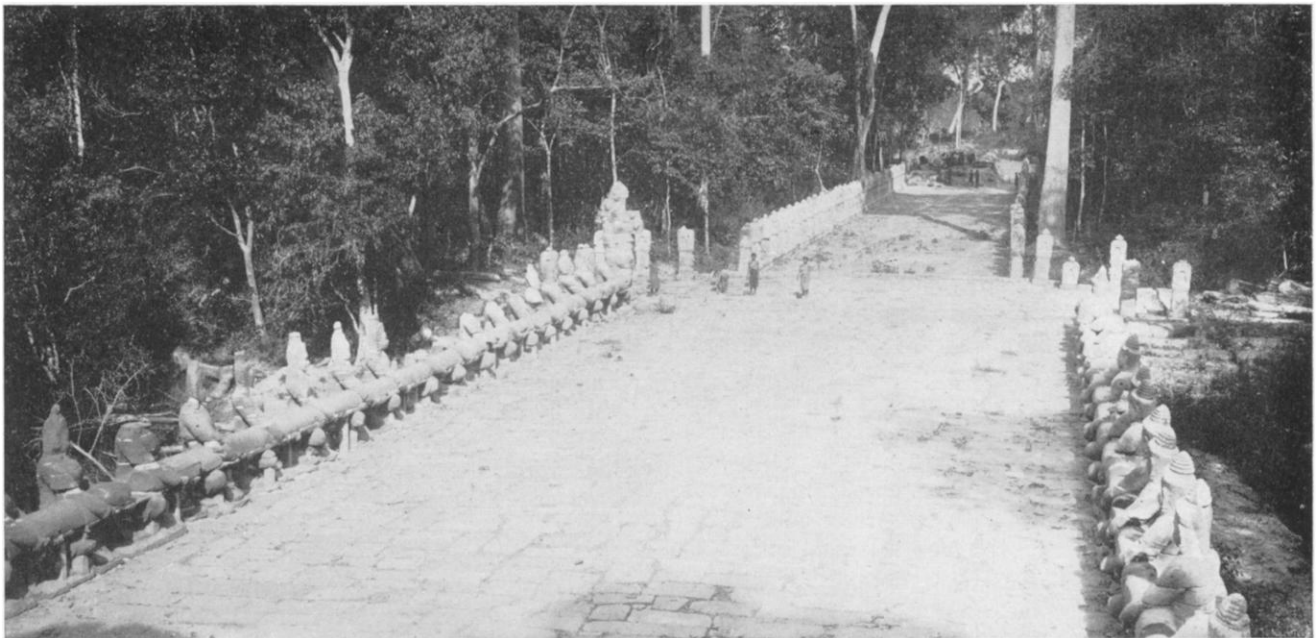


FIG. 48. Preah Khan of Angkor: Causeway of giants, and guide-posts.

on all four sides by telescopic porticos and oriented to the east. The arrangement, apparently something like that of Ta Prohm, was very confusing—a maze of halls, chapels, courts in cross and gridiron, pavilions, porticos, and other constructions. The wall was cut, at the axes of the central sanctuary, by large gopuras with many entrances. The east gopura was preceded by a cruciform terrace with *nāga*-balustrade.

The decorations, as far as they have been preserved, were good. Frontons contained scenes from Buddhist and Brahmanic legends. A thing worth noting is that some of the colonettes are round—the only ones in Classic Khmer architecture. The panels and facades of the gopuras are decorated with *devatās* and *dvārapālas*. Several statues of Buddha have been found (475, 161-162; 530, 3, 139-156; 284, 197-204; 470, 204; 555, 166).

patient dissimulation, in consequence of a Cham aggression, Jayavarman VII first sent an embassy with presents to conciliate the king of Dai-Viet, then sent a powerful army against Champa (584, 487; 576, 164-165).

A Mi-sön pillar-inscription (VII) says:

In 1112 *sāka* [A.D. 1190], King Śrī Jaya Indravarman ong Vatuv made war against the King of Kambujadesa. The latter sent the Prince [Vidyānandana] at the head of the troops of the Kambuja to take Vijaya and defeat the king. He captured the king and had him conducted to Kambujadesa by the Kambuja troops. He proclaimed Sūryajayavarmadeva Prince In, brother-in-law of the king of Kambujadesa, as king of the city of Vijaya (535, 3, 203).

He took the name of Sūryavarmadeva. Ma Tuan-lin says:

The king of Chenla [Kambujadesa] descended, in his turn, on the Chen Ching [Champa] at the head of a large

army, exterminated the inhabitants, seized the king in his palace, led him into captivity after having killed his counsellors and ministers and put an officer of Chenla in his place on the throne of Chen Ching (584, 557-558).

A Cham inscription, Po Nagar (IV), (A.D. 1226) says that the king of the Kambuja "took the capital and carried off all the lingas" (530, 3, 205).

REVOLT AND RECONQUEST OF CHAMPA

Champa did not long remain thus divided into these two kingdoms, both under the domination of Cambodia. A revolt in 1191 drove Prince In out of Champa and seated in his place a Cham prince called Rashupati, who ruled under the name of Jaya Indravarmadeva (Jaya Indravarman V's) 576, 165). The Mi-sön inscription (VII) continues:

In . . . 1114 *śāka* (A.D. 1192) the king of Cambodia sent Jaya Indravarman IV (ong Vatuv) to help the prince (Vidyānanda) reconquer Champa. They met at Rājapura, took Vijaya, defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman V (Rashputi) and ruled over Vijaya. Then Jaya Indravarman IV fled from the Cambodians and went to Amārāvati where he raised a revolt and invaded Vijaya; but the prince defeated him and put him to death. Henceforth, the prince ruled without opposition (535, 3, 203-204).

Champa was once more united under a Cham king.

But Sūryavarmadeva's treachery to his former patron, Jayavarman VII, was not forgotten by that monarch. In 1193 Jayavarman VII sent an army into Champa, which Sūryavarmadeva defeated. The next year, he sent a larger army, which met the same fate. That year (1194), Sūryavarmadeva renewed tribute to Dai Viet. In 1198 he was formally consecrated and sent an embassy to the Chinese court asking for investiture, which he received in 1199 (576, 166).

The events which follow are not very clear. An undated fragment, at the end of a Cham inscription (535, 3, 167), dated 1081, says that a Yuvarāja, ong Dhaṇapati Grāma, who had come to Cambodia from Champa and had had an experience similar to that of Sūryavarmadeva, was ordered by the king of Cambodia to conquer Sūryavarmadeva. This Yuvarāja seems to be identical with the Yuvarāja called Managahna ong Dhaṇapati, who tells us in a Cham inscription (Mi-sön (VII)) that he was ruling over Champa on that date. Now, certain Annamite historical documents quoted by Maspero (576, 166, n. 8) say that, on that date, the king of Champa was driven out by his maternal uncle and Maspero identifies this uncle with Managahna ong Dhaṇapati, who seems either to have taken the nephew to Cambodia with him some years before or to have added some lines to an earlier inscription claiming credit for deeds previously ascribed to the nephew.

According to the Annamite documents mentioned above, the defeated king, Sūryavarmadeva, fled to Dai-Viet. Arriving at the port of Co-la, in what is now northern Annam, with his family and many followers in more than two hundred junks, Sūryavarmadeva

asked for asylum. The Annamite emperor ordered the governor of Nghean to watch him. The governor decided to get rid of his troublesome guest. Sūryavarmadeva, warned, invited the governor on board of his vessel. While the Annamite guards slept, Sūryavarmadeva ordered torches thrown among their junks and, in the confusion, put to sea. This was the last ever heard of this clever and interesting character (576, 167).

Then for nearly twenty years, Champa seems to have been a province of the Khmer Empire, governed by one Dhaṇapati-grāma.

RELATIONS WITH THE MALAY PENINSULA AND BURMA

Jayavarman VII seems to have extended his Empire, or at least his influence, on the southwest and west as well as on the east. Aymonier says that in 1195 Jayavarman VII seems to have subjugated some little states in the Malay Peninsula which had formerly been simply his allies. Among the states so mentioned are Ts'an-pan, Chen-li-fu, and Tāmbralinga (6, 3, 528). Ts'an-pan, it will be recalled, was probably in the region of Battambang and almost certainly was absorbed into Chenla by Īśānavarman I. Chen-li-fu has been satisfactorily identified as Chantabun (p. 208). *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, written in 1178, lists Tāmbralinga (Teng-liu-mei), as a dependency of Cambodia (663, 233). An inscription, in Khmer, dated 1183, at the base of a bronze Buddha found at Jaiya, records an order to the governor of Grahi by a king of Malay name and title (170, 53-36; 181, 45-47), which shows Khmer influence at Grahi, even at this late period, though Grahi had probably not been a dependency of Cambodia since before 775, at least.¹²

Aymonier quotes "many Chinese authors" as saying that Pou-kām (i.e., Pagan, capital of Burma) was at this time a dependency of Cambodia. Aymonier seems to think Pou-kām meant Pegu, a Mon city of the border confederacy of Rāmanyadeśa (to which Louvo and Haripunjai also belonged) and which had been annexed by Pagan only about a century and a half earlier. A Cambodian inscription of this reign speaks vaguely of the conquest of a king in the west, which Coedès thinks must be the king of Burma.¹³

At first glance, a conquest of Pagan seems unreasonable, as Burma was at that time a comparatively powerful kingdom, ruled by an able king—Narapatisithu (1172-1210)—and the Burmese Chronicle makes no mention of any war with Cambodia at this period. In fact, the Burmese Chronicle, according to Scott, claims Narapatisithu held all the country from the border of China to the mouth of the Tenasserim river (693, 38). While Chinese documents may have confused

¹² Coedès suggests that Tāmbralinga may have recognized the sovereignty of Cambodia (278, 310, n. 2). The author thinks it was a dependency of the Khmer Empire since the reign of Sūryavarman I (734).

¹³ The inscription of Prasat Tor (224, st. C 45 and n. p. 188).

Pegu and Pagan, the listing of the latter as a dependency of Cambodia may have some basis in fact. It is not at all probable that the Cambodians captured the city of Pagan, far from their border; but the incessant border warfare and threats of warfare may have led the Burmese king to pay tribute to Cambodia, just as Ma Tuan-lin says Cambodia paid tribute to Champa under the weak predecessors of Jayavarman VII (584, 487).

This expansion, even if not wholly proven, doubtless gave Jayavarman VII a more extensive empire than that of any other Khmer king.

RELATIONS WITH CEYLON. INTRODUCTION OF SINGHALESE HINĀYĀNISM INTO INDO-CHINA

The only mentions of Cambodia in Burmese history during the period have to do with the relations of these two countries with Ceylon. (1) During the troubled period which preceded the accession of Jayavarman VII, Ceylon sent a naval and military expedition against Burma (A.D. 1180). One of the causes of the expedition was that the Burmese kidnapped a Singhalese princess whom the king of Ceylon was sending to the king of Cambodia. It is admitted by historians of Burma that the Ceylonese harried the delta country of Burma, but the ultimate fate of the princess is not known (440, 57). (2) About the middle of the twelfth century, Hīnayānism was forced to yield to Brahmanism in southern India, Kāñci became Mahāyānist, and Ceylon became the refuge and stronghold of Hīnayānism. A pious king of that country called a council, which reformed some practices of that worship, particularly the system of ordination. Hīnayānist monks from Indo-China—particularly Mon from Louvo and Talaing (Burmese Mon) from Pagan—began to make pilgrimages to Ceylon to study the new system. In 1180 a Talaing monk who was Primate of the Hīnayānists of Burma, made a pilgrimage to Ceylon, taking with him a young Talaing novice named Chapata, who remained and studied ten years in the famous old monastery of Mahāvihāra.¹⁴ When Chapata returned to Pagan in 1190, he brought with him four other monks—one a native of Kāñci and one a son of the king of Cambodia. These five monks built, near Pagan, the Chapata pagoda, of Singhalese design, and in 1192 organized there a chapter and caused a schism in the Hīnayānist worship in Burma. King Narapatī favored the new sect and it soon succeeded the old system which had been introduced into Pagan from Thatōn in the middle of the preceding century (490, 55–57; 529, 143). This new sect, however, does not seem to have reached Cambodia, or even the Mon settlements of the lower Menam¹⁵ before the middle of the thirteenth century (306, 25).

¹⁴ This monastery, said to have been built in 251 B.C., still exists (490, 119).

¹⁵ Then the Kingdom of Louvo, a dependency of the Khmer Empire and partly Khmerized.

JAYAVARMAN VII'S QUEENS AND THEIR GIFTS

An inscription found at Phimeanakas (389) tells us that "after having received the *abhiṣeka*, possessed by the conquest of Vijaya and other countries," i.e., after Jayavarman had conquered Champa and other countries, Queen Jayarājadevī, rejoicing in the return of her husband and in his withdrawing the country from the "sea of misfortunes" into which it had been plunged (st. 67), "filled the earth with a shower of magnificent gifts" (st. 72). These gifts and foundations are enumerated at some length in the inscription (st. 73–93). They include many articles of gold, silver, precious jewels, and Chinese cloth, dancers in dramas representing the essence of the *Jātakas*, "At Śivapura she erected piously her three *gurus* [father, mother, husband] in gold set with jewels, like incandescent suns." She "erected everywhere, her father, her brother, friends, relatives and members of her family, known to her or of whom she had heard talk" (st. 93).

On the death of Queen Jayarājadevī, Jayavarman VII chose as chief queen, her elder sister, the talented Indradevī, who had been the leading teacher of Buddhist doctrine of three schools, including among her pupils even her sister, Jayarājadevī and the other wives of the king. Queen Indradevī erected "numerous images of Jayarājadevī with images of the king and herself in all the cities" (st. 96) and composed the inscription of the Phimeanakas.

This inscription, undated but certainly after 1190 (an event of which date it mentions), said to be a masterpiece of Sanskrit, is notable for several reasons: (1) it shows that a woman became a leading teacher of the Buddhist doctrine; (2) it shows that the *Jātakas* were put into drama and represented by play and dance in the schools; (3) it shows that the foundations of Jayavarman VII and his two queens were about equally divided between Buddhist and Śivaite.

STYLE OF THE BAYON: SECOND PERIOD

The second period of the style of the Bayon manifests itself chiefly in its ornamentation and its sculpture. Its special characteristics were the further development of the closed-eyed smiling Buddha, the development of a smiling bodhisattva and the sudden and peculiar development of the Garuḍa. Lintels and colonettes became stylized and dropped into a role almost of insignificance. The principal architectural works of this period were the outer walls and gates of Preah Khan and Neak Pean, Angkor Thom, Ta Prohm, and Banteay Kdei.

During this period, the half-smiling Buddhas of the Labapuri School were rapidly transformed.

The large curls flatten out, the border-line of the hair re-appears on the forehead and at the point of the temples. Very soon, by a natural evolution, the half-closed eyes close entirely. It is thus that, by an inspiration of genius, the

Cambodian artist completes the meditative expression of the faces by the famous Khmer smile (301, 103).

The sculptors emphasized particularly Buddha heads, but perhaps the most famous specimens of the Khmer sitting Buddha are of this period.

This period also developed the smiling bodhisattvas. The masculine heads generally have a cylindrical chignon; the feminine heads a conical one. The most striking types are the jewelled four-faced heads which ornament the gates and towers of the period. "With the smiling faces, image of meditation, of the folding



FIG. 49. Preah Khan of Angkor: wall with *Garuḍa*.

of the being on an interior vision, Khmer genius attains again one of the summits of universal art" (301, 103–104).

The *Garuḍa*, which appeared occasionally with the *nāga* in the first Bayon period and even in the later part of the Style of Angkor Wat, took here a sudden importance. It straddles the multiple heads of the upright *nāgas* at the end of causeways and on the walls (301, 103, 107–109).

PREAH KHAN OF ANGKOR: WALLS AND GATES

Some time after the development of the *Garuḍa*, Jayavarman VII built the walls and moats of Preah Khan.

The outer enclosure of Preah Khan was a laterite wall, 640 × 820 meters, surrounded by a moat, 40 meters wide, which was crossed on the south side by a causeway with *nāga* and giant parapet similar to those of Angkor Thom (fig. 48). The approaches to the east and west causeways were lined by posts, a meter high, elaborately carved on their four faces with *Garuḍas* with upraised arms, with a brahman seated in a little niche above, and the top crowned by a lotus flower. The wall, 5 meters high, was cut, at the axes by large gopuras, with 3 entrances—the center one for elephants and carts, the ones on the sides for pedestrians. Along the wall, at intervals of 40 or 50 meters, were carved gigantic *Garuḍas*, sometimes 7 meters high, with arms uplifted as if supporting the chaperone, which contained figures of seated brahmins in ogival niches (fig. 49). The gopuras were triple-crowned with high towers, of two circular lotus-shaped storeys.

Inside of this enclosure was an immense court, now a dense forest with hardly a vestige of building of any kind. A long causeway led across it to the gopura of the third enclosure. About midway, on the north side, are the ruins of a *dharmaśālā*, or guest-house. This was a considerable enclosure and was probably a temporary capital.

BARAY OF PREAH KHAN, AND NEAK PEAN

Directly west of Preah Khan and only a few meters from the outer enclosure, was an immense basin, 900 × 3700 meters—half the size of the East Baray. It was called *Jayatatāka* (pond of Jayavarman) and was believed to have been dedicated to the Buddha.¹⁶ The inscription of Preah Khan boasts that it was holier than Prayāga (Allahabad), which was sanctified by the presence of two holy waters (the Ganges and the Jumna) while *Jayaśrī* was made illustrious by three holy waters dedicated, respectively, to the Buddha¹⁷ (Baray of Preah Khan), *Siva* (East Baray), and *Vishṇu* (West Baray) (228, st. 33).

On an artificial island in the center of this basin, now dry, was the little temple of *Rājaśrī*, now known as Neak Pean, one of the most unique and beautiful of design of all Khmer architecture. In the middle of a basin 70 meters square rose a circular platform, 14 meters in diameter, whose foundation, of sandstone, was formed of 8 steps running around the platform. Around the next to the bottom step wound two *nāgas*, with tails tied together on the west side and heads, deployed fan-wise, forming a gateway at the east. From these *nāgas*, the temple took its name (Neak Pean = coiled serpents). The upper step was treated as a lotus. In the center of this platform rose a little temple, only four meters square, with four lotus stories and a little crown. This little gem of a sanctuary thus rose

¹⁶ There are indications that it was at first dedicated to the Buddha and later changed to *Lokesvara* (228, 269).

¹⁷ Coedès thinks this may refer to the basin of Sra Srang, baray of Banteay Kdei (228, 257).

out of a sacred lotus, which seemed to float on the surface of the basin. According to Coedès, "the central piece of water is a representation, a microscopic replica, of the legendary lake Anavatāpta, whose miraculous and curative waters¹⁸ escape in the four directions by gargoyles corresponding . . . to the four stone animal-heads by which the Himalayan lake gives birth to the four great rivers" (204). The temple was dedicated to the bodhisattva Lokeśvara, in his character as healer of the sick and the lame (415; 277, 106–118).

Many years ago an India rubber tree sprouted on top of the temple and sent down its roots on all sides, completely enveloping the temple (except for one false door, where it framed a standing Lokeśvara), while its branches spread out umbrella-wise, far beyond the base of the pyramid. It formed one of the most beautiful pictures of Cambodia and it was probably impossible to find anywhere a similar case where nature had taken such bizarre liberties with architecture (100, 58). But in 1935 a hurricane destroyed the tree, and since that date l'École Française has performed an anastylosis, revealing and restoring what is probably the most beautiful little temple of Cambodia.¹⁹

WALLS AND GATES OF ANGKOR THOM

Jayavarman VII probably resided at his new city of Jayaśrī (p. 210) while he was building his capital. But during this second Period, he completed the enclosure to his great capital, Angkor Thom. This enclosure consists of a wall, preceded by a moat and supported on the interior by an embankment. The moat was about 100 meters wide and 13.2 kilometers—a little more than 8 miles—in circumference. It was crossed by five stone causeways, leading up to the five gates. These causeways were about 15 meters wide and were bordered on each side by a balustrade formed by a row of fifty-four giants, holding on their knees a *nāga* whose seven heads are deployed fan-wise to a height of 3 or 4 meters at each end of the causeway.

As we have seen, this *nāga* balustrade is one of the most striking and characteristic motifs of Khmer architecture. It first appears at the Bakong, with heads crude and scarcely united and body crawling on the causeway. It appears at Chok Gargyar, very crude, and on the ground as at the Bakong. At Preah Vihear it is placed on a wall, with head erect at one end and tail erect at the other. These early appearances seem to represent a groping after a definite form. At Beng Mealea and at Angkor Wat the heads, united, form a poly-lobed aureole and the body rests on the shelf supported by blocks. At Angkor Thom, the body rests on the knees of giants, who seem to be engaged in a tug of war,

¹⁸ The water of these basins is said to be a holy water which cleanses the mud from the sins of all who come in contact with it (228, st. 170).

¹⁹ In 1938, the work of anastylosis was carried out by Maurice Glaize, then Conservator of the Angkor group of monuments (206; 429).

divinities on one side, demons on the other, of the causeway (fig. 50g). (See Mus's interpretation, p. 230.)

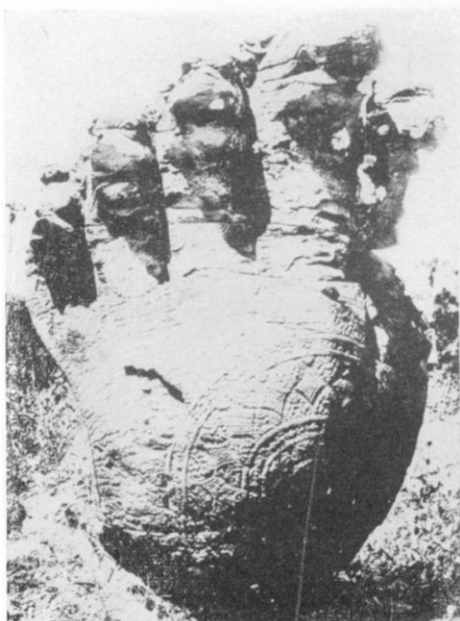
The wall around Angkor Thom is of laterite, between 7 and 8 meters high, and about 3.3 kilometers square. It is supported on the inside by an enormous levee of earth, 25 meters wide at the top, around which a boulevard ran. At each corner is a small temple—the Prasats Chrung—each sheltering a stele inscription, which is the charter of foundation of the wall and moat, indicating that they were the work of Jayavarman and named in his honor.

The city and its environs must have had a considerable population. It was more spacious than any of the mediaeval walled cities of Europe and could easily have contained the Rome of Nero's day. And, at that, it is believed that the enclosure was simply a religious, administrative, and aristocratic center, where lived, clustered around the capital and the principal temple, the civil and military functionaries, the priesthood, the rich families and the army; while the markets and the homes of the masses were in suburbs along the Barays, or large artificial lakes, to the east and west of the walled city, and along the banks of the Siemreap river, even to the mouth.

COMPLETION OF ANGKOR THOM: GATE TOWERS

Five monumental gates cut the enclosure—one on each side—and the principal roads, running through them divided the city into four equal squares—while the fifth road, running from the Royal Palace and the Phimeanakas eastward to the East Baray, cut the wall about 500 meters north of the east gate, through what is known as the Gate of Victory. These gates were considerable monuments in themselves. They were about 3½ meters wide and 7 meters from lintel to pavement. They were supported on each side by giant three-headed elephants, whose trunks, extending to the ground, seem to be pulling up lotus flowers. Above the superstructures of a triple tower rose great heads with four human faces. The height of the tower was about 20 meters (555, 85) (fig. 51). In spite of the majestic grandeur of these gates, the construction was very faulty and shows the haste which is seen in all the buildings of the reign of Jayavarman VII. They show none of the careful workmanship of Angkor Wat, and the remains of wooden beams may yet be seen in some of them. Jean Commaille, first Conservator of the Angkor group, says:

Nothing is more elegant nor, at the same time, more majestic than the monumental gates giving access to the city of Angkor Thom. They are of perfect conception and the artist who designed them holds equal rank with the prodigious decorators of Thebes and Memphis. But their construction is as defective as their distribution is excellent: the stones are falling one by one; the walls, built with vertical trenches, are at the mercy of the least shaking of a soil mined by torrential rains; lianas slowly accomplish their work of dislocation (284, 112–113).



a. Bakong.



b. Preah Vihear.



c. Beng Mealea.



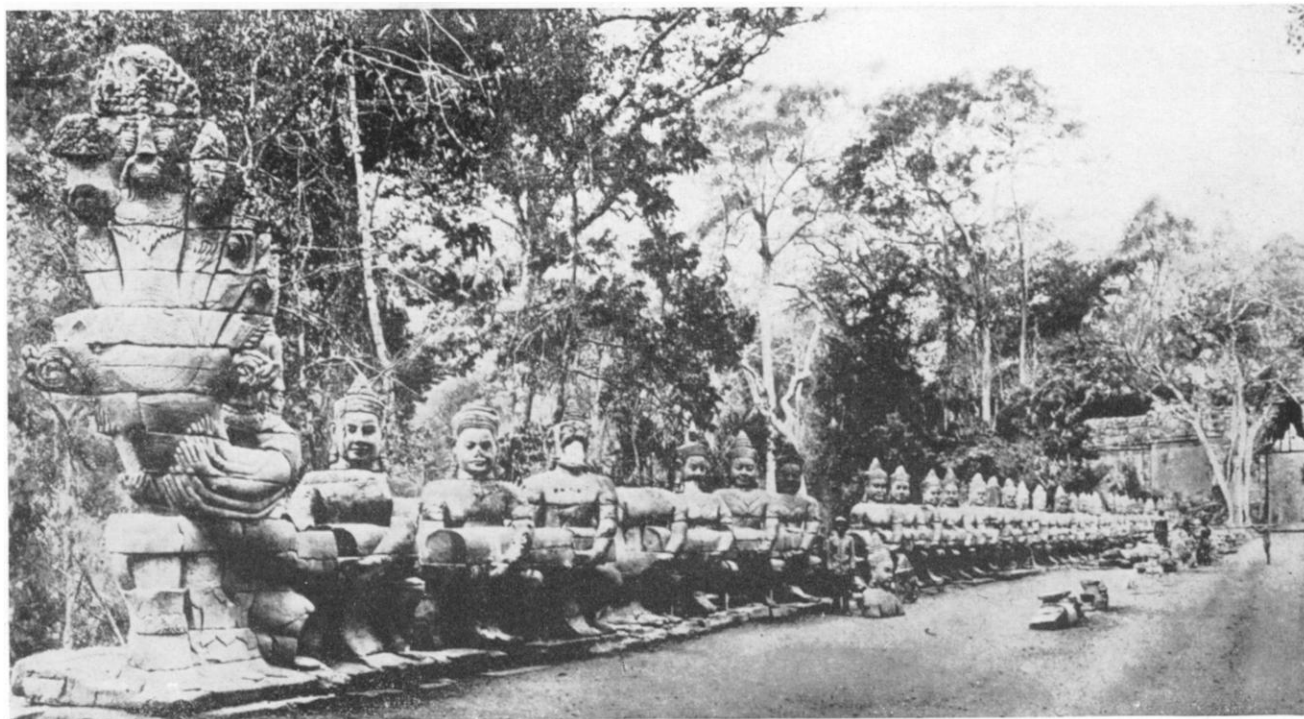
d. Preah Palilay.



e. Banteay Samré.



f. Angkor Wat.



g. Bayon.

FIG. 50. *Nāga*-balustrades.

These four-faced towers have undergone some change of interpretation during the last twenty-five or thirty years. Chou Ta-kuan thought they represented the Buddha. Later they were thought to represent *Brahmā caturmukha* (=the four-faced Brahma). Then, the worship of the Śivalinga being established as having been the state religion, it was thought they represented the four faces of Śiva. Finally, excavations having proven that the Bayon, similarly decorated, was consecrated to Lokeśvara, these faces were taken to repre-

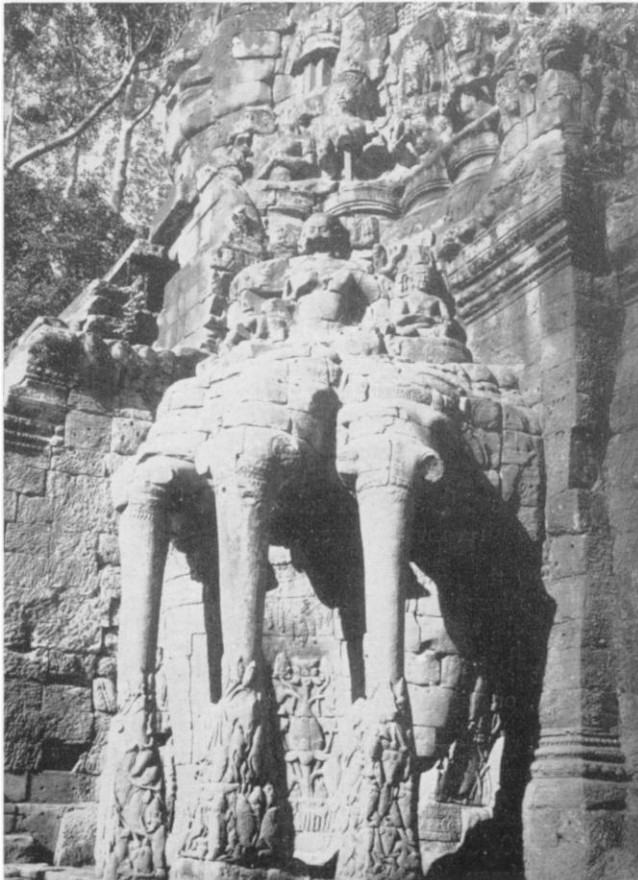


FIG. 51. Angkor Thom: Gate of Victory, three-headed elephant pulling up lotus.

sent that bodhisattva extending his benevolent gaze toward the four cardinal points.

WALLS AND FACE TOWERS OF TA PROHM AND BANTEAY KDEI

The outer walls and face-towers of the adjoining monuments of Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei were built at this time. The gate-towers of these outer enclosures contained the four faces of Lokeśvara, like those of Angkor Thom and the interior corners contained great bas-reliefs of Garuḍa, which were repeated at intervals along the wall, like those of Preah Khan. As we have seen the interior enclosures and sanctuaries had terrace-

towers and were of earlier date. As further evidence that the outer walls of the two temples were later additions, they nearly touch each other and each encloses a moat belonging to its earlier ensemble.

The inscription shows that Ta Prohm was a city called Rājavihara (156, st. 35). The outer inclosure—700×1000 meters—was one of the largest of ancient Cambodia,²⁰ larger than that of Preah Khan. Groslier once thought Ta Prohm was the temporary capital, while Angkor Thom was being built; but the foundation-stele inscription of Preah Khan seems to leave no doubt that this honor fell to Jayaśrī.

Banteay Kdei, with its outer walls with face-towers, was probably also a city, smaller than Ta Prohm or Preah Khan. It was located near the site of the ancient Kuti in the region of Pūrvaśiśa. Coédès suggests that it was probably the Pūrvatathāgata, "Buddha of the East," spoken of in the inscriptions (278, 293; 228, 298, n. 3).

PREAH KHAN OF KOMPONG SVAI

The central sanctuary and outer enclosure of this monument were probably constructed early in the reign of Sūryavarman I (p. 154). An undated inscription shows it to be of that reign or earlier. The monuments of the second enclosure are believed to belong to the reign of Sūryavarman II. The third enclosure and its monuments are credited to the early part of the reign of Jayavarman VII. The completion of the fourth enclosure, including the Baray and the monuments connected with it, was probably the work of the latter part of that reign.

The third enclosure consisted of a laterite wall, cut by gopuras at the four radial axes and surrounded by a moat. This enclosure, not exactly rectangular, is about 700×1100 meters—larger than the outer enclosures of Preah Khan of Angkor and Ta Prohm. The only monuments of interest in this vast enclosure—now a forest—were a dharmaśālā (pp. 154–156), in sandstone, and a little monument, in sandstone and laterite, which contained the inscription mentioned above (589, 208).

The fourth enclosure, as has been said was nearly 5000×5000 meters—much the largest of Ancient Cambodia. The Baray, about 600×3000 meters, cut the enclosure at its eastern axis—like those of Beng Mealea and Banteay Chhmar—and extended about half its length inside of the enclosure. Its Mebon—Preah Thkol—occupied an island in the center of the Baray. It consisted of a cruciform sandstone sanctuary, surrounded by a rectangular wall, cut at the radial axes with cruciform gopuras on the east and west, and enclosing two libraries. The decorations were remarkable

²⁰ The outer enclosure of Preah Khan of Angkor was 640×820 meters; that of Angkor Wat, 1,300×1,500 meters (p. 196). For the larger enclosures: Angkor Thom, Banteay Chhmar, and Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, see p. 226. For the Yaśodharapura of Yaśovarman I, see p. 109.

for their tricephalic elephants, like those of the gopuras of Angkor Thom, and corner Garuḍas, like those of Banteay Kdei. At the inner end of the Mebon, on the axis of the central sanctuary, was the Prasat Preah Stung, said to be the only sanctuary in Cambodia surrounded by a face-tower (631, 179). It was preceded on the east by a cruciform terrace and—across a terraplain of about 40 × 55 meters—by another cruciform terrace built over the waters of the Baray. The walls of this terrace presented rows of *haṃsa*,²¹ with three-headed haṃsa at the corners. At the southeastern corner of the Baray, outside of the enclosure, with Prasat Preah Damrei, a square pyramid of some 12 low gradins—perhaps 12 or 15 meters high in all, which was probably crowned by a sanctuary in light material. On each side of the upper stairways of the pyramid were figures—lions in some cases, *dvārapālas* in others—while the upper corners were occupied by life-size caparisoned elephants. This temple was shamefully looted by Delaporte, who carried the spoils away to French museums (308, 58–59; 301, 87; 406, 91–93) (thus beginning the systematic looting of Cambodian temples for the benefit of public and private collections of Europe and America, which was ended only by the establishment of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient in 1898–1900). Mauger thinks these elephants, and probably the terrace, may go back to the latter part of the tenth century (589, 214).

Preah Khan of Kompong Svai is one of the least known monuments of Ancient Cambodia. The presence of a *dharmaśālā* there and the fact that it seems to have been at one time the terminus of one of the most important highways of the country, shows that great pilgrimages were made to it. The enormous size and the character of the monument indicate that it played an important—and as yet not thoroughly understood—part in the religious life of the Kambuja during the Mahāyānist period which ended with the reign of Jayavarman VII.

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS

There are several inscriptions of the early part of the reign of Jayavarman VII whose pertinent contents, woven into this narrative, constitute a principal source of information for this period.

A stele-inscription, in Sanskrit, found in one of the galleries of Ta Prohm, celebrates the erection of a statue of Jayarājacūḍamanī, mother of Jayavarman VII, in the image of the mother of Jina (Buddha), mother of Buddha, in 1186, which date probably marks the consecration of that great temple. After beginning by invocations to the Triratna, to Lokeśvara and to Prajñāpāramitā as mystic mother of the Buddha, it traces the genealogy of the king (p. 62). It records that, at Jayavarman VII's coronation, he gave his

²¹ The *haṃsa* is the sacred swan, the *vahana* (mount) of Brahmā (744, 2, (2), 400, 503).

guru the title of Jaya Maṅgalārthadeva and Jaya Kīrtideva, surrounded by an entourage of 260 divinities and with provisions for daily oblations on an unheard of scale, and that at an annual fete offerings are to be made "to 619 divinities, which are *here*" (157). A later inscription (see below) makes it clear that Ta Prohm was the funerary temple of the mother of Jayavarman VII, under the traits of Prajñāpāramitā, mystic mother of the Buddhas. The inscription was executed by Jayavarman VII's son, Sūryakumāra, who is called Crown Prince (157, st. 145).

The foundation-stele of Preah Khan of Angkor, found in 1939, was resumed by Coedès that year (206) and has since been published by him (228). This inscription resembles that of Ta Prohm and many stanzas of the two inscriptions are identical. It commemorates the foundation at this monument, in 1191, of a statue of Lokeśvara, under the lineaments of the father of Jayavarman VII—Dharaṇindravarman II, who is called Jayavarmēśvara in the inscription. Thus was completed at Angkor—on what Coedès calls a kilometric scale—the Buddhist triad—Lokeśvara at Prah Khan, Prajñāpāramitā at Ta Prohm and the Buddha, in his proper place in the center, at the Bayon. This stele shows that this monument was the funerary-temple of the father of Jayavarman VII, as Ta Prohm was that of his mother. The number of small statues entouring the central one was nearly twice as great—515 to 260 (206, 9)—as that of Ta Prohm and the oblations provided were on a much larger scale.

We know the names of many of these 515 idols, thanks to the little inscriptions carved on the pillars of the doors of the chapels, which are so characteristic of the monuments of the epoch of Jayavarman VII. These idols were almost all, if not all, funerary images, i.e., statues of princes, princesses, or dignitaries, raised to the honors of apotheosis, and represented under the traits of a Buddhist divinity, principally Lokeśvara for the men, Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā for the women (206, 19).

It enumerates certain foundations made by the king, including 20,400 divinities, and 13,500 villages assigned to their upkeep. The inscription is said to be the work of Prince Virakumāra, son of Rajendradevī, principal wife of Jayavarman VII (228, st. 179).

An inscription of Phimeanakas (II) is undated, but is later than that of Ta Prohm. It was indited by Indradevī, second wife of Jayavarman VII, and celebrates the foundations of her younger sister, Jayarājadevī, deceased first wife of the king. It tells of her mourning for Jayavarman, while he was absent in Champa and of her persuading her son, or perhaps brother, Indrarvarman, Lord of Lavodaya, and it mentioned an invasion by Jaya Indrarvarman of Champa and the resulting conquest of Champa (Vijaya). It mentions the capital by the name of Yaśodharapura (389; 262).

The inscriptions of the Prasats Chrung—the four little prasats at the corner of the ramparts of the Bayon—have not been edited, but some of them were men-

tioned by Aymonier (6, 3, 95-96) and the later ones have been resumed by Coedès (138). They seem to commemorate the symbolic marriage of Jayavarman to the new city of Yaśodharapuri, dressed in the jewels of Jayagiri (mountain of Jayavarman=walls) and Jayasindhu (ocean of Jayavarman=moat) in such a way as to make it certain that, like the inscriptions of Thnāl Baray of the Yaśodharatātāka, they were the foundation-steles of the wall and moat of Angkor Thom.

The inscription of Prasat Tor commemorates a foundation at that place. It gives the genealogy of the family of Bhūpendrapañḍita, the family of the inscription of Ban Theat. It seems to have been indited by Bhūpendrapañḍita III. Although this family was originally fervently Śivaite and apparently hereditary chief priests of a sanctuary at or near Vat Phu, the inscription praises Jayavarman VII and says the members of the family served under Jayavarman, Dharaṇīndravarman, and Sūryavarman—the last two Viṣṇuite. It commemorates the erection of a golden statue of the maternal grandfather of the king (Harshavarman III), apparently at Prasat Tor. It was dated in 1189, or possibly 1195 (224).

The fragmentary Sanskrit inscription found at a gopura of Banteay Kdei (pp. 213, 214) is believed to

be of this reign. It contains a eulogy of one Virendravarman (406, 29). The character of the writing, the wall-decorations and the terms used seem to indicate that the Khmer wall-inscription (III) found by Aymonier probably belongs to this reign (6, 3, 22).

EMBASSY TO CHINA, 1201

The history of the Sung dynasty records an embassy sent to the Chinese court in 1201 by a king who had then been reigning twenty years: “. . . He sent an embassy to present a letter to the Emperor and to carry in tribute some products of the country and two trained elephants. (The Emperor) ordered that he be recompensed exceptionally well. Then, on account of the aloofness due to the maritime way, he did not renew the tribute” (143, 328).

Until recently, owing to a misinterpretation of this passage, it was believed that a new king came to the throne in 1201 and reigned twenty years thereafter, and, consequently, that Jayavarman VII died in 1201. This error was discovered several years ago by Coedès and Gaspardone and an inscription, recently brought to light (p. 235), shows that he was living in 1204. It is now believed that he reigned until nearly 1220 (103, 353; 278, 291), when he would have been nearly one hundred years of age.

15. JAYAVARMAN VII (1181-1215+): LATER PERIOD

STYLE OF THE BAYON: THIRD PERIOD

The chief characteristics of the architecture of this period were the complexity of its plan and its sculpture-like appearance. The principal buildings were the Bayon and Banteay Chhmar.

The architecture of this period [says Parmentier] is the work of sculptors—as if in reaction to the dignified unity imposed by the architect of Angkor Vat. It is a triumph when a whole building seems to be carried by a gigantic group of elephants or a huge Garuda, or when towers become colossal images of Lokeśvara—as in the ancient wooden temples of northern India, a motive which suddenly reappears among the Khmers or else was possibly conserved in wooden constructions (631, 177).

This period completed the development of the bodhisattva with diadem and necklace, different from any other bodhisattva of Khmer art, seen at its best in the towers of the Bayon (see frontispiece).

No specimen of bodhisattva actually known, [says Dupont,] and the repertoire of the epoch of the Bayon carries many of them—responds exactly to the aspect of the head sculptured on the towers of Jayavarman VII. The latter always wear a jewelled diadem, decorated with kinds of petals and prolonged behind the ears, regularly ornamented with pyriform pendants; the neck is surrounded by a sort of closely-adjusted necklace. The Khmer Lokeśvaras, as far as they are now known, wear a cylindrical chignon and sometimes jewelry, but diadems and necklaces, as described above, are never found on them. On the contrary

this diadem is worn by personages sculptured on the historical bas-reliefs, as well at the Bayon as at Banteay Chhmar (318, 630).

PLAN AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE BAYON

In the center of the present walled city of Angkor Thom is the Bayon, next to Angkor Wat the greatest temple of the Angkor group. All the roads into the city except the one through the Gate of Victory lead to it. Unlike all other great Khmer temples, it has no surrounding wall or moat, which led Parmentier to conclude that the walls and moats of the city were intended to be those of the temple (641). Its location with reference to these walls, the absence of other enclosures, the type of its architecture, and its apparently hasty construction indicate, in Parmentier's opinion, that it was built in the same period as the walls, although it underwent some modifications in the course of its construction (626; 627), which will be briefed below. Mme de Coral Rémusat, following Stern, places its completion after that of the walls, near the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII (301, 130).

As we have seen, most of the larger Khmer monuments of the early classical period, even up to Angkor Wat, consisted of three concentric rectangular galleries and a central tower, generally on successive terraces. The Bayon differed from them in that its central tower,

as finally developed, was circular and, built as a later modification, encroached on or destroyed the inner gallery, making the interior crowded and confused. The Buddhist temples did not seem to demand the successive terraces and an elevated central tower, in imitation of Mount Meru, which were so characteristic of the Śivaite temples, and the Bayon seems to have been originally planned on a flat surface like Ta Prohm and most of the other temples of the reigns of Jayavarman VII and his Buddhist predecessors.

The present level of the central tower of the Bayon is 3.40 meters above that of the surrounding terrain. This is due to two fillings made during the process of construction. As we have seen, a temple had previously been erected on this site, probably during the reign of Sūryavarman I. Jayavarman VII razed this temple and commenced the erection of the inner galleries of



FIG. 52. Bayon: entrance to East Terrace.

a new temple on the ground level. It was built originally on the cruciform plan, but four corners were later added to change to the square plan. Then came a filling of about a meter and on this level the outer galleries were built. Then a filling of 2.40 meters brought the inner galleries to their present level. The central mass was built and the Bayon became a pyramid temple. The court between the inner and outer galleries was divided into sixteen tiny courtyards by sixteen halls with a vestibule at each end. According to inscriptions of the outer galleries, these halls were chapels containing images which were replicas of famous idols worshipped in the provincial sanctuaries (200). Later, these chapels were destroyed (138, 95, 96; 199).

The outer gallery was 140×160 meters, or 600 meters around. The second gallery was 70×80 meters. Inside of the second gallery everything was crowded and confused, owing to the changes of plan undergone in the course of construction. The central mass rose to a height of 45 meters. According to Chou Ta-kuan, who came to Cambodia with an embassy in 1296, when Angkor was still a flourishing capital, the temple was

crowned with a tower of gold. Many smaller four-faced towers, like those of the gates, arose from various points on the galleries. The number is not known for certain, but it is estimated at about fifty. Four-faced towers, like those of the Bayon, the walls of Angkor Thom and a few other specimens of Khmer architecture, though not wholly unknown elsewhere, form, as they appear here, one of the most unique motifs of Khmer architecture and one of the most striking architectural motifs to be seen anywhere.

The construction of the Bayon, like that of the gate towers, was very defective. The Khmers were good designers and poor constructors and the Bayon is a good example. It was built during a period of architectural decadence and, for reasons given elsewhere, was built in a hurry. As in the construction of the walls, stone was piled on stone without any cementing substance and in some cases without much overlapping; so that, when one part settled by the action of the torrential rains on the soft soil, it resulted sometimes in deep, almost vertical cracks. As a consequence, the Bayon, one of the most recent Khmer monuments, is probably in a worse state of ruin than any other of the great monuments of Angkor except the Baphuon and Preah Khan.

DECORATION AND ENSEMBLE

But, if the construction was faulty, the ensemble must have been perfect and the decoration excellent. Commaille, who was primarily an authority on decoration, says the decorations of the Bayon were the finest in Khmer architecture:

It would be superfluous to insist on the beauty of the Bayon and its particular charm. The visitor will notice at once that this temple, although of dimensions less vast than its immense neighbor, Angkor Vat, is of a superior conception and that it is here that we must study the genius of the masters of Angkor. In a relatively restrained space, the constructors of the Bayon have been able to enclose more marvels than in all the other Cambodian temples combined, and that, we believe, is because they have worked here, not to please the faithful, but with the sole idea of giving to the dwelling of the gods the most magnificence possible. . . . But we do not intend to say, by what precedes, that the decoration of the Bayon is impeccable from the ground to the tip of the towers. Some parts have unfortunately been confided to incompetent artisans, and one can see two or three faces of Brahmā¹ whose facture is far from being of equal value with that of the others. However, the Bayon, taken in its architectural and ornamental ensemble, is the most beautiful of the temples of Cambodia and is also the one which offers the greatest variety (284, 120).

The bas-reliefs of the galleries of the Bayon rank among the best in Khmer art. Those of the outer gallery depict chiefly scenes from the daily life of the Cambodian people, in peace and war. The scenes of the bas-reliefs of the second gallery are taken chiefly from the Indian historical epics, the *Rāmāyāna* and the

¹ When Commaille wrote his Guide (1912), it was believed that the faces on the towers represented Brahmā.

Mahābhārata. Of the sculptures in high relief, the *nāga* is the most striking motif. It is of the classical type seen at Angkor Wat. Lions, resembling those of Angkor Wat, guarded the stairways (fig. 42*b*). *Apsaras*, with skirts falling to the ankles and with a short, decorative conical tiara on the head, have the feet well placed in front, instead of in the ridiculous sideways position of those of Angkor Wat. *Dvārapālas*, door-watchmen, carved in relief in early Angkorean art, with a trident or other weapon in an arm at the side, and not found at all at Angkor Wat,

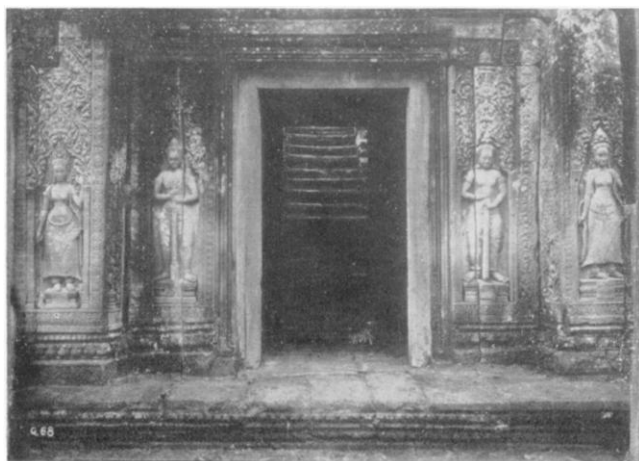


FIG. 53. Bayon: *Apsaras* and *Dvārapālas*.

occur here for the first time in high relief, with both hands on the end of a club in front of the body on which they seem to be supporting themselves (fig. 53).

Marchal, successor of Commaille, says of this temple:

The aspect of the Bayon takes a character extraordinarily picturesque, on account of its face-towers. . . ., which are staged and superposed in apparent disorder. One sees them surge from all sides and their strange smile animates the whole monument which, to tell the truth, resembles more the art of statuary than that of architecture. Confused, bizarre mass, presenting an aspect of sculptured rock, arising like a true peak, shaped and worked by humans; the effect is at once disconcerting and very impressive. And, as one approaches it, heads multiply above galleries which seem to intercross by chance in a disorder a little chaotic. . . . And at whatever hour of the day one visits it, or if it chances to be during the full moon, one has the feeling of visiting a temple belonging to another world, built by individuals who are absolutely foreign to us and whose conceptions are the opposite of ours. One can believe himself taken back to the fabulous legendary days when the god Indra erected, for his son married to the daughter of the *nāga* King, a palace on the model of that which he inhabited in the celestial abode (555, 89, 109-111) (fig. 54).

BANTEAY CHHMAR

LOCATION AND CHARACTER

Banteay Chhmar, "the Citadel of the Cat" is one of the largest, most interesting and most puzzling monuments of Cambodia. It is puzzling because of its bizarre, confused style, its double or triple purpose, and its

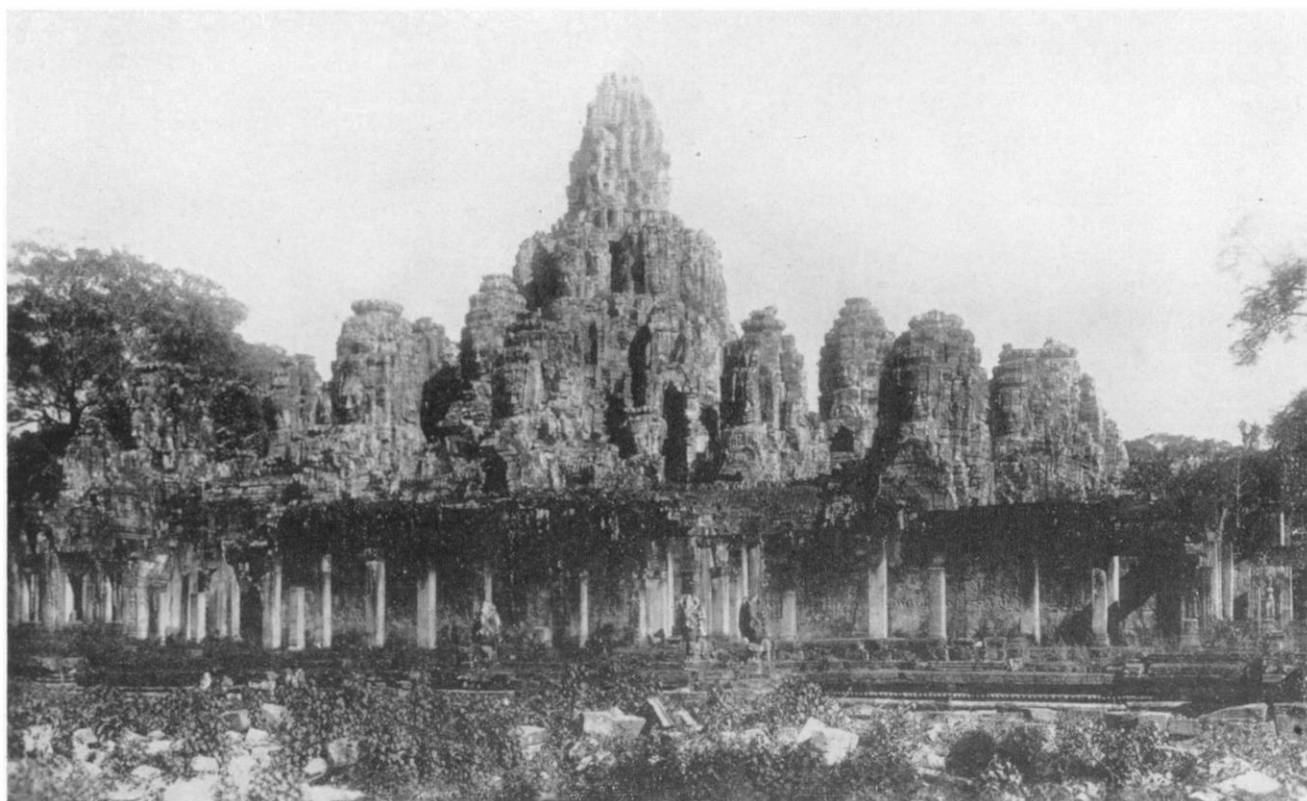


FIG. 54. Bayon: central mass.

location. We know now that the inner sanctuary was founded as a funerary temple, although some other parts of the ensemble were built earlier. But it must have been also a city of considerable importance and, as the name indicates, a frontier stronghold. This immense monument is located at the foot of the Dangrek Mountains, just to the southwest of the principal pass into the upper Mun valley, about one hundred miles northwest of Angkor, in an arid region now almost deserted. The location was strategic and the citadel may have been commanded by the crown prince, to whom the central sanctuary was dedicated.

As a city, Banteay Chhmar rivalled in magnitude the other two cities known to have been founded by Jayavarman VII—Preah Khan of Angkor and Angkor Thom—and the great shrine of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, whose enclosure was the most extensive in Cambodia.² As a sanctuary, it must have rivalled Angkor Wat for first place in size and magnificence among the religious constructions of Cambodia or of the world. The dimensions of its central mass were about 40×200 meters; the first gallery was nearly 250×250 meters.³ It was located near the causeway from the capital to Bhīmapura (Phimai), perhaps the most important highway in Kambujadesa. No important Khmer monument is now more inaccessible or in a worse state of ruin.

ENSEMBLE, BARAY, AND OUTER ENCLOSURES

The ensemble of Banteay Chhmar consisted of (1) a central sanctuary, with its accessories, (2) several complicated enclosures, and (3) a Baray, with its Mebon.

Beginning with the outside, the Baray, or artificial lake, was about 700×1500 meters in dimensions, elongated east-west like the rest of the temple and connected with the sanctuary by a causeway. In the center of this pond was an artificial island, with a Mebon, said to have borne some resemblance to Neak Pean. The outer enclosure of the monument, which consisted of an immense rectangular levee of earth, still about 3 meters high, was surrounded by a moat, now only a grassy plain. Its dimensions were about 2000×2500 meters. It was cut by the Baray about 200 meters from its western end, like the outer enclosures of Beng Mealea and Preah Khan of Kompong Svai. Inside this enclosure, near the west end of the Baray, were a cruciform terrace and several other monuments.

The second enclosure (numbering from the outside), about 600×800 meters, was surrounded by a laterite

wall, which was surrounded by a moat some 50 meters wide. The moat was cut, at the axes of the central sanctuary, by causeways with *nāga*-balustrades, supported by giants. The monumental gates were crowned by triple face-towers, like those of Angkor Thom. From these gates ran paved avenues, bordered with stone lions, more than 25 meters, to the gates of the outer gallery.

Inside this enclosure, a simple laterite wall, parallel to the outer gallery and about ten meters from it, ran around that enclosure except on the east side. It had a crest of ornaments, in sandstone, representing, according to Lunet de Lajonquière, a series of brahmins in prayer, in ogival niches, nearly all of which have disappeared. It was cut by simple openings at the avenues corresponding to the axis of the monument. These avenues, lined by a sandstone border, probably composed of *nāgas*, enlarged into cruciform terraces just outside the wall (530, 3, 391–405; 6, 2, 334–343; 519, 2, 381).

INNER ENCLOSURES AND SANCTUARY

A surrounding gallery about 250×250 meters, consisted of a blind inner wall, in sandstone, and an outer portico formed by two columns of square pillars. These galleries were cut, at the axes of the central sanctuary, by long sandstone gopuras with three passages and without domes. At each corner was a peculiar construction, with two projections ending in false doors (530, 3, 397). The outer faces of the walls of these galleries were covered with Buddhist bas-reliefs, rivaling in extent those of the outer galleries of Angkor Wat, but now very much ruined. They have been the object of a special study by Parmentier (611) (fig. 55).

This gallery enclosed square basins in each corner and a large building on each axis. Two similar rectangular buildings on the north and south axes of the central sanctuary were elongated north-south and opened on all sides. Each was surmounted by a large dome. Lunet de Lajonquière thought these buildings were living quarters. A larger building to the east, extending almost from the sanctuary to the east gopura of the second enclosure supported by pillars, is thought to have had a similar destination, although it is glued to the sanctuary. A square building on the west axis, between the first and second enclosures, was surrounded by galleries, cut at the axis by gopuras. Its position resembles that of the "Prang" of Prasat Thom and in the center is the ruin of a high pyramid. On the east one, possibly two, library buildings were properly placed and oriented. On the west were two apparently similar buildings, open at both ends (plan 21).

The first enclosure consisted of a laterite wall, with chaperon, about 1.30 meters high, cut on the north and south by the two large rectangular buildings mentioned above, whose eastern and western walls were continuous with the galleries of the inner sanctuary. The inner

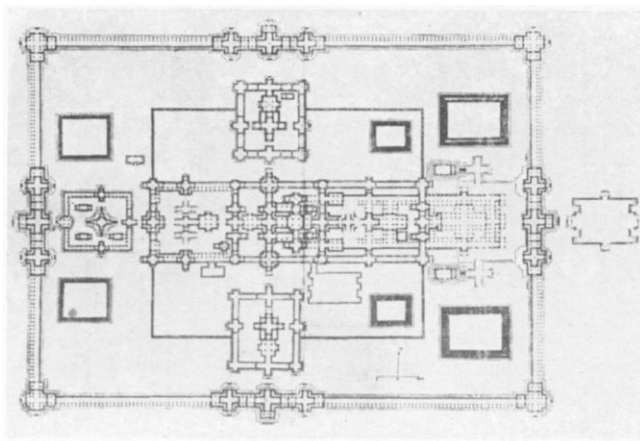
² The outer enclosure of Banteay Chhmar was about 2000×2500 meters; that of Preah Khan of Angkor was about 640×820 meters; that of Angkor Thom, about $3,000 \times 3,000$ meters; that of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, nearly 5000×5000 meters.

³ The dimensions of Angkor Wat were approximately; central mass, 60×60 meters; first gallery, 75×75 meters; second gallery, 100×115 meters; third gallery, 187×215 meters.

sanctuary was a long structure, about 40×120 meters, running east-west through the entire enclosure. It was composed of three temples tied together. All were on the flat plan. The plan was very complicated. The square central temple was surmounted by storeyed towers, like those of Angkor Wat. Groslier thinks it was Vishṇuite. The square temple at the western end and the rectangular one at the eastern end were Buddhist and their towers contained the four faces of Lokeśvara as well as the bas-reliefs of this sanctuary differed from those of the Bayon and were more ancient and that some of them perhaps ran back to Sūryavarman II. Parmentier concedes the possibility that some of them were built as early as the reign of Dharaṇidra-varman II, but insists that the face-towers were a passing mode of the reign of Jayavarman VII (627). Coedès seems also to be of the opinion that the Lokeśvara tower was one of the innovations of the building and rebuilding fever which followed the sack of the capital by the Chams (138, 92). Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat think these towers are later than those of the Bayon (301, 130). The other towers are similar to those of the earlier periods of the reign of Jayavarman VII.



FIG. 55. Banteay Chhmar: bas-relief (Frieze of *Apsaras*).



PLAN 21. Banteay Chhmar—inner enclosures and sanctuary.

vara, similar to those of the Bayon (530, 3, 398–400; 484, 182–183).

DATE AND PURPOSE

The central temple seems to be the most ancient of the three and may have been Vishṇuite, although the evidence does not seem to be entirely conclusive. Groslier thinks the edifice between the first and second enclosures in front, now tied to the rectangular eastern temple was originally the cruciform terrace of this central temple and says the decorations of this edifice were wholly Vishṇuite (484, 182–183). He thinks the

towers as well as the bas-reliefs of this sanctuary differed from those of the Bayon and were more ancient and that some of them perhaps ran back to Sūryavarman II. Parmentier concedes the possibility that some of them were built as early as the reign of Dharaṇidra-varman II, but insists that the face-towers were a passing mode of the reign of Jayavarman VII (627). Coedès seems also to be of the opinion that the Lokeśvara tower was one of the innovations of the building and rebuilding fever which followed the sack of the capital by the Chams (138, 92). Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat think these towers are later than those of the Bayon (301, 130). The other towers are similar to those of the earlier periods of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

Coedès, after his recent studies on the funerary nature of most of the great monuments of this period (209) and a reexamination of the inscription of Banteay Chhmar (142), is convinced that Banteay Chhmar was the funerary temple of the Crown Prince Śrīndrakumāra,⁴ son of Jayavarman VII, whose ashes rested under the dome of the central sanctuary, while those of four Sanjaks who gave their lives for him were deposited in the four corners of this sanctuary. After the death of this prince, which seems to have occurred in the early part of Jayavarman VII's reign or before, the king erected the central temple and some other parts of the monument. Later, he added the temples and other parts with face-towers. Here divine honors were paid to Śrīndrakumāra under the traits of Lokeśvara and the vocable of Śrīndradeva (fig. 56).

SUPREMACY OF MAHĀYĀNIST BUDDHISM

Although Sūryavarman I (1002–1050) was a Buddhist king, Buddhism does not seem to have been wholly dominant in Kambujadesa until the reign of Jayavarman VII. The Buddhism of the Kambuja during the brilliant Angkor period was of the Northern, or Mahāyānist, school. The personage of Mahāyāna Buddhism who figures most in the iconography and inscriptions of Southeast Asia is the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, or Lokeśvara as he is generally called in Indo-China. Lokeśvara is usually represented as standing in the chalice of a lotus flower. He is the god of compassion, a compensation for the cold Buddhist doctrine of transmigration. Like Śiva, Lokeśvara is often represented with four arms and sometimes with four faces, looking toward the four cardinal points (394).

Mahāyānist Buddhism, possibly including the cult of the bodhisattva, existed in Funan as early as 484, and Buddhism seems to have been much in favor with certain kings of the Chenla period. With the establishment of the Khmer Empire, Śivaism became the state religion; but, as stated above, Buddhism flourished beside it and in harmony with it, but in a subordinate position.

⁴ Crown Prince Indravarman (–kumāra = Crown Prince).



a. Samtác fighting the Rāhus.



b. Mahāparasaugata (Jayavarman VII).



c. Mahāparasaugata (Jayavarman VII).

FIG. 56. Banteay Chhmar: bas-reliefs.

In the eighth century there had begun a great exodus of Buddhist monks from Bengal to Southeast Asia. The Empire of the Mahārāja became a center of Mahāyānist influence, from which that doctrine was relayed to all parts of Indo-China and western Indonesia. In the latter part of the ninth century Champa was ruled by its first Buddhist king, who established a Buddhist capital-city there. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Sūryavarman I came from Tāmra-linga to become the first Buddhist king of the Kambuja. Śivaism was at that time strongly entrenched at the Cambodian capital. But, during the reign of Jayavarman VII (following a period of Vishṇuism, under Sūryavarman II), Mahāyānism seems to have become the dominant religion and for the first time in Cambodian history we see a great central temple dedicated to a Buddhist cult.⁵

GROWTH OF THE CULT OF LOKEŚVARA. SYNCRETISM OF RELIGIONS

The Mahāyānist period in Kambujadesa began with the accession of Dharanīndravarmā II and probably continued through all the troubled period preceding the accession of Jayavarman VII. No important inscriptions of that period have come to light and there was probably little building. It is conceded now that parts of some of the earlier buildings of Jayavarman VII may have been begun at this time. But the Lokeśvara face-towers are credited to later periods of Jayavarman VII's reign. Lokeśvara, who is scarcely mentioned in the inscriptions of Kambujadesa before the reign of Jayavarman VII, does not figure prominently in the inscriptions and iconography until the end of the second period of the so-called Style of the Bayon. Some of the monuments like Neak Pean, which originally seem to have been dedicated to the Buddha, were probably changed to Lokeśvara at this time. The rise of the cult of Lokeśvara in Kambujadesa gave a great impulse to the syncretism of religions there, especially that of Lokeśvara Mahāyānism and Maheśvara Śivaism.

Śivaism had its counterpart to the doctrine of the compassionate Lokeśvara in the cult of Maheśvara, which was associated with the linga in Indo-China. These two cults became so similar that they sometimes flourished side by side without friction. In fact, the syncretism, or partial syncretism, of these two cults is one of the engaging facts of the history of religions in Southeast Asia. It even extended to the personality and attributes of the two deities. Lokeśvara is pictured at Angkor with four faces and sometimes with the trident and even the frontal eye of Śiva (394, 230-231). We have seen how, in the reign of Sūryavarman II, the syncretism of Śivaism and Vishṇuism probably resulted in the substitution of a Vishṇurāja for the *devarāja* and the adoption of the pyramid form for the Vishṇu temple of Angkor Wat. More certain is the substitution of the Buddhārāja during the reign of

⁵ The central temple of Sūryavarman I, on the site of the later Bayon, was probably dedicated to the Buddha.

Jayavarman VII and the transformation of the Bayon into a pyramid-temple, even during the course of its construction. There is no doubt that the great Buddha found by Trouvé in 1933, at the bottom of the pit under the central tower of the Bayon (327, 1933: 1116–1117), is the Buddhist substitute for the *devarāja*, under the lineaments of Jayavarman VII, whose features are well-known from the bas-reliefs. But before this stage was reached some development was necessary.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUDDHARĀJA

It must have been near the beginning of his reign that Jayavarman VII began to consider himself as the living Buddha. As early as 1186 his mother is represented, in the inscription of Ta Prohm, as Prajñāpāramitā, mother of the Buddha, and he himself is clearly identified with the Buddha in the inscription of Preah Khan in 1191. This inscription speaks of the erection, in various parts of the empire, of twenty-three images under the name of Jayabuddhamahānātha. In his interpretation of that inscription, Coedès has shown that *Jaya* is a sort of “hall mark” of all the foundations of this king. *Jayabuddha* is clearly Jayavarman VII apotheosized as the Buddha. *Mahānātha*, “the great savior,” is an epithet which could be applied to no one better than to Jayavarman VII, who won his country back from the Chams and drove them out of it.

The development of the idea of the Buddhārāja does not seem to have taken tangible form until well along in the reign of this king, after the face-towers had been erected—or at least decided on—and the Bayon had apparently been dedicated to Lokeśvara, although the idea seems to have been present in the inscription of Preah Khan in 1191. We have seen that the syncretism of Śivaism and Mahāyānism had been going on for some time in Northern India and Southeast Asia. The idea of a Buddhārāja, a king-god with himself apotheosized as the Buddha, during his life, could not have been distasteful to an ambitious mystic like Jayavarman VII. Śrīyavarman II may have given him a precedent in the substitution of a Viṣṇurāja at Angkor Wat. Perhaps, even, Śrīyavarman I had forecast a Buddhārāja. Now, Jayavarman VII, who had been playing with the idea since the beginning of his reign, decided to convert the central temple which he was building into a pyramid-temple with the Buddhārāja at its center. The result was the Bayon and the enormous statue of the Buddha recently found there.

OTHER RELIGIONS

Although Buddhism seems to have absorbed the royal favor, Śivaism did not entirely disappear during the reign of Jayavarman VII. There were no great Śivaite monuments erected and only one important Śivaite inscription—Prasat Tor—during this period; but the foundations enumerated in the inscriptions of the Phimeanakas are about equally divided between Śivaism

and Mahāyānism. Little inscriptions found in the courtyard of the Phimeanakas show the persistence of Brahmanism also. The invocation to a religious fig-tree—preeminently Buddhist—identifies it with the Brahmanic Trimūrti. There were always royal *hotars* and probably a *purohita* and there were other evidences that Brahmanic worship still continued. The name of the royal *hotar* during the early years of this reign is unknown, unless it was his *guru*. Bhūpendrapaṇḍita III held an important place, probably in the vicinity of Vat Phu. Jaya Mangalārtha was the royal *guru*. Hṛishikeśa became the royal *hotar*—Coedès says *purohita* also—with the title of Jaya Mahāpradhāna.

Jayavarman VII's period, beginning with the reign of his father, had been preceded by a period of Viṣṇuism and in many of his monuments there is an older portion which seems to have been Viṣṇuite, suggesting to some scholars that Jayavarman VII sometimes built on the site of older Viṣṇuite shrines. The idea of a Buddhārāja in a pyramid-temple was, as we have seen, probably borrowed from Śrīyavarman II, possibly from Śrīyavarman I. Śivaism and Viṣṇuism seem to have been pretty well syncretized at the time. There seems to be no evidence of the presence of Viṣṇuism as such in Kambujadesa during the reign of Jayavarman VII.

All these were the religions of the court and the intelligentsia. The masses continued their animism and ancestor-worship common to all monsoon Asia, sometimes conforming by adopting the forms of Hinduism.

ANCESTOR-CULTS AND PORTRAIT-STATUES

Some Brahmanic cults flourished at this time. The apotheosis of ancestors and relatives, which seems to have found its earliest architectural expression in Kambujadesa at Preah Kō during the reign of Indravarman I, took a great extension during the early years of the reign of Jayavarman VII. In addition to the Bayon, dedicated to the king himself, we have seen that the great temples of Preah Khan, Ta Prohm, and Banteay Chhmar were dedicated, respectively, to his father, his mother, and one of his sons. It seems probable that Banteay Kdei and some other monuments were similarly dedicated. These monuments were funerary temples, where the remains of the persons to whom they were dedicated reposed, probably in urns.

Then there were a great many “portrait-statues,” i.e., statues of royal and other persons who had enjoyed apotheosis. The inscription of Prasat Tor says Jayavarman VII erected a gold statue of his maternal grandfather (224, st. 25). The inscription of Phimeanakas, speaking of Queen Jayarājadevī, says, “This intelligent woman erected everywhere, her father, her mother, her brothers, friends, relatives, and members of her family, known to her or of whom she had heard spoken” (262, st. 93). As we will see, the little statues of Jayabuddha, found at the Bayon, were probably portrait-statues of Jayavarman VII apotheosized as the Buddha.

ARCHITECTURAL SYMBOLISM OF THE CAPITAL

In a chapter on this subject in a recent work, Coedès, in speaking of the decoration of the monuments of the capital city, says that, dictated by a whole ensemble of magico-religious preoccupations, they presented motives which were not simply utilitarian nor aesthetic, but were also a language by which was expressed the preestablished harmony between the human and the divine (277, 118).

Recent researches of scholars have shown that the royal cities of the Indianized countries of Southeast Asia, with their royal temple in the center, were, according to Indian cosmological beliefs, microcosms of the greater macrocosm which is the universe. In a magistral article published in Vienna in 1930, Heine-Geldern showed that this symbolism was based on a cosmo-magic relation between man's activities and the cosmic forces; that, to prosper, all man's acts must be in harmony with the cosmic laws; that man's creations—kingdom, capital, palace, temple—must be microcosms, replicas of the cosmological edifices (493, 27–28). This article is now available with difficulty to American scholars; but in a shorter article recently published in English in the United States this author has clarified his cosmo-magic theory, simplified it, and brought up to date his applications of it to the Khmer monuments of Angkor Thom (494). The inscription of Lovek has already told us (p. 170) that in the center of the abode of the gods arose a mountain of gold and that, by emulation, Udayādityavarman II erected a gilded temple, the Baphuon, in the center of his capital—Yaśodharapura IV (Angkor Thom III) on which he installed the new *devarāja*, the *Udayādityeśvara*. It was on this holy mountain that the king, as god, communicated daily with the gods of the celestial kingdom. Buddhist cosmology was not fundamentally different from Hindu, and the Bayon formed a similar function in the Yaśodharapura (V) of Jayavarman VII (277, 86–105; 107, 115–116). As Coedès, aided by the inscriptions of the Prasat Chrung, has already shown us, the walls and moats of Angkor Thom were intended to represent the mountains and seas surrounding the universe (138). Paul Mus has shown that the connecting link between the human and divine worlds—the many-colored rainbow of Hindu cosmological legend—was represented at Yaśodharapura by the *nāga*-balustrade, which borders the entrance causeway. These *nāgas*, supported on the one side by *Devas* (gods) and on the other side by *Asuras* (demons) were formerly believed to represent the old Hindu legend of the Churning of the Sea of Milk by the alternate pulling on the *nāga* whose body was wound around Mount Mandara, pivot of the universe; Mus pointed out that in the Khmer *nāga*-parapets, there were two *nāgas*, both headed in the same direction; that the *Devas* and *Asuras* were not pulling against each other and consequently, were not churning anything. Instead, Mus points out, the *nāgas* traditionally represent the rainbow and the

rainbow in Hindu legend is the pathway between the worlds of man and the gods (607, 69–71).

SYMBOLISM OF THE FACE-TOWERS AND OF THE IMAGES OF JAYABUDDHA

Mus, who has written a scholarly article on the symbolism of the Borobudur (605), thinks he has found the symbolism of the four faces of the fifty or more towers of the Bayon in the Great Buddhist Miracle, where the Buddha, seated in open air, projects himself into all points of space. These faces, he thinks, represent the bodhisattva Lokeśvara Samantamukha, "faces on all sides." The four faces represent all directions; the many towers are thought to represent each a province or a religious or political center of a province. The faces, as previously stated (p. 223), do not correspond to any other known representation of Lokeśvara; but, on the other hand, they are like the Lokeśvara on the walls. They are the faces of Jayavarman VII, represented as Lokeśvara extending his benevolent protection to all parts of the empire (606).

Coedès thinks the images of the Jayabuddhamahānātha have a somewhat similar symbolism. The inscriptions mention the places where these twenty-three images were erected. Only a few of these places are identifiable and they were in distant parts of the Empire—Lophburi, Suphan, Rathburi, Pechaburi, and Muang Sing, in what is now Siam—where *prangs*, probably Khmer, have been found (228, st. 15–20 and p. 190); it is known that one of these images was erected at Banteay Chhmar (*ibid.*, 265, n. 5) and it is believed that the temples of Ta Prohm of Bati and Vat Nokor were built to shelter such images (p. 214). Replicas of these Jayabuddhas seem to have been kept in little cells at the Bayon. Two have been identified by little inscriptions.

I am not far from thinking [says Coedès] that these little statues of Buddha, of which our museums possess many specimens, were statue-portraits of King Jayavarman VII, represented as at the Bayon under traits of the Buddha (238, 265). Based at the center of this microcosm, which was the royal city, the Bayon was itself the sum of the local sanctuaries and polarized in some way "the double power, secular and divine," which each of the sanctuaries of Jayabuddhamahānātha materialized in the distant province. If it is true, as I suppose, that the construction of the central massif of the Bayon, not foreseen at its origin, was a consequence of the installation at its center of the *Buddharāja*, Buddhist substitute of the old *devarāja* and materialized in this great statue of the Buddha discovered in 1939, one can doubtless represent this as being in its turn the sum of the local Jayabuddhas whose images were represented in the lower galleries (277, 199–200).

STYLE OF THE BAYON: FOURTH PERIOD:
ROYAL TERRACE

The fourth and last period of the Style of the Bayon, according to Stern and Mme de Coral Remusat, may be found (1) in the Royal Terrace and the Terrace of the Leper King and (2) in certain tardy bas-reliefs,

particularly some of those of the interior gallery of the Bayon. Some of the work of this period, particularly some of the bas-reliefs, may be later than the reign of Jayavarman VII (301, 93-94, 130).

The Royal Terrace is called the Terrace of Honor of the Phimeanakas by Commaile (284, 184-186) and the Elephant Terrace by Parmentier (643) and Marchal (555, 119, 123; 565, 347-349); but the Elephant Terrace did not include all the Royal Terrace. This Terrace extended over the whole front of the Royal

The bas-reliefs of these projections consisted of alternate Garuḍas and lions as Atlantes holding up something, apparently originally an edifice in light material, which has disappeared. The bas-reliefs of the northern projection seem to figure circus games, indicating that the Royal Plaza it faces was used for sports as well as for a public forum. Most of the walls in the long inter-projection spaces—over 100 meters on each side—are covered with bas-reliefs, representing, in life size or nearly so, elephants in hunting scenes.



FIG. 57. Angkor Thom: royal terrace.

Enclosure, including the moat, and was more than 300 meters long by 14 meters wide. It had three principal projections into the Plaza, one in the center and one at each end, and a smaller one on each side of the central one. Each of these projections had a stairway. The central and southern projections extended out into the Plaza about 35 meters; the northern projection seems to be truncated or unfinished. The sides of the stairways were garnished with lions. Mecquenem thinks the Elephant Terrace was an immense cruciform terrace, on which the king, ministers and people of the Palace were distributed according to the plan of the Royal Enclosure (594). Traces have been found of the *nāga*-balustrade which always surmounted these terraces.

The corners are upheld by groups of elephants pulling up lotus.

About three meters from the wall of the Terrace, are remains of a row of *apsaras*, who upheld something, undoubtedly the audience-hall with gilded windows, where Chou Ta-kuan says the king used to show himself. The central projection was directly in front of the Avenue of Victory, while those at the ends faced the North and South Kleangs. The Terrace seems to have extended beyond the projections and to have been cut off. At the northern end the bas-reliefs are unfinished. The Terrace was probably not all built at once; but it is difficult to date exactly the different parts. In general, it is believed that it can be dated near the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

THE TERRACE OF THE LEPER KING

Just to the north of the Royal Terrace, but separated from it by a large gateway, is the so-called Terrace of the Leper King. It has no connection with the Royal Terrace and seems to be of slightly earlier date. It has the form of a redented, quadrangular bulb, projecting about 35 meters from the wall, about 25 meters wide and 8 meters high. Its decorations do not resemble anything else in Khmer art. The bas-reliefs are composed of 6 or 7 superposed registers of male and female figures, whose pose and dress indicate that they are not deities (470, 56), but which seem to represent kings surrounded by queens or princesses (284, 187). Mme de Coral Rémusat calls them a Yaksha King and his women (301, 94). Commaillé describes them thus:

The Kings differ by some details of costume, but they all have the bust naked and the head covered with a conical diadem. They hold in the hand a short sword. All the women have the same clothing and the same ornaments: they wear a pointed crown, mounted on a head tower composed of four or five rows of pearls, heavy ear pendants, a magnificent necklace ending in a point between the breasts, a double chain between the naked breasts, wristlets and anklets. Their hair is divided into many braids of which the ends trail on the ground. Some princesses hold in the hand a lotus bud; others pose familiarly, the left hand on the shoulder of their lord (284, 187-188).

This Terrace was undoubtedly crowned by a pavilion in light material. Nothing occupies it now but some statues, particularly one which has given its name to the Terrace. It is a nude asexual, which is rare in Khmer sculpture. It is seated on the ground and is thought to be slightly posterior to the Terrace in date. According to popular legend, it was supposed to represent Yaśovarman I, thought to have been a leper in the later years of his reign. The name is unfortunate for several reasons. There is nothing to indicate that the statue represents (1) a king or (2) a leper or (3) that it is *in situ* on this terrace; (4) there is no evidence that Yaśovarman I or any other Khmer king was a leper; and, anyway, (5) Yaśovarman I's capital was at the foot of Phnom Bakheng and (6) this Terrace was not built until several centuries after his death.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE STATUE OF THE LEPER KING

The iconography of this statue has puzzled the wisest savants. Moura thought it represented Kubera, god of wealth, who was reputed to have been afflicted with leprosy. Aymonier accepted the local legend and believed it was Yaśovarman (6, 3, 486-488). Marchal thought it was Śiva ascetic (555, 124). The statue carries an inscription, in characters of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, which Coedès translated (1928) as Dharmādhipati adhirāja, equivalent to Dharmarāja—Assessor of Yama, God of Death or of Judgment.

Coedès, who then thought the Hemaśringagiri was located on this Terrace, thought this statue might represent Dharmarāja personified or a divinized Inspector of qualities and defects (138, 84), and Finot seems to have endorsed this idea (406, 17).

Recently, however, Coedès has brought to light evidence which leads him to think that most of the great monuments of Kambujadesa were mausoleums, or funerary temples, and that the remains of kings and their relatives were deposited there in urns after cremation. Some of the urns (but not the remains) have been brought to light. The royal crematory, Coedès thinks, was located on this Terrace, to the north of the capital, as it is today at Phnom Penh and Bangkok, capitals of Buddhist countries where ancient Khmer traditions have survived. This statue, representing Dharmarāja, would then be in its proper place on this Terrace. The two or three other statues, believed to represent the same divinity, were probably placed there with it while the memory of the function of this Terrace was still in the minds of the people (152, 338-339).

TARDY BAS-RELIEFS; LEGEND OF THE LEPER KING

After discussing the bas-reliefs of Banteay Chhmar and those of the exterior galleries of the Bayon, which are of orthodox Khmer style, Mme de Coral Rémusat continues as follows:

The subjects figured on the interior gallery of the Bayon are of another vein. Certain of them, identified by Coedès and Przyluski, are inspired still by the *Purāṇas* and the epic poems of India. Others are the object of researches by Goloubew, who believes he can recognize there the famous story of the Leper King, whose misfortune is celebrated in Cambodian tradition. The entirely decadent character of these sculptures leads to suppose that they were probably the work of one of the successors of Jayavarman VII (301, 93-94).

Goloubew, after a profound study of these bas-reliefs, concluded that all, or nearly all, of them related to the local legend of a Khmer king contracting leprosy as result of a combat with a serpent, the blood of the serpent spurting on his skin. The interpretation of a neighboring bas-relief scene by F. D. K. Bosch as the freeing of a spring suggests that this spring may have been a curative source. Sylvain Levi called Goloubew's attention to a Telugu manuscript in the library of the University of Madras which relates the story of a Cambodian king who was cured of leprosy in the course of a pilgrimage to India; he also brought to light another tradition that a party of Khmer warriors had lived for some time in the twelfth century capital city of Ceylon and that the bronze Khmer statuette of Lokeśvara, the god of healing, found in the Museum of Colombo, was reputed to have been cast near a wall image of that bodhisattva by a foreign king miraculously cured of leprosy (453, 566; 199, 26-27; 416, 642).

ANGKOR THOM, LAST CAPITAL OF YASODHARAPURA

To Jayavarman VII belongs the credit of founding Angkor Thom as it exists today, probably the fifth, and certainly the last, Yaśodharapura. This city may better be called Kambupurī, as the center of the original Yaśodharapura was outside of its walls. This fifth city has its center at the Bayon; but we hear no more of the worship of the *devarāja*, and the terraced pyramid-temple, surrounded by concentric galleries and enclosures and associated with that deity, seems to have culminated under the Vishnuite king, Sūryavarman II, in the funerary temple of Angkor Wat (plan 22).

Each of these temples was the mausoleum of its founder; but the Bayon seems to have been more than the mausoleum of Jayavarman VII. The many statues and replicas of statues of all creeds, from all parts of the Khmer Empire, seem to indicate that it was also the great National Pantheon of Kambujadesa.

HOSPITALS

The inscription of Ta Prohm says there were 102 hospitals in the various provinces of the country. This does not mean that they were all erected during the reign of Jayavarman VII, but it does not seem probable that many of them were built during the troubled reigns of his immediate predecessors. They were dedicated to Bhaishajyaguru, god of healing (348, 18–35).

According to Finot, nine steles which give the charter of foundation of these hospitals were known in 1915 (348, 19). They extend from Sayfong, just below Vientian in Laos, to the present southern boundary of Cambodia, but only two are east of the meridian of Angkor, while all except one in Baṭṭambang and the one at Sayfong are within the present limits of Siamese Laos. This may indicate that the center of population of the Khmer Empire was moving toward the northwest; but it may only mean that the steles were more easily buried in the flooded delta region. Since the above date, six more of these steles have been found (153). The inscriptions indicate the institution of a true system of medical assistance throughout the Empire during the reign of Jayavarman VII, as most of the inscriptions mention his name.

These inscriptions generally begin with an invocation to the Buddha and two bodhisattvas who have for special attribution the healing of the sick—Sūryavairocana and Candravairocana—who, Finot says, “hold an important place in the Buddhism of China, Tibet and Japan.” Then follows a eulogy of the king, containing an allusion to the disasters which had overcome Kambujadesa before his coming to the throne and the improved conditions under his reign. The spirit of the inscription is expressed in stanza 13: “He suffered from the maladies of his subjects more than from his own; for it is the public grief which makes the grief of kings, and not their own grief.” Then comes a

regulation of the personnel and furnishings of the hospital. The personnel numbered 98, in addition to two sacrificers and one astronomer, bringing the total to 101. Conformably to the spirit of Buddhism, the hospital was open to the four castes. The inhabitants of the vicinity of the hospital were granted unusual privileges, which shows that they must have been in some way connected with the care of the hospital or its inmates. They were not liable to imposts or corvees. The only crime for which they were punishable was the infliction of suffering on living creatures.

HIGHWAYS

In making a résumé of the work of Jayavarman VII, Parmentier tells us: “He covered Cambodia with a series of roads, raised above the flood level, provided with ornamental bridges over all the rivers, lined with stopping places every 15 kilometers” (638). These roads may still be traced by remains of causeways, or embankments, sometimes 5 or 6 meters above the surrounding plain, and bridges in limonite, generally about 7 meters wide between the *nāga*-balustrades. According to Lunet de Lajonquière, two roads ran to the east and two to the west of the capital (530, liv-lx).

A road left the north gate of the capital, running in a northwest direction to Bhimapura (Phimai), a distance of about 225 kilometers. It passed through the Dangrek Mountains, a little to the northeast of Banteay Chhmar. Another road left the west gate of the capital and ran west by northwest, in the direction of Sisophon.

The upper road toward the east left the capital by the east gate, passed Ta Prohm, skirted the southern edge of the East Baray and Phnom Kulen to Beng Mealea, from which it ran due eastward to Preah Khan of Kompong Svai. Remains of a couple of bridges indicate that a branch ran northward from Beng Mealea to Chok Gargyar (Kok Ker). The distance from Angkor to Beng Mealea is about 40 kilometers; that from Beng Mealea to Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, about 60 kilometers; that from Beng Mealea to Kok Ker, about 60 kilometers. Coedès, basing himself on the inscription of Preah Khan, says this road ran to the capital of Champa, a distance of probably more than 750 kilometers (154). Vijaya is probably meant.

The lower road toward the east ran through the south gate of Angkor Thom, along the western moat of Angkor Wat to the vicinity of the present village of Siem-reap, the skirted the flood plain of the lake, running east by southeast, across the Prek Chekung to Kompong Thom on the Stung Sen, a distance of about 150 kilometers. Just before reaching Kompong Thom, a branch ran off to the northeast to the ancient capital of Sambor-Prei Kuk, on the Stung Sen, about ten kilometers above Kompong Thom. Coedès, again quoting the inscription of Preah Khan, says this road made a circuit of about 580 miles, passing through Sūryaparvata (Phnom Chisor) and returning to Angkor.

(Some of these roads must have existed, in a greater

or less state of perfection, before the time of Jayavarman VII and have been improved by him. Phimai, for instance, is believed to have been a sort of military headquarters for Sūryavarman II (1113–1152) and the temple there was built before his reign.)

REST HOUSES

It appears that, during this reign, pilgrimages were made to great shrines, such as Neak Pean, Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, Phimai, and others. Along these roads were constructed rest-houses for pilgrims. The inscription of Preah Khan says there were a total of 121, of which 57 were on the road from Angkor Thom to the capital of Champa, 17 between Angkor and Phimai, 44 on the Angkor-Sūryaparvata-Angkor circuit, one at Sūryaparvata and two at places unidentified (206, 20–21; 154). Finot, who catalogued 15 of these buildings (395), has given them the name of *dhārmāsālās*, which means something like “charity halls.” Five of these are located north of the axial (E–W) causeways of great temples—Preah Khan of Angkor, Ta Prohm, Beng Mealea, Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, and Banteay Chhmar: two (in addition to those of Beng Mealea and Preah Khan of Kompong Svai, mentioned above) are on the highway running eastward from Angkor to Preah Khan of Kompong Svai; the other eight line the road from Angkor to Phimai.

These *dhārmāsālās* were about 4 or 5 meters wide and 14 to 15 meters long. They were placed lengthwise to the road and open on that side, while the opposite side was closed, generally with false doors and windows. They were long halls, not temples, although they may have had a little chapel at the end. They were of two kinds. Those within the temple enclosures and those on the eastern road are of sandstone, and have the image of Lokeśvara in the decoration of their frontons. Being on the north side of the east-west roads, they naturally open to the south. Those on the road to Phimai were of laterite and were generally oriented to the road. They were, apparently, stopping places for pilgrims to the Buddhist shrines. They seem to have been placed about 12 or 15 kilometers apart. Intermediate resthouses, of wood, have disappeared.

A century after the reign of Jayavarman VII, Chou Ta-kuan wrote: “On the great routes there are places of rest like our post relays” (658, 173).

THE CAMPAIGN IN CHAMPA

We have seen that at some time before 1203 Champa had been governed as a Khmer province by a Cham named Ong Dhanapati grāma, who had spent some time at the Khmer court. According to a Cham inscription (Cho-dinh (II), 535, 3, 206), the victorious Khmer king appointed Ong Dhanapati grāma as Yuvarāja in 1207. Cham inscriptions (*ibid.*; Po Nagar (IV)—*ibid.*, 3, 505) tell us that another Cham prince, Ong Añsarāja of Turai-Vijaya, elder son of Jaya Harsha-

varman II (1162–1163), and consequently legitimate heir to the throne of Champa, had also been in exile at the Khmer court. When Ong Dhanapati grāma was sent to Champa in 1201, Añsarāja had received permission to serve with him. During most of the rule of Ong Dhanapati grāma, the Cambodian army in Champa was engaged in wars with the Annamites, Añsarāja commanding the Cambodian troops, with Siamese and even Burmese contingents. According to Annamite documents quoted by Maspero (576, 168), the Cambodians seem to have withdrawn most of their troops from Champa some time before 1216 and 1218.

INSCRIPTIONS

Some inscriptions which carry historical data belong to the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

The inscription of Banteay Chhmar is unedited, but has been known for a long time. Aymonier made a résumé of it (6, 2, 334–346) and Coedès has commented on it (143, 308–318). It commemorates the dedication of the temple or a part of it to the Samtak Śrindrakumāra, son of the king, and four Sanjaks (body-guards), who apparently died for him. It tells of an attack by mysterious beings on the capital of Yaśovarman II (p. 205) and of a later campaign in Champa (pp. 207–208). The inscription is undated, but seems to belong to the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman VII.

Many inscriptions of the gallery of the Bayon identify the statues to whom these chambers were dedicated (138, 104–112).

An inscription found on its pedestal near the Phimeanakas—(III)—sometimes called the “little stele of the Phimeanakas,” is credited to the reign of Jayavarman VII. It is an invocation to a religious fig-tree (Buddhic), identifying it with the Brahmanic Trimūrti. The Khmer text is a literal version of the Sanskrit, making it the only literal bi-lingual inscription in Cambodian epigraphy. It is undated, but was erected before the filling-in of the Royal Palace (133; 264).

A pillar-inscription of Sambor, in Khmer, dated 1204, relates to donations, apparently by King Jayavarman, to a god called Śaralāyatana Cūṅg. It is notable as the last known date of Jayavarman VII (244).

An inscription of later date (Mangalārtha—p. 243) tells of the arrival in Kambujadesa of Hrishikesa and of his appointment as Royal Chaplain.

Several Cham inscriptions—Mi-sōn pillar inscription of 1203 (VII), Po Nagar temple inscription of 1226 (IV), Cho-dinh pillar inscription of 1226 (II)—give information about relations with Champa during this period (535, 3, 202–206).

DATE OF THE DEATH OF JAYAVARMAN VII

We have seen that there is no good reason to think that Jayavarman VII died in 1201 as was formerly supposed. On the other hand, there are reasons to

think that he reigned several years after that date, perhaps even as late as 1215 at least. His building program demands it. The campaign in Champa seems to indicate it. May not the defeats and withdrawal mentioned in a preceding paragraph be an indication of the weakness which seems everywhere to have followed the end of Jayavarman VII's reign?

A stronger indication of the length of Jayavarman VII's reign is found in his relations with the brahman Hṛishikeśa (p. 209). This brahman, according to a later inscription (p. 252) was born in Narapatidesa (=Burma, see p. 239). As we have seen, a new sect of Hīnayāna Buddhism was just becoming the established form of worship in Burma. This young brahman, being versed in the Vedas and hearing that such knowledge was in demand in Kambujadesa, went there and in the course of time was made royal chaplain (*hotar*) by Jayavarman VII under the name of Śrī Jaya Mahāpradhāna. No dates are given for his arrival or appointment; but we are told that, much later, at the end of the reign of Jayavarman VII's successor—in 1243, in fact—Jaya Mahāpradhāna went to Phimai and there married a young girl, Śrī Prabhā, member of a famous Śivaite family. As Jaya Mahāpradhāna had six children by this wife, it is not probable that he was more than sixty years of age when he contracted this marriage, which would have made him born about 1183. As it is not probable that Jayavarman VII would have appointed to such a post, before he was twenty-five or thirty years of age, an alien who had come to Kambujadesa as a young man, this would put the appointment about 1208–1213, when Jayavarman was about eighty-five years of age and had reigned about thirty years. His wars and building program almost demand a reign of this length.⁶

Jayavarman VII received the posthumous name of Mahāparamasaugata (392, 91, n. 2).

ESTIMATE OF THE REIGN OF JAYAVARMAN VII

At the beginning of the present century. Jayavarman VII was considered one of the minor kings of Cambodia. In 1903 Finot, noting that the inscription of Say Fong was like the other inscriptions of the hospitals found all over the country and recalling that the Cham inscriptions often speak of him as a great conqueror, remarked: "These steles which are scattered from the depth of Laos to the coast of Annam and Cochinchina, some attesting his victories, others his beneficence, lighten, in the dark past of Cambodia, the

figure of a great prince" (348, 22). When Coedès demonstrated, in 1928, that Jayavarman VII built the walls and moat of Angkor Thom and assigned to him *in toto* the so-called Art of the Bayon, he raised him to the highest place among Khmer kings. Writing in 1935, Coedès, says:

This king, of whom scarcely more than the name was known in 1900, is now considered as the greatest sovereign of Cambodia, he who enlarged his country up to its extreme limits, incorporating therein for a time the kingdom of Champa, and covered his capital and his states with the most prodigious ensemble of monuments which monarch has ever conceived (192, 3).

Jayavarman VII seems to have strong claim to be the greatest of Cambodian monarchs. Nearly half of the great monuments of Cambodia—an ensemble never equalled by any other monarch in any country—are credited to him, as well as the great system of roads to all parts of his kingdom. During his reign, the Khmer Empire reached its greatest extent. Probably the most brilliant military achievement of the history of ancient Cambodia was his conquest and subjection of Champa, only thirteen years after the Chams had over-run Kambujadesa and sacked its capital. As a public benefactor, his system of hospitals, rest houses, and healing-shrines place him in the first rank.

But, as Coedès points out (192), the picture has its reverse. His religious zeal surpassed the bounds of all reason and his vanity amounted to megalomania. He impoverished and embittered the people with his tithes and forced labor in building useless monuments to satisfy his personal ambition. What a strange mentality that would assume as his own personal sufferings all the sufferings of his subjects and build hospitals and shrines to alleviate those sufferings and at the same time grind them into the lowest servility to build up monuments to his relatives and friends for his profit in the next transmigration!

This Great Prince [says Coedès] who founded hospitals only by hundreds, distributed rice only by tons and dispensed gold only by hundreds of kilograms, was he a megalomaniac whose foolish prodigality was one of the causes of the decadence of the country? In any case, the hasty conception and execution of this formidable ensemble of monuments which constitutes the Art of the Bayon squares well with the psychology of this personage which they do not do with any other king of ancient Cambodia (138, 103).

As the causes of the decline of the Angkor civilization are becoming better known, Jayavarman VII looms up as contributing more to that decline than any other Khmer monarch.

⁶ Coedès thinks he has discovered evidence that Jayavarman VII died in 1219 (276).

16. THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

SOURCES

We have little exact data on the events of the Khmer Empire during the thirteenth century, although it is certain that it was an important period in Khmer history. At no time were the relations with neighboring countries closer or more significant; but most of the data are found elsewhere. There are no known Cambodian inscriptions of consequence during this century. Cham and Thai inscriptions and other documents and later Cambodian inscriptions give some information on this period.

Chinese dynastic histories, at times so fruitful, are silent during this period; but the memoirs of a Chinese official who visited Angkor during the latter decade of this century give more information about the social conditions, institutions, and daily life of the Khmer people than any other document in the entire history of the country.

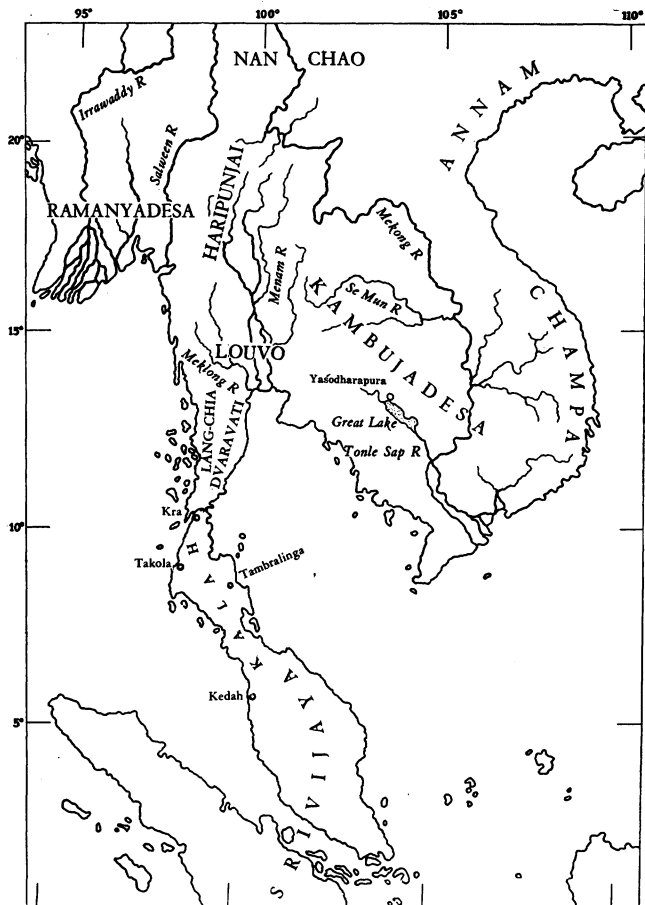
EXTENT OF JAYAVARMAN VII's EMPIRE

During Jayavarman VII's reign the Khmer Empire probably reached its greatest extent. On the east, it touched the China sea. At no time during Khmer history was Champa so completely under the rule of Cambodia as during the latter part of this reign. As already noted, a remark in one of the inscriptions of the period hints that not only Champa, but Annam and Java, paid homage to Cambodia. As far as Annam and Java are concerned, this is a vain boast and shows how ready were the nations of Southeast Asia, in imitation of China, to interpret any diplomatic relations or exchange of presents as a sign of homage.

On the north, the Khmer Empire bordered the Tai kingdom of Nan Chao. During practically the whole existence of the Khmer Empire since its consolidation by Jayavarman II and his successors, these two countries seem to have been conterminous—at least there was no organized independent state between them—but the border on both sides was occupied by people without a high degree of political organization, and the exact boundary had probably never been clearly defined. An early Chinese document seems to show that the Khmer Empire extended up the Mekong valley to and beyond the Sib-song Pan-na region and traces of Khmer settlements are said to have been found in the region of Chieng Sen and above it (574, 93-98). A stele-inscription of one of Jayavarman's hospitals, found near Vientian, indicates that this region was an organized part of the Empire, closely connected with the capital. But for several centuries, the trend of the population of Southeast Asia toward the south had been manifesting itself and, for at least two centuries, wandering groups of Tai had been filtering down the Salwin and the Mekong into the Khmer settlements of the upper and central Menam.

16

The Khmer Empire under Jayavarman VII seems to have included the entire Menam valley except its north-western tributary, the Meping, which was the seat of the Mon kingdom of Haripunjai. The old Mon kingdom of Louvo, which occupied the lower Menam and Meklong valleys, had belonged to the Khmer Empire for about two centuries and was partly Khmerized, as Khmer settlements seem to have existed there for some time before the conquest of that region by the



MAP 15. Kambujadesa under Jayavarman VII. Louvo extended to Kra, replacing Lang-chia and Dvaravati.

Khmers (p. 159). The *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, dated 1178, enumerates Pagan and other regions believed to be in Burma, as among the dependencies of Cambodia (495, 54),¹ and Cham inscriptions show that Burmese as well as Tai slaves were granted to Cham temples (535, 3, 206-209). This probably meant that Mon mercenaries from lower Burma (Rāmanyadeśa) served in the Khmer armies against both Annam and Champa. The well known bond of sympathy which always existed

¹ The dependencies enumerated by the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* may be connected roughly with the supposed dependencies with Pāli names pictured on G. Maspero's map of A.D. 960 (574).

between the Mon peoples on both sides of the border,² apparently gave the Khmer Emperor, as head of the Mon state of Louvo, a certain, but ill defined, status in Rāmanyadeśa.

On the Malay peninsula, the Khmer dependency of Louvo (Lo-hu, p. 159)—the old Dvāravatī—extended as far south as Grahi, which seems to have been a part of Kalāh, belonging to the Empire of Śrīvijaya. Also belonging to the Khmer Empire at this time was Tāmbralinga, which was separated from Louvo by Grahi, and which communicated with the rest of the Empire only by sea via Chenli-fu. At least that was the situation at the beginning of Jayavarman VII's reign (p. 216) and it is not probable that any territory was alienated during the reign of that powerful king.

ACCESSION OF INDRAVARMAN III

Jayavarman VII was probably succeeded by Indravarman III as late as 1215, probably later.³ It is not certain that Indravarman was a son of Jayavarman or that he succeeded him directly; but it is known that he was reigning just before 1243 and Jayavarman VIII's chaplain seems to have served Indravarman III also. He seems to have been one of the sons of Jayavarman VII and Jayarājadevī. Finot was inclined to identify him with the son whom Jayarājadevī advised against celibacy in 1160–1165 (389, 374); but, if he was twenty years of age in 1165, he would have been ninety-eight at the time of his death in 1143, which is improbable; and, anyway, Coedès has shown that the name of this prince was not Indravarman, but (Nṛipa?)-tīndravarman (143, 326–327). Coedès now suggests that Indravarman III may have been the Śrīndrakumāra of the chapel of Banteay Chhmar (278, 303); but this solution seems to raise the same difficulty in a slightly lesser degree.

Indravarman III is mentioned in only one important inscription—that of Mangalārtha—and this inscription calls him Śrī-Indravarman and simply says that, in 1165 *śāka* (A.D. 1243), after Indravarman's death, the brahman Jaya Mahāpradhāna (Hṛīshikṣa) went to the shrine of Śiva at Bhīmapura (Phimai) to offer prayers for the peace of the king's soul (390, st. 13). From this it appears that Indravarman III was Śivaite

² Rāmanyadeśa seems to have been a sort of loose confederacy of the Mon settlements of the Irrawaddy-Sittang and Meklong-Menam deltas. Before the conquest of Louvo by the Khmers and of Thatōn and Pegu by Pagan, these people had no feeling of unity with the peoples who later united with them to form Burma, the Khmer Empire, and Siam. Their ties were toward each other. In 656, a son-in-law of the king of Louvo was, once at least, head of the confederacy (175, 16). Haripunjai is held to have been founded by Louvo in 661–663 (175, 19); but it received immigrants from Thatōn and Pegu also and its inhabitants once fled there in time of epidemic (p. 169).

³ The author thought the death of Jayavarman VII took place some time after 1215, basing his opinion on reverses in Annam and Champa in 1216–1218 (103, 353–355). Coedès has reason to think that Jayavarman VII's death occurred in 1219 (276).

and that Jaya Mahāpradhāna served him as royal chaplain, as he had served his father during the latter years of that monarch's reign.

BEGINNING OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE. EVACUATION OF CHAMPA

The dissolution of the Khmer Empire seems to have set in early in the reign of Indravarman III. The far-flung empire of Jayavarman VII seems to have been more than the weak hands of his successor could hold, under the blows of new enemies from the north.

Champa was the first to break away. We have seen how the army of the Khmers and the Chams suffered reverses in their campaigns against the Annamites in 1216 and 1218. Finally, in 1220, the king of the Kamboja decided to evacuate Champa. In 1222 Añśarāja was placed on the throne of that kingdom under the name of Jaya Parameśvara IV (535, 112). The long series of wars between the Chams and the Khmers came to an end. The Chams were to meet a more redoubtable foe—the Annamites—who for several centuries had been pushing down the coast from the north. The Khmers were soon to be harried, in the Menan and Mekong valleys, on the northwest and north, by the Tai, who were to prove a much more formidable foe than the Chams.

THE LOSS OF TĀMBRALINGA

As has already been stated (p. 208), the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, dated 1178—just before the beginning of Jayavarman VIII's reign—listed Tāmbralinga as a dependency of Cambodia, and an inscription, at Jaiya in Grahi, in Khmer, dated 1183, records an order to the dependent ruler (called Mahāsenāpati—a Khmer title) by a king of Malay name, bearing both Malay and Khmer titles (181, 6, 45–47). The name and title of this king resemble those of a line ruling a little later in Malāyu which leads Coedès to suggest that Malāyu may have succeeded Śrīvijaya as the dominant Malay power and that Tāmbralinga, while still subordinate to the Khmer Empire, may have been also in some sort of vassalage to the dominant Malay power (278, 304, n. 5); but the use of a Malay title alone does not seem to be sufficient to create the presumption of the alienation of any part of the sovereignty of this region from Cambodia during the reign of a strong king like Sūryavarman VII.

But, in 1225, Chau Ju-quā lists both Tāmbralinga and Grahi as dependencies of San-fo-tsi (Śrīvijaya) (495, 62). This may indicate the conquest of Tāmbralinga from Cambodia after the death of Jayavarman VII.⁴ Then a Sanskrit inscription found at Jaiya, dated 1230, shows that an apparently independent king, Śrī Dharmarāja Chandrabhānu of the Padmavaṃśa

⁴ If Tong-liu-mei of the Cambodia list is the same as the Tan-ma-ling of the San-fo-tsi list (495, 59, 62; 734, 291–292).

dynasty,⁵ was ruling at Tāmbralinga (181, 41–43) and Coedès suggests that he may have been under the suzerainty of Cambodia (278, 310, n. 2).

Thus it seems practically certain that the Khmers lost Tāmbralinga before 1230 and that Chandrabhānu won it; for, as will be seen, he appears a little later as an independent king of Tāmbralinga and as such makes two expeditions to Ceylon (734, 295–300).

According to a Shan (Tai) legend, the Mau Shans overran most of southern Indo-China in the period 1220–1230. One of their raids is said to have extended as far south as Yunsalong (Junk Ceylon), below Tāmbralinga (109, 67). This raid, if it occurred, doubtless contributed to the weakening of the power of both Śrīvijaya and the Khmer Empire in this region and thus assisted Chandrabhānu in seizing the throne of Tāmbralinga. Thus the friendship between Chandrabhānu and the Tai leaders, which later was to bear fruit for the Tai, may have begun at this early period.

THE TAI IN THE MENAM VALLEY. FOUNDING OF SUKHOTHAI

The Tai, a people related to the southern Chinese in language and customs, had for several centuries been coming down the valleys of the Salwin and the Mekong and crossing to the Menam. Now, with the weakening of the Empire, they began to assert themselves. Early in the twelfth century, the Tai muongs in the upper Menam valley began to crystallize into little states under their chieftains, called *chaos* and *sawbwas*. We see them in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat (about 1150), filing past Sūryavarman II, under their own leaders, in their own bizarre costumes. Later, Cham and Khmer inscriptions represent them as serving under Khmer leaders in the wars against the Annamites.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier,⁶ a chieftain of one of these little states—perhaps, Coedès thinks, a son of the ancient Tai chief of Sukhothai—married a daughter of the Khmer king⁷ (Jayavarman VII?), who granted him the title of Indrapatindrāditya, or Indrāditya, which seems to have been the title formerly held by the Khmer commander. In consequence of events poorly understood, Indrāditya and another local Tai chieftain attacked and defeated the Khmer commander at Sukhothai. Indrāditya then conferred his title on the other chieftain, swore him in, and the other chieftain began ruling as king Indrāditya at Sukhothai the first Tai kingdom of Siam (172). This king is often identified with the legendary Siamese king, Phra Ruang, which name, however, is sometimes applied to other Siamese kings as well.

⁵ The Sailendra was the ruling dynasty of San-fo-ts'i at this time.

⁶ According to the legend, the Mau Shans under Sam Lung-pha overran the Menam valley and received the submission of the Tai settlements there about 1220 (109, 67).

⁷ Coedès believes these events occurred about 1220, after the death of Jayavarman VII (276; 278, 329).

SIVAITE REACTION

The reign of Jayavarman VII seems to have been followed by a violent reaction, accompanied by acts of vandalism, of which the Buddhist monuments of the Bayon period and earlier show many traces.

It is from this period, [says Coedès] which is placed at the beginning or at the middle of the thirteenth century, that should date the suppression of the 16 chapels,⁸ the destruction of the great Buddha, precipitated in pieces into the well, where it was found under its pedestal, the throwing down of Buddhist images and their replacement by the linga and other Śivaite symbols (199, 30; also 138, 97; 405).

This reaction seems to have extended through the reigns of Indravarman III and his successor and seems to have been influenced by the brahman Jaya Mahāpradhāna, who had been appointed royal chaplain by Jayavarman VII and who seems to have held the same post during the two immediate successors of that monarch, and by the family of Mangalārtha, which seems to have enjoyed great celebrity during this period.

It seems possible to date the beginning of this reaction at some time before 1225. It was accompanied by a fill around the Phimeanakas, which buried two inscriptions of the reign of Jayavarman VII. This fill is believed to have been connected with the digging of the Great Basin (545). This basin was said by Finot (406, 18–19) to have been described in *Chou-fan-che*, which Pelliot says was written about 1225 (665, 449); consequently, the Basin is believed to have been dug and the fill made before that date.

THE ACCESSION OF JAYAVARMAN VIII

Indravarman III died in 1243, or possibly a little earlier. All we know about the date of his death is that, in 1243, Jaya Mahāpradhāna went to Bhīmapura to pray for the soul of the deceased king (p. 236).

He was succeeded by Jayavarman VIII, probably immediately, but that is not certain. We do not know this king's relations to his predecessor, but the succession seems to have been regular. The same families served both (390). He probably was not a son, for Indravarman III must have been an old man at his death and Jayavarman VIII reigned more than half a century. Probably he was a grandson. His ministers and foundations seem to indicate that he, too, was Śivaite.

JAYA MAHĀPRADHĀNA AND JAYA MANGALĀRTHA

Two personages of influence during the reign of Jayavarman VIII were Jaya Mahāpradhāna and Jaya Mangalārtha, both pious Śivaïtes. The former had been appointed royal chaplain⁹ by Jayavarman VII and seems

⁸ Coedès thinks the suppression of these chapels may have taken place near the end of the Angkor period.

⁹ Was this a revival of the *devarāja* and its *purohita*? Did the worship of the linga gradually become reduced to a sect?

to have held the same post under Indravarman III and to have been a guiding spirit in the Śivaite reaction of that reign. On his trip to Phimai in 1243, he married a rich young girl, named Śrī Prabhā, of a prominent Śivaite family. As we have presumed that he was born about 1183, he should have been about sixty years of age in 1243. It is not probable that he was older than that; for the inscription which mentions his marriage says he had six children by this marriage. He seems to have retained his influence under Jayavarman VIII, for that king married his second daughter by this wife. This daughter bore the presumptuous name of Chakravartirājadevī¹⁰ (390, st. 18).

Śrī Prabhā had a younger sister named Subhadrā, who married a brahman named Jaya Mangalārthasūri, who was called "Prince of Professors." This inscription says that he lived 104 years and died before 1327; but the father must have been meant, for the son could not have been born much, if any, before 1243 (105, 389–390). It will be recalled that Jayavarman VII had a beloved *guru* to whom he gave the title of Jaya Mangalārthadeva, who may have been the founder of this family.

THE TAI OF SUKHOTHAI EXTEND THEIR CONQUESTS

It was during the reign of Jayavarman VIII that the Tai completed the conquest of most of what is now Siam. The conquest of Siam proper—i.e., the valley of the Menam and of the upper part of the Malay peninsula—was the work of the Tai of Sukhothai, called *Syām* by their neighbors. As has been noted, Indrāditya overthrew the Khmer governor of the upper Menam valley and established there the Tai kingdom of Sukhothai. Indrāditya—called Rocarāja by the Pali documents (169, 39)—is said to have made a voyage to Tāmbraṅga in 1256 and to have entered into some sort of relations with Chandrabhānu, who seems to have secured for him from Ceylon¹¹ a statue of the Buddha called Sihing¹² (175, 98–99).

Rāma Khamheng, second son of Indrāditya, seems to have come to the throne about 1270, after the short reign of an elder brother. He won the suzerainty of Pegu and the Tenasserim coast region through the allegiance of a Shan trader from Thatōn named Wareru, who eloped with Rāma Khamheng's daughter, killed the Burmese governor of Martaban and took his place and then made himself King of Pegu. As early as 1282, *Syām* embassies began to appear at the court of China, under the name of Sien (663, 240–241)

¹⁰ Chakravartī—rāja-devī = supreme queen goddess.

¹¹ The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of two raids of the Jāvaka king Chandrabhānu, more or less in alliance with the Pāṇḍya king of southern India. It is now generally accepted that the dates of these raids were 1247 and 1270 (686, 264–265; 278, 310–311, 734, 299).

¹² There are said to be three replicas of this statue in Siam—at Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Ligor (175, 97, n. 2).

(Wade-Giles, Hsien.) Rāma Khamheng does not seem to have annexed the old partly-Khmerized Mon kingdom of Louvo, which seems to have relapsed into a state of independence; for it sent embassies to China under the name of *Lo-hu* in 1289 and several times thereafter (663, 242–244) and Rāma Khamheng does not mention it among his conquests in his inscription of 1292.

Perhaps Rāma Khamheng's greatest achievement was the reduction of the Siamese language to writing in 1283. This he did by adapting a form of cursive Khmer, then—and now—in common use among the Tai of Siam. His purpose was to establish an official language which would meet the exigencies of his Mon- and Khmer-speaking subjects to whom he planned to extend it (373, 11–14; 99; 180, 48). These characters were first permanently recorded in his famous inscription, dated 1292, made at Sukhothai, said to be the oldest specimen of writing in the Siamese language (99). The country is spoken of as Mo'an (Muang) Sukhodai and both the people and their language are called *dai* (180). In a sort of postscript which Coedès thinks may have been carved after 1292, it says that Rāma Khamheng is sovereign of all the Tai, and mentions among his conquests: Vieng Chan (Vientian), Mo'ang Jaya (Luang Prabang), Hangsavati (Pegu), Rathburi, Pechaburi, and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (Ligor)¹³ (278, 342).

After the date of this inscription, Rāma Khamheng extended his conquests over the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. The inscription of 1292 shows Rathburi and Pechaburi in Rāma Khamheng's possession. This region was the heart of the Lang-ya-hsiu of the *Liang-shu*, the Lang-chia of Hsüan-chuang and the Kāmalāṅka of I-ching, which seems to have been still subject to Cambodia. Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, apparently independent of Śrīvijaya or Malāyu since the reign of Sūryavarman I and allied with Sukhothai almost from the beginning of that country's expansion, weakened by wars with the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas and its ill-fated ventures into Ceylon, probably did not offer much resistance to the Tai.

Thus it seems that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Tai of Sukhothai, called *Syām* by their neighbors and Sien (Hsien) by the Chinese and who were beginning to call themselves Thai (109), had pretty definitely overrun the Menam valley and the entire Malay peninsula. Chou Ta-kuan, writing of Cambodia in 1296–1297, says the country had been completely devastated by the Siamese (658, 131); but the capital seems to have been spared and no part of Kambujadesa

¹³ This seems to be the first document in which Śrī Dharmarāja appears as the name of this place. In the inscription of Jaiya, dated 1230, King Chandrabhānu is called "King Śrī Dharmarāja of Tāmbraṅga." Coedès thinks this name of the place—Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, "City of the King of the Law"—was given to it by the Thai (181, 7, 43). The name Ligor is said to be a modern corruption of Nagara.

proper was alienated at this time (106, 3-6). But the upper part of the Malay peninsula, which had once been a part of Dvāravatī—and of Louvo—seems now to have fallen into the hands of Sukhothai.

THE YUNS CONQUER HARIPUNJAI

Meanwhile, a prince named Mangrai had conquered the Mon kingdom of Haripunjai in the Meping valley. Mangrai was the son and successor of the Lü king of Lao-Chang, whose capitals, Chieng Sen and Chieng Rai, were near the great bend of the Mekong, north of the headwaters of the Meping and the Menam. His mother, and apparently also his wife, was the daughter of a Lü king of the Sib-song Pan-na, whose capital was at Keng Hung, or Keng Rung¹⁴ on the Mekong above Chieng Sen (515; 516, 107). As will be seen later, Mangrai's father-in-law—and probably also Mangrai—had reached an understanding with the representatives of the Mongol Emperors of China, who a short time before (1253) had conquered the Tai kingdom of Ta-li in what is now Yunnan (608, 112).

The expulsion of the Khmers from the Menam valley by the kings of Sukhothai and the more recent defeats of the Burmans by the troops of Kublai—1277, 1283 (497, 679-680)—had removed all protection from the Mon kingdom of Haripunjai. Accordingly, about 1290, Mangrai attacked Lampun, drove the Mons out of the Meping valley and established there the Yun kingdom of Lan-na, called Yonakaratha by the Pali documents and Pa-pa-si-fu, or Pa-pe, by Chinese. After a conference with Rāma Khamheng, Mangrai chose a new site for his capital and established there the city of Chieng Mai, about 1296 (175, 29).

THE CONQUEST OF TA-LI BY THE MONGOLS

An event which undoubtedly had a great effect on the Tai inundation of the Khmer Empire was the conquest of the Tai kingdom of Ta-li, or Nan Chao, by Kublai, brother and general of Mangu Khan, in 1253-1254. The influence of this event manifested itself on the Tai migration into Indo-China in two ways: (1) fugitive Tai, fleeing before the army of the Mongols, furnished soldiers for the armies of Tai chieftains like Rāma Khamheng and Mangrai, and (2) the Mongols set up a Tai dynasty in Yunnan, with representatives to deal with the Tai principalities, to attempt to secure their assistance in obtaining the submission of the neighboring states. Thus the accession of the Mongol dynasty to power in China had an important repercussion in Indo-China as well as in all the rest of Eastern Asia.

KUBLAI KHAN ATTACKS THE NEIGHBORING STATES

Kublai succeeded his brother in 1259, but did not succeed in thoroughly subduing his rivals until 1276.

¹⁴ Called Chō-li after the reorganization by the Mongols in 1296 (608, 188).

As soon as he was seated on the throne, he sent invitations to the rulers of the outlying countries to come to the Mongol court and make their submission. Abortive attempts were made to subdue Japan in 1268, 1274, and 1281. Envoys were sent to Pagan in 1271, and 1273, which were refused audience or executed. In 1283 a Chinese expedition reached the Burmese capital and set up a dependent king. But he was deposed and at the end of the thirteenth century Burma was ruled by three Shan brothers, submissive to the Mongol court (497; 490, 64-69).

The Mongols met with less success in Annam and Champa. Several embassies were sent to these countries between 1267 and 1280, but without much success. Several expeditions were sent against them, but did not succeed in subduing them, although Vijaya (Chaban), capital of Champa, was captured once in 1283 and Hanoi, capital of Annam, in 1287. In 1285 the old king of Champa sent an embassy with presents to the Mongol Court and an envoy from Kambujadesa is said to have accompanied him; but they do not seem to have made submission. Finally, in 1288, Kublai seems to have given up all attempts to conquer these two countries (485, 2, 453-454; 576, 175-187).

Not more successful was Kublai's attempt to secure the submission of Java. When he was besieging Champa, envoys from some of the Malay states and from Hsien had fallen into the hands of the Chams (1283). In 1292 he sent an expedition to secure the submission of these Malay states and of Java. Some of the small Malay states submitted; but the Mongol army was defeated and driven out of Java (485, 1, 159; 114, 8).

SUBMISSION OF THE TAI STATES OF INDO-CHINA

One by one the little Tai states accepted the suzerainty of the Mongols. We have seen that the Shans were left in power at Pagan and no doubt Wareru, or Mogatho, a renegade Shan trader who had eloped with a daughter of Rāma Khamheng, had at least the connivance of the Mongol court when he made himself Governor of Martaban, 1283, and later, 1286, King of Pegu (516, 111). The king of Keng Hung, father-in-law of Mangrai, seems to have submitted at the time of the subjugation of Ta-li, for the Mongol expeditions against Annam passed through his territory in 1257 and again in 1284-1285. Mangrai seems at first to have hesitated to accept Mongol suzerainty and, in 1280, the Governor of Yunnan was ordered to subdue Pa-pe (608, 116). He seems, however, to have become reconciled with the Mongol court, perhaps through his father-in-law; for no objection was made to his conquest of Haripunjai in 1283. Later, he accepted the permanent presence of a Mongol commissioner at his court and in 1289, the Chinese inform us, an embassy from Pa-pe was received at the Mongol court,¹⁵ together with an

¹⁵ The submission of Mangrai seems, however, to have been

embassy from Lo-hou (Louvo), which seems still to have been an independent or semi-independent state.

Sukhothai (Hsien) seems to have been the last Tai state to yield. As we have seen, a Mongol embassy to this country was halted at Champa in 1282. Still, Rāma Khamheng hesitated. In 1293 Kublai Khan sent delegates to the court of Hsien, furnished with imperial orders. As Rāma Khamheng refused to accept their advice, they summoned him to present himself at the Mongol court or at least to send some of his family to perform the act of submission and homage, 1294. This was precisely the time when Rāma Khamheng met, to discuss the location of the capital of Lan-na at Chieng Mai, with Mangrai, who, a few years before, had accepted a Mongol commission at his court. Mangrai appears to have persuaded his friend to submit; for the Mongols sent a new mission to Hsien in 1295 and we are told that ambassadors from Hsien and Lo Hou met at the Imperial Court in 1296, 1297, and 1299, where honors and vestments were bestowed upon them.

Kublai Khan died in 1294. His immediate successors continued his policy, but less energetically. By the end of the thirteenth century, practically all of Indo-China had submitted to the Mongols. West of the Annamitic chain, Tai princes ruled everywhere, except at Kambujadesa—a very much reduced Kambujadesa. The immense extension of Tai power as a result of the Mongol conquest of Yunnan is a very important, and perhaps not sufficiently emphasized, factor in the decline of the Khmer Empire at this time.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KAMBUJA AND THE MONGOL COURT

Perhaps the attitude of Kambujadesa toward the Imperial Court was one of the causes of its misfortunes. It is understood that the Mongols encouraged the Tai in their raids against their neighbors who were not submissive. In 1268 the Mongol governor of Yunnan was ordered to conquer "Chen Cheng"¹⁶ (Champa) and Chenla (Kambujadesa) in concert with the king of Annam (608, 114). According to Chou Ta'kuan, an almost contemporary Chinese writer, when Sagatu came to Champa to subjugate that country in 1282, he sent two envoys to the Khmer court, but they were imprisoned and did not return (658, 131). Georges Maspero (quoting *Yuan Shih*, xiii, 45a), says a Kambuja envoy accompanied a Cham envoy to the Mongol Court in 1285 (576, 186); but Pelliot quotes a Chinese author who, writing in 1520, says that Cambodia did not render homage one single time to the Mongol Emperors (658, 131).

However, one of the first acts of Timur Khan

fitful; for we learn from the history of Nan Chao that Pa-pe revolted in 1296, when Chō-li was established as a district, including Pa-pe (608, 118-119). It revolted again in 1301 and in 1312 (608, 120, 122).

¹⁶ Wrongly so-called for Chan-Ch'eng (274, 156).

(Chinese, Chen Song), successor of Kublai Khan, was an order to send an ambassador to Chenla (1295). Chou Ta-kuan accompanied this embassy, apparently as a sort of commercial attaché, and wrote an interesting and instructive account of the capital, its inhabitants, and their customs (chapter 17). The embassy did not reach the capital until after the end of the reign of Jayavarman VIII and spent more than a year there (1296-1297). Chou Ta-kuan says the mission was successful and that homage was rendered; but there is no trace of regular official relations subsequent to this mission.

BEGINNING OF THE DECADENCE

Although Kambujadesa had been ravaged by the Tai of Sukhothai (Syām) and had lost much of its territory to the north and west, the capital seems to have been spared and, according to Chou Ta-kuan, was still wealthy and prosperous, with few signs of decadence. "The Memoirs of the Customs of Cambodia describes a critical period when Cambodia was stationary; it was no longer gaining; but there were not many signs of decay. Chou Ta-kuan presents us a picture of this civilization at its greatest splendor" (658, 131).

But already the forces of destruction were at work on the inside—a true "fifth column," under the form of Hīnayānist bonzes, probably chiefly Mon from the partly-Khmerized Mon region of Louvo on the lower Menam valley, now (since about 1000) a part of the Khmer Empire. We have seen (p. 217) that, a century earlier, Talaing, Burmese, Mon, and even Khmer monks were making pilgrimages to Ceylon and that nearly a half century earlier the new Singhalese doctrine reached the Khmer and Mon settlements on the Menam valley and even Kambujadesa proper. It is not likely that the Tai (Thai, Syām), who were forming the kingdom of Sukhothai in the north and were raiding Kambujadesa proper, had much to do with the introduction of Hīnayānism into Kambujadesa. They were comparatively newcomers in the Khmer Empire, were more or less hostile to the Khmers, and were comparatively new converts to Hīnayānism. It is more likely that the new doctrine was introduced by kindred Mons, of the Louvo region (who had been Hīnayānists for more than a thousand years and were now partly Khmerized) and by Khmers (who had lived with them for three centuries and had become converted to the Mon form of worship). We have seen (p. 217) how Mon and Khmer bonzes had helped to establish the new Singhalese sect at Pagan. It was probably not Tai, but chiefly Mon and even Khmer settlers from Louvo, fleeing in the face of Tai invasions, who first brought the new Singhalese sect to Kambujadesa and converted their kinsmen (106, 5-6).

Hīnayānism as practiced by the Mons of Louvo, in comparison with Mahāyānism and Sivaism, was simple and democratic, a religion of the masses. This was especially true of the Singhalese sect whose rules

prescribed austerity, solitude, and meditation. Prince Damrong points out how, later, among the Tai of Northern Siam, this sect abandoned the temples in the principal cities and built their principal establishments, like the temple of the Mango Wood at Sukhothai and that of Padang at Chieng Mai, in the forests with their monasteries close enough to the cities that the monks could visit them daily to beg their food (306, 25-26; 502, 56). Hinayānism, as exemplified by this new Siṅghalese sect, compared with the elaborate ceremonial and highly institutional Mahāyānism and Sivaism somewhat as the modern Salvation Army compares with the Roman Catholics and High Episcopalians. Because it did not appeal to the theocracy, which governed the State, founded the monuments and wrote the inscriptions, it is difficult to get information about its beginnings. But the Chinese visitor speaks of it as one of the three chief religions of the capital and describes the dress and customs of the bonzes in unmistakable terms. They are even called by their Siamese name, *chu ku*, which is said to mean something like "Our Lord" (p. 248). To the oppressed masses of Kambujadesa, who were compelled to construct and maintain enormous monuments and other works for their greedy gods, the presence of such a religion must have been a high explosive to the State. Perhaps the most disastrous invasion of Kambujadesa was the peaceful penetration by the advance-guard of Hinayānist bonzes during the latter half of the thirteenth century.

THE TEMPLE OF MANGALĀRTHA, 1295

One of the last acts of Jayavarman VIII was the erection and dedication of a small temple, within the walls of the capital, usually known in recent times as Temple 487, but also called the temple of Mangalārtha, after Jaya Mangalārtha II, "Prince of Professors," to whom it was dedicated. This temple was erected in the region between the Avenue of Death and the Avenue of Victory, in the northeastern quarter of the city, in the region known as the "Sālā of the Brahmins," a sort of University Quarter.

In 1295 Jayavarman VIII erected statues there of this brahman and his (the brahman's) mother (the king's cousin and aunt?) and dedicated the temple to them, deified under the names of Śrī Jaya Trivikrama-Mahānātha and Śrī Jaya Trivikrama-Deveśvarī. Jaya Mangalārtha I was alive at this time and must have been about seventy-two years of age. To support this temple, this king gave it three villages, and doted it with slaves. To secure the perpetuity of the cult, he established a hereditary chief and provided that, if the male line should become extinct, the female line should have quality to celebrate the cult (390).

The temple of Maṅgalārtha marks the end of Khmer architecture of the Kambuja period. It seems to have been the last temple of any importance, in the Angkor

region at least.¹⁷ No doubt, the architects and skilled laborers were still competent to do the work, but the country had been reduced and ravaged and no longer had the money nor the forced labor without which the great monuments of antiquity could not have been built.

VIDYEŚAVID, MADHURENDRAPANḌITA

During the closing years of the reign of Jayavarman VIII, two other wise brahmins held prominent places at his court, Vidyēśavid and Madhurendrapanḍita.

Vidyēśavid belonged to an old brahman family. According to a stele inscription of Angkor Wat (II) of a later reign, an ancestor of this monk, several generations before, came from Aryadesa (Northern India) to Kambujadesa to offer sacrifices to Śiva under the vocable of Bhadrēśvara. A granduncle of Vidyēśavid founded a monastery in a region called Madhyadeśa, apparently near the capital. Vidyēśavid became *hotar* of Bhadrēśa (apparently, at this monastery). "He had attained the other bank of these seas called the grammar of Śiva and astronomy" and his fame as a sage came to the attention of King Jayavarman VIII, who named him royal *hotar* (st. 50). He consecrated Jayavarman VIII's successor, Indravarman (84, st. 42, 49-51).

An inscription of Banteay Srei (IV) says that, under Jayavarman VIII, Madhurendrasurī, or Madhurendrapanḍita, of sruk Madhurendragrāma, *anvaya* of the Vraṇ Guru Yajñavarāha (i.e., descendant or successor (?) of the *guru* of Jayavarman V, who built the temple of Banteay Srei), "guarded the title of *Bhūtāsa eka* . . . as administrator and dispenser of the royal favor." This minister also became a great favorite of Jayavarman VIII's successor (392, 80-82; 142), who married his niece.

AGE OF LEARNING

If, at the bottom of Khmer society, this was a period of unrest and ferment, at the top it was one of culture and repose—an ominous calm before a deluge. The hurry and bustle of governing large dependencies, of carrying on an extensive foreign trade and of erecting enormous temples and other works had largely subsided and, like a decadent modern city, the rewards of intense physical activity once removed, the intelligensia withdrew into themselves, turned to intellectual pursuits. This was an age of University Quarters, of "Halls of Brahmins," and of "Princes of Professors."

Louis Finot describes this period in the following terms:

Sanskrit verse was still written. Wise men abounded there and foreign savants came, drawn by the reputation of this kingdom of high culture. Nowhere was knowledge more in honor. Scholars occupied the first charges of the State; they were on terms of familiarity with kings. Their

¹⁷ It was formerly believed that some of the buildings of Banteay Srei were constructed in the fourteenth century; but Coedès has recently dissipated that hypothesis (142).

daughters were queens. They themselves were royal preceptors, grand judges, ministers. There was a "King of Professors." Very well, in this society of theologians, of grammarians and poets, the professor was King: What did I say? He was God! They erected temples to him. He sat on the altars. Olympus was recruited in the University and divinity tended to become hereditary in the professorial families (577, 1, 108).

ABDICATION OF JAYAVARMAN VIII, 1295

At the end of 1295, or the beginning of 1296, Jayavarman VIII, old and infirm, abdicated in favor of his son-in-law, Indravarman. In a panegyric upon himself, the new ruler congratulated the country on having exchanged a weak old man for a vigorous young one (392, st. 12). The unrest of the lower classes is shown by Chou Ta-kuan's statement that Jayavarman VIII never went outside of the Royal Palace, through fear of assassination. The new king was a soldier who had married the old king's daughter. The daughter stole

the Sacred Sword—the palladium of the country—and presented it to her husband. Jayavarman VIII's son prepared to resist. Indravarman seized him, cut off his toes and shut him up in a dark chamber. Having put down the revolt, Indravarman was crowned.

It was long supposed that the old king was put to death by his son-in-law, who then succeeded him. An ancient legend, found all over Southeast Asia, about a king's gardener who, following the king's orders, killed the king one dark night when he found him in his cucumber patch and then married the daughter and ascended the throne (496; 390), found its way into the Cambodian Chronicles and was repeated by historians. Recent investigations, however, have shown that Jayavarman VIII abdicated in favor of his son-in-law, although he was probably forced to abdicate.

After his death, Jayavarman VIII received the posthumous name of Paramésvarapada (392, 80).

17. ANGKOR AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE VISIT OF CHOU TA-KUAN, 1296-1297

In the first year of the reign of the new king, Chou Ta-kuan visited Angkor and made a long and valuable report to the Chinese government. A copy of that report was found in the Chinese archives¹ and translated into French by J. P. Abel Remusat in 1819 (677) and by Paul Pelliot in 1902 (658).

As we have seen, Kublai Khan does not seem to have succeeded in getting Cambodia to pay him homage. In the first year of the reign of his successor, Chen-Song, or Timur Khan (1295), an embassy was sent to Cambodia. Chou Ta-kuan accompanied this embassy, apparently as a sort of commercial attaché. The embassy came by sea and arrived at Angkor during the seventh month of 1296, in autumn (August). They left in the sixth month (July), 1297. Chou Ta-kuan says the mission was successful and homage was rendered; but Pelliot quotes a Chinese writer of the next (Ming) dynasty who, writing in 1520, said: "During the Yuan [Mongol] dynasty, they boasted of distant expansion; they said Java and Cambodia had become well known and very close; to the end of this epoch, these nations did not render homage one single time"² (658, 131).

FROM WEN-CHOU TO ANGKOR

Chou Ta-kuan was a native of Yung-kia in Chekiang, the home of Chou K'iu-fei, author of *Ling-wai-tai-ta* (1178). He embarked at Wen Chou, a port of Chekiang, and, sailing south southwest, arrived at Chan-ch'eng³ (Champa). From there, he says, with a good

wind one arrives in fifteen days at Chen-pu,⁴ the frontier of Cambodia. Then, one crosses the sea of K'un-lun⁵ and reaches the mouth of the river (Mekong).

Of the many mouths one can enter only by the fourth.⁶ All the others are encumbered with sand banks, which large ships cannot cross. Whichever way one looks, he sees only long rattans, old trees, yellow sands, white rushes. At first glance, it is not easy to locate the true mouth. Even mariners find it difficult. From the mouth one can, with a favorable current, in fifteen days reach at the north a country called Ch'a-nan.⁷ Here, one changes to a smaller boat and in ten days, with favorable current, passing via Pan-lu-suen, "half-way village," and Fo-hsuen, "village of the Buddha,"⁸ and crossing the fresh water sea, one arrives at Kan-p'ang hsui,⁹ 50 li from the city (of Angkor).

According to the *Description of the Barbarians* (in *Chu fan-che*), this country is 7,000 li (wide). At the north, one arrives at Champa in fifteen days; at the southeast it is fifteen days from Sien-lo; at the south, ten days from Pan-yu¹⁰; at the east is the ocean. Formerly, it was a country of native commercial transactions. When the holy dynasty [Mongol] received the august mandate from heaven and extended on the four seas, the general-in-chief, Su-Wu [Sagatu] was charged to police Champa. He sent

tion of Champapura. (278, 209). The word Champa, applied to this region, first appeared in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Śambhuvarman, at Mi-sōn, in the fifth century *śāka* (347; 535, 3, 12). The first mention of Chan-ch'eng is a couple of centuries later.

⁴ Probably near the site of the present Baria.

⁵ Probably between the mainland and the islands of Pulo-Condor, which are called K'un-lun.

⁶ Coedès believed this was the Mytho branch. See also 100, 18-19.

⁷ Believed to be Kompong Chnang (278, 359, n. 1), but Pelliot suggests Phnom-Penh.

⁸ Pelliot suggests Kompong Chnang and Babaur (438, n. 9). Coedès thinks Fohsuen is Pursat (278, 355).

⁹ Kan-p'ang (= Kompong, landing) would be the Angkor landing, at the mouth of the Siemreap river (100, 29-30).

¹⁰ Not identified.

¹ *Chen-la feng t'u chi*.

² Elsewhere, Pelliot says Cambodia sent an embassy to the Mongol court in 1285 (663, 240 n. 5).

³ Chan-ch'eng (= the city of Chan) is the Chinese transcrip-

two officers (with troops), but they did not return. In 1295 the Holy Emperor sent an ambassador to notify a message and I [Chou Ta-kuan] was charged to accompany him.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPITAL

Chou Ta-kuan does not call the capital by name. He speaks of it always as "the city," "the walled city," "the capital city."¹¹ The Chinese continued to call the country Chenla and the inhabitants called themselves Kambuja.

Chou Ta-kuan gives a fairly accurate description of the capital—its dimensions, walls, gates, moats, causeways, and ramparts. He notes that the causeway across the moat was guarded by nine-headed serpents, says they were supported by fifty-four giants and that over each gate there were five heads of the Buddha,¹² and that the middle one was covered with gold. Near the center of the city is a gold tower (Bayon), flanked by more than twenty stone towers. On the east side (of the Bayon) are a bridge of gold, two gold lions, (one) on each side of the bridge and eight gold Buddhas under stone chambers. About a *li* to the north of the tower of gold, there is a tower of copper (Baphuon), still higher than the tower of gold, and of which the view is really impressive. At its base are ten little stone houses. Still a *li* to the north are the habitations of the sovereign. In the sovereign's apartments of rest, there is another gold tower (Phimeanakas). These are the monuments, we think, which have motivated the praises of Cambodia rich and noble, which merchants who have come here have spread of this country.

Just outside of the south gate there is a stone tower, which, according to Chou Ta-kuan, Lu-pan—Chinese god of architects—is said to have built in one night.¹³ The tomb of Lu-pan,¹⁴ about a league from the south gate, measures nearly 10 *li* in circumference. There are hundreds of little stone houses. He describes the East Baray and the North Baray. At the former, he says, is a reclining Buddha in bronze, from whose navel water constantly flows.¹⁵ At the latter, there is a square tower in gold, a lion and a Buddha in gold and an elephant, an ox, and a horse in bronze.

¹¹ This means *Nagara* in Sanskrit, *Nakhon* in Siamese, corrupted to *Nokor* or Angkor in Cambodian. A Siamese chronicle (420, 5), under date of 1432, calls this city *Nakhon Luang*, which is Siamese for Sanskrit "Great City or Capital." The name Angkor Thom is the modern Cambodian corruption of Pāli *Nagara dhamma*, "Great, or Glorious, Capital," a name which later came to be applied to this city by the Hinayānists.

¹² Chou Ta-kuan thought these were the heads of the Buddha. When Pelliot made this translation, they were thought to represent Brahmā *caturmūḥha*, "the four-faced Brahma." Later, they were thought to represent Śiva. They are now believed to represent the bodhisattva Lokēśvara, under the lineaments of Jayavarman VII.

¹³ Phnom Bakheng.

¹⁴ Angkor Wat.

¹⁵ This is doubtless an error. At the *West Mebon*, there is such a reclining Vishṇu (p. 173). Chou Ta-kuan apparently did not know the Hindu deities very well, called the statue a Buddha.

THE PALACE, OFFICIAL DWELLINGS AND HOUSES OF THE NOBLES

The palace, the official dwellings and the houses of the nobles are all oriented to the east. The palace, counting from the outside gate, is five or six *li* around. The tiles of the private apartments are of lead; the others are of yellow earth. The piles of bridge are enormous. Buddhas are sculptured and painted on them. The body of the buildings is magnificent. The long verandas, the covered corridors, are daring and irregular, without great symmetry.

Chou Ta-kuan describes the magnificence of the council hall, which he says has gold window frames.

At right and left are square columns carrying 40 to 50 mirrors ranged on the sides of the windows. Below are represented elephants.¹⁶ I have heard say that inside the palace are many marvelous places; but the defenses are very severe and it is impossible to enter.

Chou Ta-kuan does not describe the royal throne; but, in a footnote, Pelliot quotes Ma Tuan-lin as saying that the disposition of the throne at Cambodia is the same as at Ch'ih-t'u and, in his chapter on Ch'ih-t'u, Ma Tuan-lin says: "On each side of the royal platform are two great metallic mirrors. In front of each of these mirrors is a vase of gold and before each is an incense burner, also of gold."

The king has five wives, one in his private apartment and one for each of the four cardinal points. Concubines and girls of the palace are estimated at 3,000 to 5,000, divided into many classes; but they rarely cross the threshold. When a family has a beautiful daughter, it brings her to the palace. Chou Ta-kuan says that whenever he got inside the palace, he saw the prince come out with his first wife and seat himself at the gold window of the private apartment. The people of the palace passed in rows on both sides of the veranda to see. He says he could have a look. Below, were the palace servants. They numbered at least one or two thousand. They were married and lived all over the capital. They shaved the head in front and marked this place as well as both sides of the temple with vermilion. Only these women could enter the palace. There were always many of them on the roads in front of and behind the palace.

"The habitations of the princes and great officers have another disposition and other dimensions than the houses of the people." Official rank determines the kind of dwelling.

THE PEOPLE: APPEARANCE, CLOTHING, HOUSES, SEWAGE

Chou Ta-kuan says the inhabitants are coarse and very black and know only the habits of the Man (Southern Barbarians). "Whether they live in distant villages, the islands of sea or the most frequented streets, it is the same. In the palaces and great man-

¹⁶ The Elephant Terrace, which supported the royal pavilion.

sions, where they are sheltered from the sun, many of the women are white as jade."

All, men and women alike, even the wives of the king, wore only a loin cloth. They ordinarily went naked above the waist and went barefoot. When they went out, they draped a large band of cloth over the smaller one. The character of the cloth used depended on rank. Most of the best cloth, especially silk, came from Siam. They did their hair in a chignon and had no head ornament. They wore gold rings and bracelets, even the working women. "Men and women oil themselves with perfumes composed of santal, musk, and other essences."

The size and material of their houses depended on rank. Only the higher classes could use tile; at first, only for the family temple and private apartment. The houses of the common people were made of thatch.

The houses had no toilet facilities nor sewage disposal.

By two or three families they dig a ditch which they cover again with grass. When it is filled, they cover it over and dig another one. After having gone to this place, they go to the pond and wash themselves with the left hand, for the right hand is reserved for food. When they see the Chinese use paper, they mock them and close their doors. There are also women who urinate standing. It is ridiculous.

DOMESTIC CUSTOMS: CHILDBIRTH, RITE OF CHEN-TAN

Chou Ta-kuan describes many domestic customs, including those of child-birth and the rite of *chen-tan*, or the deflowering of girls when they reach a certain age, a custom found also in Champa.

In the case of child-birth, the newly-confined rolls cooked rice in salt and applies it to the sexual parts. After a day and a night, it is withdrawn. In that way the swelling has no harmful consequences and woman guards her youthful air.¹⁷ Chou Ta-kuan says that when he first heard of that, he was astonished and did not believe it at all. But in the family where he lodged a child was born to a young woman and he was thus able to inform himself. The next day, carrying her child in her arms, she went with it to bathe in the river. The women of this country are said to be very lustful. One or two days after confinement, they unite with their husbands. If the husband does not respond, he is abandoned. If the husband is called away on business, all goes well for some nights. But, after ten nights, the wife is sure to say: "I am not as a spirit. How can I sleep alone?" Thus, their depravation goes up to this point. I have heard that certain ones keep faith. The women age very quickly, doubtless due to early marriage and child-bearing. At twenty or thirty years, they resemble Chinese women of forty or fifty.

Parents with a daughter generally make this prayer: "May you be desired by men. May many men ask you in marriage!" Between seven and nine years for rich girls, sometimes not before eleven for poor girls, a Buddhist or Taoist¹⁸ priest is charged to deflower them. This is

¹⁷ Pelliot adds that the above account neglects the characteristic practice of confinement in Indo-China, which consists in exposing the confined woman to a great fire.

¹⁸ The word Taoist here apparently means *Brahman*. There were no (Chinese) Taoists in Cambodia.

called *chen-t'an*. Each year the mandarin chooses a day in the month which corresponds to the fourth Chinese month and notifies all the country. Each family with a daughter subject to *chen-t'an* notifies the mandarin. The mandarin sends a candle on which a mark is made. At nightfall of the appointed day, the candle is lighted and when it burns up to the mark, the moment of *chen-t'an* has arrived. Some time before this date the parents choose a Buddhist or Taoist priest, to suit their taste or convenience. Certain ones have a regular clientele. Bonzes of some notoriety are preferred by the functionaries and the rich. The poor have no choice. Presents, according to the circumstances or generosity of the family, are made to these bonzes of wine, rice, cloth, silks, arica-nuts, silver objects. When poor girls reach eleven without having the ceremony performed, it is because they cannot afford the expense. There are priests who refuse silver and accomplish the *chen-t'an* with poor girls. This is called a good deed. A bonze can deflower only one girl in one year.

On the evening of the *chen-t'an* a great banquet is organized, with music, and the parents and neighbors gather together. Outside the door, an elevated platform is raised, on which clay figurines of men and animals are placed. This is an ancient custom. This evening, with palanquins, parasols and music, the priest is brought. Two pavilions are constructed, of silks of various colors. The girl sits in one, the bonze in the other. No one can understand what is said. The noise of the music is deafening. I have heard it said that, the moment arrived, the bonze enters the girl's pavilion. He deflowers her with the hand and then soaks his hand in wine. Some say that then the father and mother, the relatives and the neighbors all mark their foreheads with it. Some say they also taste it. Some believe also that the bonze really unites with the girl. Others do not. The Chinese cannot easily witness these things; so the exact truth is not known. When day dawns, the bonze is taken away, with palanquins, parasols and music. After that the girl must be repurchased from the bonze with cloths and silks. If not, she remains his property and cannot marry another. Previously, the parents slept beside their daughter. After this ceremony, she is excluded from the apartment and goes where she pleases, without constraint or surveillance. For marriages, it is customary to make presents in cloth, but this is a formality without great importance. Many marry a woman they formerly had as mistress. This custom is not a subject of shame or astonishment.

DOMESTIC CUSTOMS: ILLNESS; DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Illnesses were common, which Chou Ta-kuan thinks were due to frequent baths and incessant washing of the head. He says the people bathe many times during the day and often several times at night. Each family had a basin or several families had one in common. As we have seen, this custom runs back to the Funan period and these basins formed part of the systems of water distribution of Yaśovarman I and Śūryavarman I. Parties often frequently went to the river to bathe.

Lepers were common and many were seen along the road. People ate and slept with them without contracting their illness. Chou Ta-kuan says that formerly a king caught it, which shows that the legend of the Leper King is earlier than the end of the thirteenth century. He attributes this leprosy to abuse of the bath and to

passional excess. "At least eight or nine out of ten die of dysentery," he says. The remedies mentioned are drugs and sorcery.

They do not use coffins for the dead, but a kind of mat, which they cover with a cloth. In the funeral cortège, they use flags, banners and musical instruments. Along the road they sow grilled rice. Outside the city, in some distant and uninhabited place, they abandon the body and go away. They await for vultures and dogs to come and devour it. If it is all finished soon, they say their parents had merits and have obtained their recompense. If the animals do not eat them or eat them only partially, they say their parents are responsible for this result. Now, there are some who burn their dead. They are descendants of Chinese. When the parents die, the children do not wear mourning. The sons shave the head and the daughters cut the hair in front. It is their mark of filial piety.

The sovereign is buried in a tower, but Chou Ta-kuan did not know whether his body or only his bones were buried.

SLAVERY, SAVAGES

For servants, they buy slaves. Some have more than a hundred. Only the very poor have none at all. The savages come from mountainous solitudes. They form a race apart and are called "thieving Chuangs." Brought into the village, they do not dare show themselves outside. They are regarded as animals and are bought and sold for a small price. They can only sit and lie under the house. For service, they can go up into the house, but then they kneel, salaam and prostrate themselves before advancing. They call their master and mistress father and mother. If they commit a fault and are beaten, they bow the head and do not dare to make the least movement. They copulate freely among each other, but never the master will have sexual relations with them. When a Chinaman lives alone a long time down there and once has commerce with one of these women, if the master finds it out, he refuses next day to sit with him because he has had relations with a savage. If a female slave has a child by a person foreign to the house, the master does not trouble about the father, but treats the child as a slave. If a slave tries to escape and is retaken, he is marked in blue on the face. Sometimes they are fastened by iron rings on the neck, arms or legs.

There are two kinds of savages. One kind understands the current language. They are sold in the cities as slaves. The other kind does not submit to civilization and does not understand the language. They do not live in houses; but, followed by their family, they wander in the mountains, carrying a clay jar on the head. If they meet a wild animal, they kill it with bow or spear, strike fire with a stone, cook the beast and eat it in common, then separate. Their nature is savage and their poisons are very dangerous. Within their own band, they often kill each other. In recent times, there are some who cultivate cardamoms and cotton and weave cloth. But their cloth is very coarse and their designs are very irregular.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION. HOMOSEXUALS

Chinese who follow the sea like this country, where little clothing is necessary. Rice is easy to gain, women easy to find, houses easy to manage, furniture easy to obtain, commerce easy to direct. So, they constantly go to this country.

In this country, there are many homosexuals, who every day wander by in groups of more than ten in the market

place. They constantly try to attract the Chinese, for rich presents. It is hideous. It is vile.

AGRICULTURE: DOMESTIC ANIMALS; FOOD PRODUCTS

Three or four crops were produced a year. The annual overflow of the Great Lake helped to fertilize the soil for the rice crop. They did not use animal manure for fertilization, as the Chinese did. They used plows, hoes, and sickles for cultivation. Cattle were not used as draught animals. (Although he does not say so, they probably used water buffaloes to plow then as they do now.) Other domestic animals were small horses, sheep, goats, pigs, chicken, and geese.

Cultivated plants, in addition to rice, included onions, mustard, egg plants, melons, gourds, sugar cane, and taro. Fruits included oranges, pomegranates, peaches, bananas, lechis, plums, apricots, some of which grew wild.

Salt was obtained by evaporation on the seashore, at Chen-pu and other places. Vinegar was made of a kind of leaves. They did not know how to ferment grains, but made wine of sugar cane, honey, rice and tree leaves.

FOREST PRODUCTS: WILD ANIMALS

Forest products included plumes, ivory, rhinoceros horns, beeswax, honey, gambodge, cardamons, pepper, ebony, essences, resin, bamboo, rattan, and many wild fruits. The ivory of elephants killed with a spear is said to be the best; then that found shortly after the animal has died a natural death.

Among the animals mentioned were the elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, panther, bear, wild cattle, wild horses,¹⁹ deer, goats, gibbon, and monkeys of several kinds.²⁰ Wild birds included the peacock, hen, duck, fisher-martin, perroquet, falcon, crow, aigrette, sparrow, cormorant, swan, crane, canary.

Many kinds of fish were found in the Great Lake, especially carp and eels. Frogs were found in pools along the roadside, but were not eaten. Large iguanas, turtles whose feet are eight or nine inches long and shrimp which weigh a pound or more were used as food. "There are crocodiles as large as boats, which have four feet and are exactly like a dragon, but have no horns; their belly is very delicious."

COMMERCE

Most of the commerce was carried on by the women, but there were a few Chinese engaged in business. They had no permanent shops, but used a kind of mat, which they spread on the ground. For a desirable place, rent was paid to the mandarin. In small transactions, pay-

¹⁹ Chou Ta-kuan calls them "cheval de montagne," mountain horses.

²⁰ It is not known what animals Chou Ta-kuan meant by lions and camels, as neither of these animals ever existed in Cambodia.

ment was made in rice, cereals, Chinese objects and cloth; in larger transactions, gold and silver were used.

Chou Ta-kuan gives a list of Chinese products in demand in Cambodia. The products most desired were gold and silver, silks (especially colored); then some tin, lacquer plates, mercury, vermilion, blue porcelain, paper, sulphur, saltpetre, santal, iris root, musk, hemp cloth, umbrellas, iron pots, copper plates, oils, sieves, wooden combs, needles, mats. "What they desire especially to procure are beans and wheat; but the exportation of these is prohibited."

METHODS OF TRAVEL

For short distances, the rich traveled in palanquins, made of sculptured wood, covered with gold and silver. To go a great distance, elephants, horses and carriages were used. The horses had no saddles and the elephants had no seats.

They used large boats, made of hardwood with axes and chisels, held together by iron nails, laths and ropes of vines, calked with fish oil and mineral chalk and propelled only by oars. Small boats were dug out of a log.

THE THREE RELIGIONS

Chou Ta-kuan's account of the religions of Angkor is not very clear. He admits he didn't understand them very well. He says there were three religions which he calls *Pan-chi*, *Chu-ku*, and *Pa-sseu-wei*.

He says he does not know what the *Pan-chi* adore. "They have nothing which resembles a school or any place of instruction. It is difficult to know what books they read. They dress like other men except for the white ribbon they wear around the neck, which is the distinctive mark of the lettered class. Those who enter the king's service reach high functions." They are evidently the Brahman pandits. This ribbon was undoubtedly the Brahmanic cord (Sanskrit *upavīta*) (735).

The *Chu-ku* shave the head, wear yellow clothing and leave the right shoulder uncovered. For the lower part of the body, they wear a skirt of yellow cloth and go bare-foot. Their temples may be covered with tile. The interior contains only one image, entirely similar to the Śākyamuni Buddha, which they call *Po-lai*.²¹ It is dressed in red. Made of clay, it is ornamented with vermilion and blue. The Buddhas of the towers are different and all cast of bronze. There is no bell, nor drums, nor cymbals, nor votive offering of silk-pendants, nor canopy. All the bonzes eat fish and meat, but do not drink wine. In their offerings to the Buddha, they use also fish and meat. They make one meal a day, prepared in the family of a host; for in the temples there is no kitchen. The texts they recite are very numerous. All are composed of palm leaves, bound very regularly. On these leaves, they write black characters, but as they use neither pencil nor ink, I do not know with what they write. Certain bonzes have the right to a palanquin and a gold or silver handled parasol. The prince

consults them in grave affairs. There are no Buddhist nuns.

The *Chu-ku*²² were undoubtedly Hinayānist bonzes. This religion, of which no trace appeared a century before, must have progressed rapidly, for Chou Ta-kuan gives the impression that it was the leading religion. He says everybody worshipped the Buddha (735).

The *pa-sseu-wei* are more difficult. Chou-Ta-kuan says,

They dress like other people, except for a piece of red or white cloth, which they wear on the head, like the *ku-ku* of Tartar women, but a little lower. They worship only a block of stone, like the altar-stone of the god of the soil in China. I do not know what they adore either. There are no Taoist nuns. Taoist temples may be covered with tiles. The *pa-sseu-wei* do not share the food of other people and do not eat in public. They do not drink wine. I have not seen them recite prayers nor accomplish meritorious services for men.

Chou Ta-kuan calls them Taoists, but they were not Chinese Taoists. Finot and Pelliot thought they were probably Pāśūpatas, a Śivaite sect. Coedès thinks this was an ascetic cult, worshippers of the linga²³ (278, 357; 735).

LANGUAGE; WRITING; ASTRONOMY; FESTIVALS

The language resembled those of Champa and Siam, but those people did not understand it. The word order was different from that of Chinese. Each class—mandarins, scholars, priests—had their special language. The dialects of the cities and villages differed, the same as in China. In writing, they used a sort of chalk on deer or other skin, colored black. They wrote from left to right, not from top to bottom like the Chinese.

They knew astronomy and could calculate the eclipses of the sun and the moon. Each night was divided into five watches. Seven days made a cycle. The women knew how to make calculations. The twelve animals of the cycle corresponded to those of China. The first month of their year corresponded to the tenth month of the Chinese year.

On New Year a great festival was held. A great platform, large enough to hold a thousand persons and embellished with lanterns and flowers, was erected in front of the palace.

Wooden stupas more than 20 *chang* high are erected, sometime five or six in one night. At the summit are placed rockets, which may sometimes be seen 100 *li*, and fire-crackers large as cannon, whose explosion shakes the entire city. The king attends the spectacle and invites the foreign ambassadors. This festival lasts fifteen days. Each month there is a festival. At the fourth month [January?], they "throw the ball." At the ninth, the population of the entire kingdom passes in review before the palace.²⁴ The fifth, the

²² Siamese *chao-ku* = sir (278, 357).

²³ Had Śivaism developed into this sect?

²⁴ This must be an error.

²¹ Preah.

Buddhas of all the kingdom are collected and washed in the presence of the sovereign.²⁵ On the seventh month, when the rice crop is ripe, rice is burned, at the south gate, in honor of the Buddha. Many women go to this ceremony, in chariot or on elephant, but the king does not go. The eighth month is a dancing festival. Musicians of talent are chosen to come to the palace each day. There are also combats of pigs and of elephants. The prince invites the foreign ambassadors to be present. The fete lasts ten days.

FUNCTIONARIES, VASSAL GOVERNMENTS, VILLAGES, ARMY

In this country, there are counsellors, generals, astronomers, etc., and, below them, all kinds of small employees; only the names differ from ours. Most of the time, princes are chosen for office; if not, those chosen offer their daughters as royal concubines. The insignia and the retinue depend also on rank. The highest dignitaries use a palanquin with gold litter and four parasols with gold handle; then come a palanquin with gold litter and one parasol with gold handle; finally simply a silver-handled parasol. There are also those who receive a palanquin with silver litter. . . . These parasols are made of red Chinese taffeta and have fringes falling to the ground. The oiled parasols are of green taffeta with short fringes.

There are more than 90 vassal [subordinate] governments: Chen-pu, Ch'a-nan, Pa-kien, Mou-leang, Pa-sie, P'ou-mai, Pa-sseu-li, and others. Each has its own functionaries. A wooden palisade serves as rampart.

Each village has a temple or stupa. However small, each has a police officer. On the great routes, there are places of rest like our post relays. In the recent war with Siam, the country was entirely devastated.

The troops go both naked and barefooted. In the right hand, they hold the lance; in the left, the buckler. The Cambodians have neither bows nor arrows, neither ballistas nor cannon, neither armor-plate nor helmets. It is said that in the recent war with the Siamese, all the people were obliged to fight. They have neither tactics nor strategy.

GALL HARVEST

Chou Ta-kuan relates a peculiar custom, which is attested by writers on the history of other countries of Indo-China, particularly Champa (681, 123). This is the annual collection of a jar of human gall, which was presented to the king of that country. The gall-bladder was supposed to be the seat of courage. The gall was drunk, mixed with wine or was used to wash the heads of the king's elephants. It must be taken from living persons.

Formerly, at the eighth month, gall was collected. . . . Each year the king of Champa required a jar of human gall, containing thousands. At night, men were posted at many places in the cities and villages. When they met people out at night, they covered their head with a hood tied by a cord and with a little knife, removed their gall from the right side of the back. When they had a sufficient number, they offered it to the king of Champa. But they did not take the gall of Chinamen. That is because one year they mixed a Chinaman's gall with the others and all the gall in the jar rotted and they could not use it. Recently, this usage has been abolished, but the func-

tionary of the gall bladder still lives in the city, near the north gate.²⁶

AUDIENCES OF THE KING; TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT

Each day the king held audience twice, with great pomp, at the golden window of the palace.

"The disputes of the people, even insignificant, always go to the sovereign." The trial was often by ordeals,



FIG. 58. Buddha (bronze) of thirteenth-fourteenth century.

like those of mediaeval Europe. Chou Ta-kuan describes an ordeal called the Judgment of Heaven, in which the so-called Towers of the Cord Dancers (p. 158) seem to have been used:

Two families may be in dispute, without its being known which is wrong and which right. In front of the palace are twelve little stone palaces. Each of the two adversaries sits on one of these towers. Below the two adversaries the two families are watching. After one, two, three, or four hours,

²⁵ Replicas of images from all the provinces were collected at the Bayon (p. 230).

²⁶ Abbé Bouilleaux says the custom still persisted when he visited Cambodia in 1850 (97, 234).

the guilty manifests it in some way: ulcers, carbuncle, catarrh, or malignant fever. The innocent does not suffer the least damage. Thus is decided the right and wrong of the case. This is called "celestial judgment." Such are the supernatural interventions in this country.

Punishments were severe and included fines, whipping, mutilation, and burial alive. To a surprising degree, punishment seems to have been left to the aggrieved party. Criminals do not seem to have been sold into slavery as punishment. Formerly, they did not punish by the bastinado, but only by pecuniary fines. In very grave cases, they did not decapitate nor strangle; but outside of the west gate, they dug a ditch, where the criminal was put and then they filled it with earth and stones. Below this, was the removal of the toes and fingers or the amputation of an arm. Drunkenness and gambling were not forbidden; but if the husband of an adulterous wife found her in fault, he pressed the feet of her lover in a vice until no longer could bear the pain, gave the husband all his goods and thus recovered his liberty.

If a dead person was found at the door of a house, it was dragged with cords outside the city to a deserted place; but nothing like a serious inquest existed. Whoever captured a thief, might confine him or do violence to him.

CAMBODIA NOT DECADENT

Although the thirteenth century seems to have been one of reaction and weak government, the *Memoirs of Chou Ta-kuan* and the few inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries do not picture a decadent Cambodia. They describe a Cambodia wealthy and prosperous, in the full tide of its magnificence. They tell us that the country was recently ravaged by the Siamese, but they hint that this was due to the weakness of an aged king and that a vigorous young ruler was now keeping the enemy at a distance. To be sure, the territory of the Khmer Empire had been greatly reduced; but the lost territory consisted mainly of vassal states, peopled chiefly by non-Khmers. *Kambujadesa* proper was still intact.

True, the construction of enormous monuments was a thing of the past and the art was decadent; but this was due to other causes. The decadence of an art is often a part of the evolution of that art and may take place in the most prosperous times. *Mme de Coral Rémusat* is of the opinion that, if its evolution had not been interrupted, Khmer art, in some respects at least, would have developed in a purely native technique, like that of Java (301, 94). True, knowing the causes of the decadence of this civilization, as we do now, it is possible to trace the symptoms in the testimony of these contemporary witnesses, and even much further back;

but the general impression given by this contemporary testimony is not that of a decadent civilization.

The capital seems to have escaped Siamese raids; for, according to *Chou Ta-kuan*, gold statues, gold and copper towers, and gold and silver utensils, which most certainly would have been looted by a conqueror, were almost commonplace at Angkor in 1296. The fabulous wealth of Cambodia was still a common proverb in the Far East.

THE MAGNIFICENCE OF THE CAPITAL

According to *Chou Ta-kuan*, the face-towers of the gates of Angkor Thom contained a fifth head which was of gold. There were gold towers at the Bayon, at the Phimeanakas, and at the North Baray. The king often went to see a golden Buddha in front of a little golden pagoda and there was a golden Buddha at the North Baray and there were eight golden Buddhas at the Bayon and two golden lions on each side of the golden bridge there. There was also a golden lion at the North Baray. (These towers and statues were probably gilded as they are today in Siam and Burma (fig. 58).)

The windows of the king's council-hall, where the king used to show himself (Royal Terrace) were framed with gold. The table covers of the Palace were of gold brocade. The king wore a diadem of gold and carried a golden sword. He wore bracelets and gold rings on his ankles, wrists, and fingers, and more than three pounds of large pearls around his neck. When he set out from the Palace, he was preceded by the girls of the Palace carrying utensils of gold and silver. Then followed goat carriages and horse-carriages, all ornamented with gold. More than one hundred parasols were garnished with gold and more than twenty white parasols were garnished with gold and had gold handles. Then followed the king, standing on an elephant, whose tusks were enveloped with gold, holding in his hand the golden sword. If the king was going to a nearby place, he was carried by four girls of the Palace in a golden palanquin.

Nor was all this magnificence confined to the king. The highest dignitaries used a palanquin, with a litter of gold and four gold-handled parasols. The next had a palanquin with a litter of gold and one gold-handled parasol. The lowest dignitaries had a silver-handled parasol. Certain bonzes had the right to a gold- or silver-handled parasol. A centurion received a silver tablet (seal); a commander of a thousand, one in gold. At anniversaries, which were common, gold and silver vessels were used. The rich drank from gold and silver receptacles and even the working-women wore gold bracelets and rings.

18. THE LAST CENTURY OF ANGKOR AS CAPITAL (1295-1432)

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Our sources of information on this period of the history of Kambujadesa are very different from those of the early part of the Angkor Period and, for a long time at least, are much less reliable. A few Sanskrit inscriptions have been found covering the first part of the fourteenth century, showing that Śivaism and Mahāyāna Buddhism still flourished. The latest date found on any of these inscriptions is 1327, but an undated inscription is believed to be later than 1330. An inscription in Pāli, the sacred language of Hinayāna Buddhism, appeared for the first time in Kambujadesa during this period. It was a long time before other Pāli inscriptions appeared and then, although numerous, these inscriptions do not contain many historical data. A few Thai inscriptions of Sukhothai and a few Cham inscriptions contain information of some value on the history of Cambodia during this period.

The official Cambodian chronicle is supposed to begin in 1340 or 1346. It is very unreliable before 1432 or a little earlier. Annals of Ayuthia, Laos, and Burma and some Annamite and Chinese documents lend some help in checking the weaker Cambodian documents.

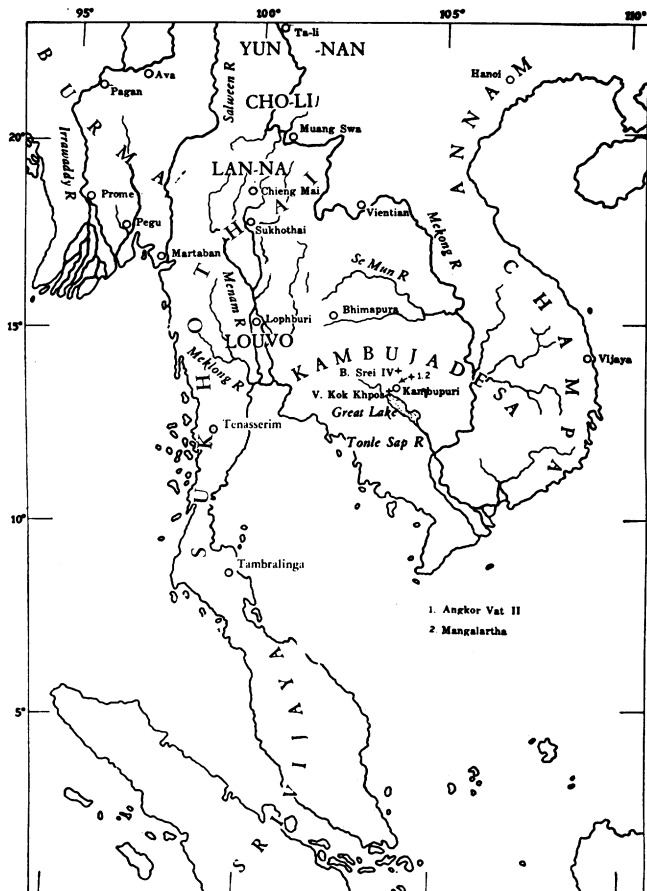
THE ACCESSION OF INDRAVARMAN III, 1296.
HIS WIVES

As we have seen, Indravarman married the daughter of Jayavarman VIII, forced the abdication of that monarch, disposed of the legitimate claimant and began to reign himself, at the end of 1295 or early in 1296. Chou Ta-kuan speaks of him as a soldier and a vigorous young ruler. The only inscription of his reign which gives much information about him speaks as if he reorganized a disunited country. It contains a panegyric in which he congratulates his subjects on replacing an old king by a young one: "If the land, sustained by an ancient king, experienced ordinarily the inconveniences of a superabundance of enemies, now, guarded by a young king, it does not experience the least inconvenience" (392, st. 12). This new king, covered with mail, ventured on the streets, which the old king had not dared to do. Chou Ta-kuan says that, during the year he spent at Angkor, he saw the king set out from the palace four or five times.

Indravarman III's first wife was the daughter of his predecessor. The Khmer part of the above-mentioned inscription calls her Śrī Śrīndrabhūpeśvara Cūda (392, 80). But he had other wives, one of whom was a niece of his *guru* and minister. The Sanskrit part of the inscription says: "The elder daughter of his (Madhurendrasūri's) sister, Śrī Sūryalakshmī, pure as the full moon, was, among all the women of the king, dear to the heart of her husband, the king Śrī Śrīndravarman" (392, 91).

THE MINISTERS OF INDRAVARMAN III

According to the inscription of Angkor Wat, the brahman Vidyēśavid had been made royal *hotar* by Jayavarman VIII and had crowned Indravarman. The new king "resolved to erect the Iśāna Bhadrēśvara" and made Vidyēśavid *hotar* of the golden linga of Bhadrēśvara and of the king,¹ which linga he erected (84, st. 51-58). After the death of Vidyēśavid, another brahman



MAP 16. Kambujadesa at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(whose name is obliterated in the inscription) who had been made *hotar* of Jahnavī (goddess of the river Ganges) at Lingapura (Banteay Srei?) became *hotar* of the king. This *guru* erected Śiva, with Umā (*śākti* of Śiva) and the bull Nandi (mount of Śiva) on Mount Hemaśringa (Phimeanakas?) and a Ganga (also goddess of the Ganges) in the pond of Yaśodhara (East Baray), with a throne of gold (84, st. 59-66).

The inscription of Banteay Srei indicates that Madhurendrapāṇḍita was *guru* and minister of Indravarman III, who married his niece. This inscription, which is

¹ Was this a continuation of the *devarāja*?

dated 1304, is the only important inscription of this king's reign (392, 80–92; 142). Other important personages mentioned by this inscription are Dharanindrasūri, companion of the king, and one Yaśodharapaṇḍita.

According to the inscription of Maṅgalārtha, of the following reign, this king made rich gifts to that temple which seems to have been the charge of the families of Jaya Maṅgalārtha and Jaya Mahāpradhāna (390, st. 44–46). In fact, Indravarman III, who apparently had been an important figure during the latter part of the reign of Jayavarman VIII, seems to have been a patron of culture and to have continued the scholarly atmosphere of that period.

WAS INDRAVARMAN III A HINAYĀNIST?

The foregoing data seems to indicate that Indravarman III was a worshipper of Śiva; but perhaps this was only lip-service to the state form of worship. An inscription in Pali—by far the oldest one yet found in Cambodia—at Vat Kok Khpos, or Kok Svay Chek, near Siemreap (151), dated 1309, records that, in 1308, the king gave a certain village to a *Mahāthera* (Hinayānist grand priest) and that the next year (1309) the laic, by order of the king (now abdicated) erected there a statue of the Buddha and made donations to it and that the king assigned four villages to the maintenance of the monastery.

This same inscription says that Indravarman abdicated in 1308. Now, Indravarman being still young, Coedès suggests that he may have retired to the monastery—perhaps this one—to devote himself to the study and practice of the Hinayānist religion. On this point, it may be recalled that Chou Ta-kuan says that when this king left the palace, he generally went to see a little golden pagoda, in front of which was a golden Buddha.

Owing to the misreading of an inscription, it was long supposed that Indravarman III died in 1307. A correct reading of the inscription of Maṅgalārtha and the appearance of the inscription of Vat Kok Khpos teach us that he abdicated in 1308, in favor of the Yuvarāja, who was a relative (390, st. 47–48).

THE REIGN OF INDRAJAYAVARMAN, 1308–1327

Indrajayavarman, relative and Yuvarāja of Indravarman III, came to the throne in 1308. The inscription of Maṅgalārtha calls him Śrīndrajayavarman and calls his capital Śrīndrājapūra. All we know about his reign, we gain from four inscriptions and the meagre statement in Chinese dynastic history:

(1) The inscription of Vat Kok Khpos, dated 1309, says the reign of Indravarman came to an end in 1308. This inscription still speaks of the capital under the name of Yaśodharapura (151).

(2) The first part of the inscription of Angkor Wat, dated after 1327, does not mention Indrajayavarman, but passes from Śrī Śrīndravarman (Indravarman III) to Śrī Jayavarmādiparameśvara. The second part

simply says that an eminent brahman (apparently Vidyeśādhimant) became a good *hotar* to King Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman (84, B st. 65–67, 93).

(3) The temple-inscription of Maṅgalārtha, undated but of this reign, says that Jaya Maṅgalārtha (II), “Prince of Professors,” son of a father bearing the same name and title, and of a younger sister of the mother of Queen Chakravartirājadevī, died some time during this reign at the age of 104.² Jayavarman VIII had founded a temple for this family and established a cult there and his successor made gifts to it. Indrajayavarman appointed a son of Jaya Mahāpradhāna, probably a cousin of Jaya Maṅgalārtha II, as head of the cult and this exalted personage composed the inscription of Maṅgalārtha, which is such an important source of information about the kings of Kambujadesa from the reign of Jayavarman VII to the date of the inscription, at some time during this reign (390).

(4) A re-reading, by Coedès, of the inscription of the Bayon, dated after 1327, has yielded the information that the reign of Indrajayavarman lasted until 1327 (141).

Yuan-shih, quoted by Pelliot, says a Chinese mission came to Cambodia to buy elephants in 1320 (663, 240–241, n. 5; 278, 379).

THE ACCESSION OF JAYAVARMAN PARAMESVARA, 1327

According to the undated inscription of the Bayon, just cited, Jayavarman Parameśvara came to the throne in 1327. We have no other certain date of his reign and, consequently, we do not know how long he was on the throne. But, as we shall see, there are reasons to think that he enjoyed a quite long reign.

The only inscription which gives us any information about this king is that of Angkor Wat (II), which belongs to this reign. This inscription mentions him three times (84, st. 67, 94, 101), always under the name of Śrī Jayavarmādiparameśvara; but Bergaigne, who edited the inscription says the *adi* does not belong to the name; consequently, he may be called Jayavarman Parameśvara; and as the Parameśvara is apparently a posthumous name (although, in this instance, undoubtedly used during the lifetime of the king), it would probably be proper to call him Jayavarman IX. Thus the first and last kings of the Angkor period, mentioned in the inscriptions, seem to have borne the same name: Jayavarman Parameśvara.

This inscription begins with a panegyric of the king, in the manner of tenth or eleventh century inscriptions. It calls him Parameśvara (Śiva) incarnate (st. 68). It speaks of his pulling out the earth from “the ocean

² This must refer to the death of Jaya Maṅgalārtha I or to be an error. The inscription says Jaya Mahāpradhāna married Śrī Phabhā after 1242 and that she was a young girl. If Jaya Maṅgalārtha II's mother was her younger sister, he could not well have been born before 1243, which would have made him only 84, if he had died in the very last year of Indrajayavarman's reign (see 104, 389–390).

of vices of the century into which it was plunged" (st. 69). In a Śivaite inscription, this seems to indicate that he was a Śivaite reactionary against the seeming Hīnayānism of his two immediate successors. But whatever he may have been early in his reign, there is reason to think that later he was a strong Hīnayānist.

THE LAST SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF CAMBODIA

The inscription of Angkor Wat tells us that Vidyēśidhīmānt, who had been *hotar* for his predecessor, held the same post under Jayavarman Parameśvara (84, st. 94). It was in commemoration of the king's decree to erect a Nandiśa Śrī Bhadreśvara (apparently a hermitage to Śiva, under the vocable of Bhadreśvara) that Vidyēśidhīmānt indited the inscription.

The inscription of Angkor Wat is undated,³ but it seems to indicate that Jayavarman Parameśvara had been ruling for some time. It gives no indication of decadence. On the other hand, it seems to hint of an enemy king defeated and his capital destroyed. It speaks of his "having torn out (like a bristle) the city of his enemy" (st. 78). It was composed by a member of a family which had served the kings of the Kambuja for many generations. It was the last great Sanskrit inscription of Cambodia. It was a long poem—103 stanzas—said to be in conventional Sanskrit verse and to show a deep knowledge of Indian literature and religions. Neither in composition nor in execution does it show much decline from the best period of Khmer epigraphy. The curfew of the Sanskrit inscription in Cambodia seems to have been due to the conversion of the king and the court to Hīnayānism, whose sacred language was Pali, and not to any decline in the knowledge of Sanskrit by the brahmins or lack of skill by the lapidists.

DECLINE OF SUKHOTHAI; RISE OF AYUTHIA

During Rāma Khamheng's reign, Sukhothai built up a great kingdom, chiefly at the expense of the Khmer Empire. Although Kambujadesa proper had been ravaged, the capital does not seem to have been taken. Chou Ta-kuan relates that Cambodia suffered from Siamese raids; but Indravarman III hints that a vigorous young king was keeping the enemy at a distance. Rāma Khamheng died about 1317 (278, 364–365). Almost immediately his kingdom began to decline under his unwarlike successors. The old partly-Khmerized Mon kingdom of Louvo, although overrun by Tai, seems to have retained its identity if not its entire independence, probably with some support from the Khmers, who were still holding out in the southeastern part of the Menam delta and to the region to the east⁴ (map. 16).

³ Chatterjee places it at about the middle of the fourteenth century (113, 234).

⁴ Chantabun—the old Chen-li-fu region (?).

In the old Dvāravatī region—the Meklong delta—a Mon prince, apparently heir of the ancient kingdom of Dvāravatī, was ruling at U Thong. According to a Tai legend, a Lü (Tai) prince of the house of Chieng Sen—to which Mangrai had belonged—came down from the north, married a daughter of the Chao of U Thong and eventually succeeded him (305, 35–36; 102). Together they seem to have increased their territory at the expense of Sukhothai and the Khmer Empire (274, 286; 730, 58–63). They had practically absorbed Louvo⁵ when, in 1349, the Chao of U Thong forced the pious king of Sukhothai to accept his suzerainty. Next year, he founded a new capital at Ayuthia, below Lophburi on the Menam, and began to rule as Rama Thibodi I. As Ayuthia was better situated to carry on war against the Khmers, Sukhothai began to decline in political importance (105, 390–391).

ATTACK ON ANGKOR BY AYUTHIA, 1350–1351⁶

The Annals of Ayuthia say that Phra U Thong founded Ayuthia in 1350 and that, as Rāma Thibodi I, that year or the next, he invaded Cambodia and took many prisoners (501, 56–57; 609, 2, 74–75). The Cambodian Chronicles, recording the same event, say that he captured and sacked Angkor in 1351 (600, 2, 37) or 1352 (719, 22; 422, 341–342). According to the Cambodian accounts, the king of Cambodia took refuge at the court of Laos until he was restored to the throne of Cambodia—in 1355 (600) or 1357 (422).

For several reasons, it is practically certain that Rāma Thibodi I did not capture Angkor in 1351 or 1352 or at any other time: (1) the Annals of Ayuthia, of which several recensions have been found, do not mention such a conquest; (2) the Chinese, who had intimate relations with Cambodia after 1370, give no hint of that country's previous subjection to Ayuthia and speak of its riches; (3) nothing is said in the Chronicles of the spoils of the temples at this time, which would have been great; (4) the Annals of Laos indicate that the king who was on the throne of Cambodia in 1330 was there in 1353; and, finally, (5) according to the official *Liste Chronique*, the five kings mentioned in the Cambodian chronicles reigned twenty-seven years, from 1382 to 1409, which, when the chronology is corrected, means from 1405 to 1432.⁷

⁵ The Annals of Ayuthia say that in 1370 Rāma Thibodi appointed his son to govern Lophburi (420, 3). Pallegoix says in 1350 (60, 2, 74–75).

⁶ The rest of this chapter is based chiefly on the author's article, Siamese Attacks on Angkor before 1350 (106).

⁷ The first recension of the royal articles of Cambodia purported to begin in 1346. These chronicles were prepared by a minister and his assistants appointed to that task in the reign of Ang Chan 1806–1834, to replace those destroyed by the wars of the eighteenth century. They depended partly on the Annals of Ayuthia, drawn up in the same way a few years earlier, and on an official list (*Liste Chronique*) of kings preserved at the capital, Oudong; but they also used other documents and written and oral legends. Translations into French were made by

THE RISE OF LAN CHANG (LAOS)

At the same time, the Laotian kingdom of Lan Chang (Luang Prabang) had been growing up at the north. According to their legends, the ancestors of the Laotians—a Tai-speaking people, closely related to the Thai of Sukhothai—came down the Nam Hou river from near the point where Laos now joins Tonkin and Annam. This probably happened at the end of the thirteenth century; for their history up to the end of that century consists only of legends and a list of kings. The Laotians, moving down the Nam Hou, founded Muang Swa or Muang Java (afterwards called Luang Prabang), which became the seat of their kingdom of Lan Chang. To the east, on the plateau of Tran-Ninh, they founded Muang Phu-Eun (capital, Xieng-Khuang). Further down on the Mekong, they founded the kingdom of Vien Khan (capital, Phai-Nam, later Vientian) (512, 30–34; 108).

This whole region had formerly been occupied by Khas, who have a tradition that their ancestors once had a powerful kingdom or confederacy there. For some centuries it was a part of the Khmer Empire. Several of Jayavarman VII's hospital steles were located within its limits. The Khmers probably abandoned it in the face of the Laotian invasion, as there seems to be no record of fighting there. Rāma Khamheng conquered it and, in the middle of the fourteenth century, it was a dependency of Sukhothai.

THE VISIT OF PHI-FA TO ANGKOR

The Chronicles of Laos, according to Paul Le Boulanger (512, 41–46), relate that shortly after 1316, Phi-Fa, son of the king of Lan Chang, was compelled to flee from that country because of an offense against his father. With his infant son, Fa Ngom, he took refuge at the court of Paramathakemarāja, king of Cambodia. (This Paramathakemarāja could have been none other than the Jayavarmaparamesvara of the inscriptions). They remained a long time at the Khmer court, where Fa Ngom was brought up by a Hinayānist monk. When he was sixteen years of age (1332), he married a daughter of the Khmer king. Coedès

Doudart de Legrée, in 1867 (719, 21–60) and Francis Garnier in 1871 (422).

Later, during the reign of King Norodom (1859–1904), Jean Moura, French Resident in Cambodia, translated a Pali chronicle furnished him by that monarch, which carried the beginning of the Chronicle back to 1340 (600, 2, 36–185). In the meantime, the Annals of Ayuthia had been translated, into English by Rev. J. Taylor Jones (501) and into French by Bishop Pallegoix (609, 2, 74–101). Moura's recension was influenced by those Annals and by an account of Cambodia's relations with the Chinese, published by Abel Rémusat in 1819 (677). Other recensions or fragmentary chronicles have been found. All these Chronicles of Cambodia and the histories dependent on them have proven to be very unreliable. Those who prepared the Chronicles apparently set back the dates of the reigns and events, interjected kings and otherwise distorted and misrepresented the facts (106).

gives additional reasons for thinking this king was reigning as late as 1335⁸ (274, 294; 575, 36).

Some time about 1350, the Khmer king decided to help Phi-Fa and Fa-Ngom to gain the throne of Muang Swa and to make that kingdom independent of Sukhothai. He was doubtless influenced by the manifest weakness of Sukhothai and by the fear of the growing power of the new kingdom of Ayuthia, which had just made itself suzerain of Sukhothai. So, he provided Phi-Fa and Fa-Ngom with an army of 10,000 men, with which they conquered Muang Swa. Phi-Fa died during the siege, but Fa Ngom deposed his grandfather, ascended the throne, and secured the recognition of his suzerainty by all the Tai states along the Mekong, from the Mun valley to Nan Chao and from the Annamitic chain to the basin of the middle and upper Salwin, including Lan-na (Chiang Mai). He even invaded the territory of Ayuthia, where Rāma Thibodi I is said to have recognized his sovereignty and to have promised him a tribute in elephants and money and a daughter in marriage (274, 289; 512, 49–50). This founding of the independent Laotian kingdom of Lan Chang, with its capital at Muang Swa took place in 1353. This date is well established (274, 288). It was the natal year of Laotian independence, the 802, 1066, or 1776 of Laotian history.

CAMBODIA CONVERTS LAOS TO HĪNAYĀNISM

The Khmer king, through his daughter, continued to exercise considerable control over his son-in-law for several years. The queen labored to convert the Laotians to Hīnayānism. Shortly after Fa Ngom's accession, his subjects complained of his tyranny. When the news reached Angkor, Paramathakema called him to the Khmer court, remonstrated with him, and exhorted him to follow the precepts of the Buddha. Fa Ngom accepted this advice, received baptism according to the rites of Hīnayānism and asked for monks, sacred books, and artisans. A commission was sent, headed by Fa Ngom's old teacher. This is said to have been the occasion of the conversion of Laos to Hīnayānism, or probably to the Singhalese sect. The mission is said to have taken with it a famous statue of the Buddha, known as the Great Prabang, or "Luang Prabang." This became the palladium of the Laotian kingdom. Its name was afterward given to its capital. The installation of this statue is said to have taken place in 1358. Fa Ngom's queen died in 1368 and he was deposed by his subjects in 1373 (512, 46–51; 274, 290; 525).

This incident shows that, by the middle of the fourteenth century, Cambodia was quite thoroughly converted to Hīnayānism and was even engaged in converting its neighbors. It also shows that the king who

⁸ He thinks this king sent the embassy of 1330 mentioned by *Yuan shih* (663, 240–241, n. 5) and that in 1335 he sent a delegation to the emperor of Annam (278, 380). Chatterjee thinks he may have ruled until the middle of the century (253).

was on the Khmer throne in 1327 was still there in 1353 and probably for some time afterward.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA, 1370-1403

We do not know how long Jayavarman Paramesvara ruled. The chronology of events during this period is very uncertain. The Chinese give us several names—or rather, titles—of kings, but they do not enlighten us much.

Cambodia, like some other countries of Southeast Asia, had not been anxious to enter into relations with the Mongol dynasty of China. The embassy with which Chou Ta-kuan was connected does not seem to have had any sequence. But when the Ming dynasty came into power (1368), Cambodia hastened to renew tribute. Rémusat has translated the portion of the Ming dynastic history concerning the relations between the two countries during this period (677). In 1370, according to Rémusat, an embassy from Cambodia arrived at the imperial court. In 1371 a king of Chenla (as the Chinese continued to call Cambodia) arrived in China with rich presents. This king was called Hou-eul-na by Rémusat and Wouh-kien-no by Leon de Rosny (680, 183). Embassies were sent to China ten times between 1371 and 1403, often carrying rich presents.

FIGHTING IN CHANTABUN AND JOLBURI

At some time during this period, one recension of the annals of Ayuthia (501, 1836: 59), repeated by two recensions of the Cambodian chronicle (423, i, 139; 600, 2, 38), reports fighting between Cambodians and Siamese in the frontier provinces of Chantabun and Jolburi. These regions seem to have been Khmer—perhaps the old dependencies of Chên-li-fu and Po-ssilan—possibly the region where a Khmer dynasty was ruling in the early tenth century (p. 159), and probably itself with divided sentiments (Malyang, on the border of this region, seems to have been of uncertain loyalty). The date of this fighting is difficult to determine, but the fighting seems to have started in 1390 and continued for several years. According to the Annals of Ayuthia, the king of Cambodia invaded the region and carried off about 6,000 inhabitants. The king of Ayuthia drove out the Khmers and left a general named Chainerong with 5,000 men to hold the region in subjection. Later, when the Chams overran the country, the king of Ayuthia ordered Chainerong to bring all the inhabitants of the region to Siam (106, 27-28).

NIPPEAN-BAT TO PONHA-YAT, 1405-1432

In 1403 a new Ming emperor, Ching Sung, sent officers to Cambodia "to publish the patent of investiture accorded to the prince of this country." In 1404 tribute was received from a king who bore a title equivalent to Samtac Preah Phaya. That year or the next he died; for in 1405 the Emperor sent a delegation to

attend his funeral and to establish on the throne his eldest son, whom the Chinese called Phing-ya and who carried a title equivalent to Samtac Chao Phaya.⁹

If Nippean-bat¹⁰ and the four kings who, according to the Cambodian chronicle, ruled between him and Ponha Yat (six according to Moura) are not entirely fictitious—as Aymonier thinks (6, 3, 737)—the king who came to the throne in 1404 must have been Nippean-bat; for the early chronicles of Cambodia (except Moura) agree that these kings reigned a total of twenty-seven years; and twenty-seven years subtracted from 1431, the established date of the end of Dharmasoka's reign, gives 1404 as the date of the accession of Nippean-bat, which is precisely the date when the Chinese say a new king was installed at Cambodia¹¹ (106, 27).

THE CHAMS RAVAGE THE DELTA REGION

These five kings from Nippean-bat to Ponha Yat probably ruled from 1404 to 1431, but we do not know much about their reigns. The Chams seem to have invaded the delta region and the coast as far as Chantabun early in the fifteenth century, perhaps earlier. The first definitive date on this point seems to have been 1414, when the Chinese say the Cambodian envoys of that year complained that invasions of the Cochin Chinese had several times prevented the arrival of their embassies in China. The Emperor sent an escort with the envoys and ordered the king of Cochin China¹² (Champa) to withdraw his troops from Cambodian territory and leave his neighbor in peace.

But we know from other sources that the Emperor's letter was not sufficient to check the predatory instincts of the Chams; for, although embassies from Chenla arrived at the Chinese court in 1417 and 1419, an inscription dated 1421, in Cham language, carved on the pedestal of an image of Vishnu found at Bienhoa near Saigon, says that the Cham king took possession of a kingdom called Brah Kanda and, after numerous victories, returned to Champa that year and made several pious foundations with the booty he had taken from the Kvir (Khmers) (535, 3, 224). The Nagara

⁹ This king, who was also called Chieu Binh-nha by the Chinese, was identified wrongly, by Moura with Ponha Yat (600, 2, 39 n.), who certainly came to the throne twenty-seven years later (106, 15).

¹⁰ Nippean-bat = Nirāṇa-pada, a posthumous name (274, 294-295).

¹¹ When, after 1434, Ponha Yat gathered his council around him in their new capital at Phnom Penh and tried to recall by memory the history of the past (the records probably being destroyed), perhaps this twenty-seven years was as far as the service or recollection of any of them extended. The years between 1404 and 1346 or 1340 were apparently added by the revisers of the chronicle—in the eighteenth-nineteenth century—to make it begin with those years, according to their instructions.

¹² The name Cochin China was originally applied to Champa (Chan-ch'eng = city of Chan = Champapura, city of Champa). It moved southward with the Chams. Gradually it came to be applied to the territory, then to the Annamites who occupied that territory, then southward with the Annamites.

Brah Kanda of the inscription seems to have included the entire delta; for a recension of the Cambodian chronicle says the Chams and Indians¹³ seized many gold and silver Buddhas and attacked Catur Mukha (later, Phnom Penh); whereupon, King Gamkhat defeated them, recovered the loot and drove them out (135, 26). This probably occurred about 1426 or shortly after, for Gamkhat died in 1428 (106, 24).

ANGKOR IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The dynastic history of the Mongols in China (1279–1368) contained no account of Cambodia except that of Chou Ta-kuan and occasional mentions of missions like those of 1320 and 1330. The history of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) contained the following account of Chenla (Cambodia), which in many references must run back to the period while Angkor was capital. Following the custom of Chinese dynastic histories, it draws on earlier accounts, particularly that of Chou Ta-kuan. But some of its data are new:

The capital city of Chenla is 70 *li* in circumference. The country is many thousands of *li* in extent. There are in the kingdom a tower and a bridge of gold. There are thirty palaces or residences. Each year, at a certain epoch, the king holds a general assembly. Monkeys, peacocks, white elephants, rhinoceros are assembled in an amusement house called the Isle of a Thousand Towers. They eat from bowls and vases of gold. From that comes the proverb of the rich Chenla. The people are in fact rich. The weather is always hot. Neither ice nor snow is found there. There are many crops per year.

Men and women knot their hair. They wear short clothing and cloth belts. The most common punishments are cutting off the nose, mutilation, putting to death, according to the gravity of the crime. The hands or feet of thieves are cut off. If a barbarian kills a Chinaman, the guilty is punished by death. If a Chinaman kills a barbarian, he is fined. If he cannot pay the fine, he is sold to pay for his crime. The Chinese receive from the barbarians the name of people of Hoa, or "men of the flower." It is the same with all the people beyond the sea. When two persons marry, they remain eight days without leaving the house, with lamps lit day and night.

When a man dies, he is exposed in a deserted place, to be devoured by birds of prey. If the body is entirely devoured, it is looked on as a good omen. When one is in mourning, he shaves the hair. The women cut the hair above the forehead, the width of a farthing, to mark as they say, the reverence they feel for their near ones. The lettered write on deer and other animal skins, colored black and varnished, on which they make little traces.

The trees never lose their leaves. The tenth moon is the beginning of the year with them. They intercalate the ninth moon. The night is divided into four watches.¹⁴ There are some men clever in astronomy, who know how to reckon the days and months and to calculate the eclipses. In this country a lettered man is called *pan-chi*; a priest of Fo [Buddha], *chu-ku*; a tao-sse, *pa-sse*. The *pan-chi* do not study books at all. Those among them who occupy

¹³ Probably Malays, who from early times were associated with the Chams, whom they resemble. At this time, both were Mohammedans.

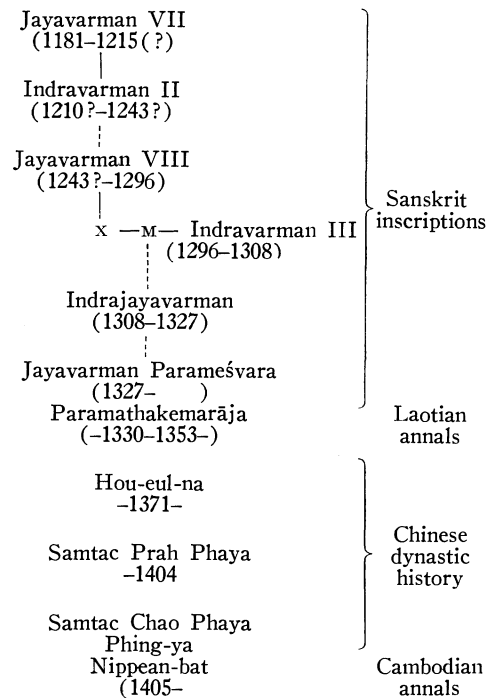
¹⁴ According to Chou Ta-kuan, the night was divided into five watches.

places have the title of *hoa-kuan*. Formerly, they wore a piece of white silk suspended from the neck to distinguish them. They honor the white color on account of this ancient usage.

The priests of the religion of Buddha eat fish and meat; to honor Fo, they abstain from drinking wine.

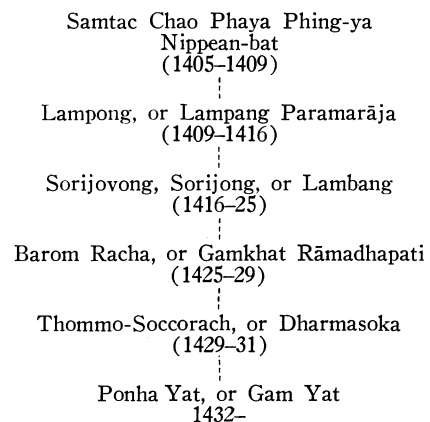
The inhabitants of this country call themselves Kan-pu-chi . . . [Kambuja]. (677, 34-36).

GENEALOGY OF THE KHMER KINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES



THE LAST KINGS OF ANGKOR, 1405-1432

According to the Chronicles of Cambodia (see 106)



WARS BETWEEN ANGKOR AND AYUTHIA, 1350-1430

After 1350 the center of Tai attacks on Cambodia shifted from Sukhothai to Ayuthia. This was a great

danger to Angkor because of the nearness of the new capital. From 1350 to 1430 wars between the two capitals were almost incessant. It must not be supposed that these campaigns were wholly one-sided and that Angkor was always on the defensive. During all this period and even for a long time after the sack of Angkor in 1430–1431, the Khmers held their own along the Chantabun-Jolburi-Korat frontier, not too far from the present boundary, and Khmer armies often penetrated deep into Siamese territory. The documents show that less than ten years before the sack of Angkor, an ambitious Khmer king, while checking Cham inroads in the delta on the one hand, made repeated attempts on the other to reach the new Siamese capital, not only by the Jolburi route, but also via the Mun valley in the north.

Perhaps a greater danger to Angkor lay in the character of the new Tai capital. Whereas Sukhothai was the center of the Thai—a more vigorous but less advanced people than the Khmers and their sworn enemies—Ayuthia was the center of the old Mon kingdom of Louvo which with Dvāravatī, formed part of Rāmanya-desā, “the Mon country,” which had been the center of dispersal of Hīnayānism in Southeast Asia from the half legendary Buddhaghosha, of the early centuries of the Christian era, to the new Singhalese cult which had recently been introduced into the lower Menam valley. The Mons were related to the Khmers in race, language, and culture; Khmer settlements had existed in the lower Menam valley for more than four centuries and that valley had been part of the Khmer Empire for from two and a half to three and a half centuries. One of the chief causes of the downfall of Angkor as capital was the burden of maintenance of so many immense monuments. Hīnayānism, and especially the new Singhalese cult, was democratic and offered relief. Already in 1350, Hīnayānism had been seeping into Angkor from the Mon and Khmer settlements of Rāmanya-desā for at least a century. According to Chou Ta-kuan, Hīnayānism seems to have been the leading religion of the masses at Angkor before the end of the thirteenth century. By 1350 the king himself had adopted it and was beginning to proselyte his

neighbors. Probably some Cambodians, converted to the new religion during the centuries of Khmer occupation of the lower Menam valley, had returned to Angkor when the Tai conquered that valley. Perhaps the most disastrous invasion of Cambodia was an advance guard—Mon and probably even Khmer more than Tai—of Hīnayānist monks. As will be seen, the sack of Angkor in 1430 was partly due to the presence there of a “fifth column” in the persons of Hīnayānist bonzes and notables (106, 30).

THE CAPTURE OF ANGKOR BY AYUTHIA, 1430–1431

No doubt a great deal of unrecorded fighting had taken place between Angkor and Ayuthia since the foundation of the latter capital in 1350. Most of the fighting, as we have seen, seems to have taken place in the border province of Chantabun, Jolburi, and Korat. If the capital had been attacked on several occasions, it does not appear to have been captured.

Finally, in 1430, King Paramarāja, or Boroma-rāja II of Ayuthia, invaded Cambodia and invested Angkor. After a siege of seven months, in which the Cambodian king, Dharmasoka (Thommo-soccarach) died and two Cambodian mandarins and two monks went over to the besiegers, the city was taken and plundered (1431). The booty must have been enormous. The local chronicles and annals and the histories dependent on them speak of the statues and images taken to Ayuthia. Two pagodas were founded near Ayuthia in honor of the two renegade bonzes. Many prisoners were taken. The surviving notables fled to the provinces (106, 30).

The Siamese king put the crown on his own son, Ento (Indrapath) (1431). The Cambodian crown prince, Ponha Yat, or Gam Yat, had the Siamese puppet assassinated and was himself crowned at Angkor. But finding the old capital untenable, he moved his court to Basan, in the province of Srei Santhor, on the eastern side of the Mekong just above the forks. After remaining there only a year, he moved his capital again in 1434, this time to the hill (Phnom) at the Catur Mukha (= four faces), at the junction of the Mekong and the Tonle Sap (127) (map 17).

19. THE FALL OF ANGKOR: ITS NATURE, SIGNIFICANCE, AND CAUSES

THE FALL OF ANGKOR

It is the custom of historians in writing of the train of events which began with the siege, capture and sack of Angkor by the Siamese and ended in the removal of the capital to the other side of the kingdom, to call this train of events the *fall* of Angkor. Hitherto, there has been no essential agreement on the date. Some writers have believed the Siamese—as we may now call the Tai of Sukhothai and Ayuthia—captured Angkor more than once during the last century and a half

of its existence as capital. This writer believes it may now be considered as established that Angkor was captured but once during that period and that the date of the siege and capture was 1430–1431 and that of the abandonment of Angkor Thom as capital took place in 1432 (106).

Just what was the nature of the event or events which occurred on these dates? It was not a conquest of Cambodia by the Siamese, as has sometimes been said. It was merely a successful raid, which, by good fortune—

including the death of the Cambodian king and the defection of some Cambodian officials and bonzes—enabled the Siamese king to capture and sack the capital and to place his son temporarily on the throne. But, in spite of the fact that the Siamese are said to have besieged the capital for seven months before capturing it, they do not seem to have come in force to occupy the country and they returned almost immediately to Ayuthia with the loot. The reign of the Siamese prince was short. Next year, Ponha Yat, who seems to have been the legitimate Cambodian claimant, had him assassinated, drove out his supporters and seated himself on the throne at Angkor (1432). Almost immediately, he abandoned Angkor as capital and moved to the other side of the kingdom (127).

Yet this seemingly transient and apparently innocuous train of events marks a great date in Cambodian history, the greatest date since the founding of the Khmer Empire in 802. The year 1431 was the most portentous date of the entire history of the Kambuja. It marks the fall of Angkor—definitive, complete, and irremediable.

NATURE OF THE FALL OF ANGKOR

It is necessary to distinguish here between the fall of Angkor and the fall of Cambodia. The kingdom of Cambodia, as an independent political entity, continued for several centuries to be one of the leading states of Indo-China. There was no period of Siamese domination, and no part of Cambodian territory seems to have been alienated at this time. The Siamese do not appear to have held even Angkor for more than a year. After the memory of the defeat had been effaced, the Cambodian people were probably not conscious of any misfortune. They were doubtless freer, happier, and more comfortable than during the days of their greatness. From the political standpoint, Cambodia remained one of the important states of Indo-China. Perhaps it was less energetic and crafty than some of its neighbors; but it was able to maintain its place against powerful neighbors on every side and it might have continued to hold its own, in spite of odds, if its leaders had not adopted an unwise political policy. But that is the subject of a later chapter.

The fall of Angkor, on the other hand, marks the end of the definite type of culture which had characterized Ancient Cambodian civilization—the culture of magnificent monuments and marvelous sculptures, of Sanskrit inscriptions, poetic and beautiful. The Khmers left the world no system of administration, education, or ethics, like those of China; no literatures, religions, or systems of philosophy, like those of India; but here Oriental architecture and decoration reached its culminating point. This was the ancient Khmer's contribution to civilization. And this was what fell when Angkor fell.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CAPTURE OF ANGKOR BY THE SIAMESE

The capture and sack of Angkor by the Siamese in 1430–1431, does not seem, in itself, to have been a sufficient disaster to cause the end of the great Khmer civilization, as has often been stated. The Khmer Empire had met greater disasters in the past and had used them as stepping-stones to greater accomplishments. The Malays had conquered their country in the eighth century and held it in subjection for a period of a few years. Yet Jayavarman II won his independence from his suzerains and laid the foundation of the great Khmer Empire, not without resistance we may be sure. The Chams had sacked their capital, killed their king, and conquered the country in the latter part of the twelfth century. Yet Jayavarman VII, after a struggle of four years, drove them out, mounted the throne, and in less than two decades had sacked their capital, subjugated their country in its turn and annexed it, had pushed the boundaries of the country to their greatest limits, and had begun a building orgy never equalled by any other monarch in any country.

There is no evidence that the Siamese ever captured Angkor before 1431. And by that time Khmer civilization was already tottering. No great monument had been built since the close of the Bayon period, two centuries earlier. No Sanskrit inscription had been carved for a century. Mutilation and destruction, by the Hinayānists in their turn, had taken the place of decoration. Apparently, the sack of Angkor by the Siamese simply consummated a movement which was already well advanced toward completion. And, even so, it was not the sack of Angkor so much as its abandonment as capital that marked the end of the wonderful Khmer civilization.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF ANGKOR

Thus, the capture of Angkor and subsequent abandonment of that city as capital brought to an abrupt and definitive close a period of decay which had begun fully two centuries earlier. There has been much speculation as to what caused the downfall of this wonderful civilization. This misfortune is popularly attributed to the sack of the capital by the Siamese. But, as we have seen, this reason alone is insufficient. Such a consequence is too great and too far-reaching and permanent for such an accidental and transient cause. The causes of the decline and fall of ancient Khmer civilization may be stated as follows, more or less their chronological order:

(1) BUILDING FRENZY

The long periods of building activity, and especially the feverish building program of Jayavarman VII, exhausted and discouraged the people and left them discontented. All the great monuments of antiquity were built by forced labor and the almost necessary

consequence of a prolonged period of architectural greatness was an exhausted, spiritless people. The people became dissatisfied with the greedy gods for whom they must continuously toil and fight and give and, while they probably did not realize it and were incapable of starting such a movement from within, they were ripe for a new religion or philosophy of life. This discontent must have begun to be felt at least from the beginning of the thirteenth century, probably earlier.

(2) LOSS OF REVENUE

The early conquests of the Tai—in the latter part of the thirteenth century—stripped the Cambodians of a large part of their Empire and, consequently, of their revenues. The inscription of Rāma Khamheng, dated 1293, shows that monarch in possession of nearly all of present Siam and Laos, while the conquests of other Tai rulers reduced Khmer possessions to almost their present limits. Great monuments cannot be built without money or its equivalent.

(3) LOSS OF LABOR SUPPLY

The liberation of the dependent Tai states had deprived Cambodia of a large part of its slave labor supply. Many a Khmer temple was erected by the labor of captives and decorated by the spoils of some foreign country or a revolted province. Since the middle of the thirteenth century, Cambodia had seen its own wealth and labor supply still further reduced by captives and spoils from its own cities carried off by Siamese, Cham, and Annamite raids. At the close of the thirteenth century, Cambodia, though prosperous, lacked the labor supply, as well as the revenue, to carry on an intensive campaign of construction.

(4) CONVERSION TO HĪNAYĀNA BUDDHISM

Another great cause of the decline of this type of culture was the conversion of the people and their rulers to Hīnayāna Buddhism. Their architecture and art were bound up with their Hindu and Mahāyānist gods. Now that the people had become discontented with those gods, the soil was fertile for a new religion. Hīnayāna Buddhism was a democratic religion, which appealed directly to the people, without the intervention of an elaborate, expensive and burdensome hierarchy of priests and deities. Its bonzes embraced poverty and occupied themselves with teaching and good works, in direct contact with the people. We have seen how the new Singhalese sect of Mahāvihāra came into Burma from Ceylon late in the twelfth century. It probably reached the lower Menam before the middle of the thirteenth century. It was brought into Cambodia by Mons of Lonvo and by Tais of the north—probably prisoners, laborers,¹ merchants, and some accompanying

¹ Chou Ta-kuan says the Siamese taught the Cambodians to mend clothes and introduced the raising of silk worms.

bonzes—quietly and unobtrusively, during the latter part of the thirteenth century. According to Chou Ta-kuan, it was the most important religion of the capital at the close of that century. “Everybody,” he says, “adores the Buddha” (577, 152). The small theocracy, which furnished the priests, ministers, and savants who ruled Cambodia, erected the monuments and indited the inscriptions, naturally opposed to the last the growth of this popular cult. It was super-bolshevism to them. Just at what period, the kings—more directly dependent on the masses—began to accept this religion, is difficult to determine. They were more or less bound to the old faith as a part of the State religion. There are still Brahmanic factors in the State ceremonies of Cambodia. As we have seen, there is reason to suspect that Indravarman III (1296–1307) was a Hīnayānist. The history of Lan Chang tells us that Fa Ngom, first independent king of the Laotians, was baptised into Hīnayānism at the Court of the Khmer king (Jayavarman Paramēśvara) shortly after 1353. Thus it seems that the conversion of Cambodia to Hīnayānism, probably of the Singhalese sect, took place between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth centuries.

(5) SACK OF THE CAPITAL BY THE SIAMESE

Finally the sack of Angkor ended the period of Classical Khmer civilization, beyond hope of restoration. This it did by two means: (a) It carried off the last remnant of the intelligentsia at a time when it could not be replaced. The theocracy was Indian in origin and was no doubt declining in numbers and influence. It had lost all contact with its source of inspiration in India, owing to the influx of Mohammedanism there. The loss of revenue in Cambodia had, doubtless, diminished its ranks. While it is true that no great monument had been constructed for two centuries and no Sanskrit inscription carved for a hundred years, the monuments still remained in their care, villages and slaves were still assigned to their maintenance, and there was always a hope—or a dread—of return to power and wealth and of a government of their old faith. With the disappearance of this class and the removal of the capital from Angkor, the temples were soon abandoned, the old religions all but disappeared, Sanskrit was forgotten. (b) The frequent Siamese raids and the sack of Angkor, joined with the growing desire for an escape from their condition, led the survivors to establish a new capital far from Angkor with its temples and other monuments to serve as reminders of their glorious but burdensome past and inspirations and models for a possible return to their former greatness.

These were the chief reasons for the decline and fall of ancient Khmer culture. The greatest factor was undoubtedly the adoption of Singhalese Buddhism. The change of religion had more to do with the end

of the great period of architecture and art than the ravages of the Siamese and their sack of the capital. The transformation was internal. The soldiers of Ayuthia not so much conquered them with warlike blows as seduced them with the hope of a milder religion. No amount of blows from without, could account for the unfinished condition of temples and sculptures begun decades and even centuries before the fall of Angkor or for the systematic mutilation of the images of the hated gods seen everywhere at Angkor. In short, to use a crude expression, the wonderful period of ancient Khmer civilization ended, not so much because the Khmers "got licked" as because they "got religion."

FINOT'S COMMENT

Read the testimony on this subject of the late Louis Finot, who always says things so well that it is folly to put them into other words:

The exterior cause of this ruin was the invasion of the Tai.² The word inundation would perhaps better describe the march of this singular race which, fluid as water, insinuating itself with the same force, taking the color of all the skies and the form of all the banks, but guarding under its various aspects the essential identity of its character and language, had spread itself like an immense tablecloth over Southern China, Tonkin, Laos, Siam, even to Burma and Assam. Everywhere, the Tai constituted themselves into little autonomous principalities; in Siam only they succeeded in forming a great state. These Siamese, whom one sees in the twelfth century, march past in barbarous costumes on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, as soldiers in the service of Cambodia, were not long in rendering themselves independent. Liberated, they became conquerors. They conquered Laos and a part of the Malay Peninsula. They finally attacked Cambodia itself and brusquely ended its splendid civilization.

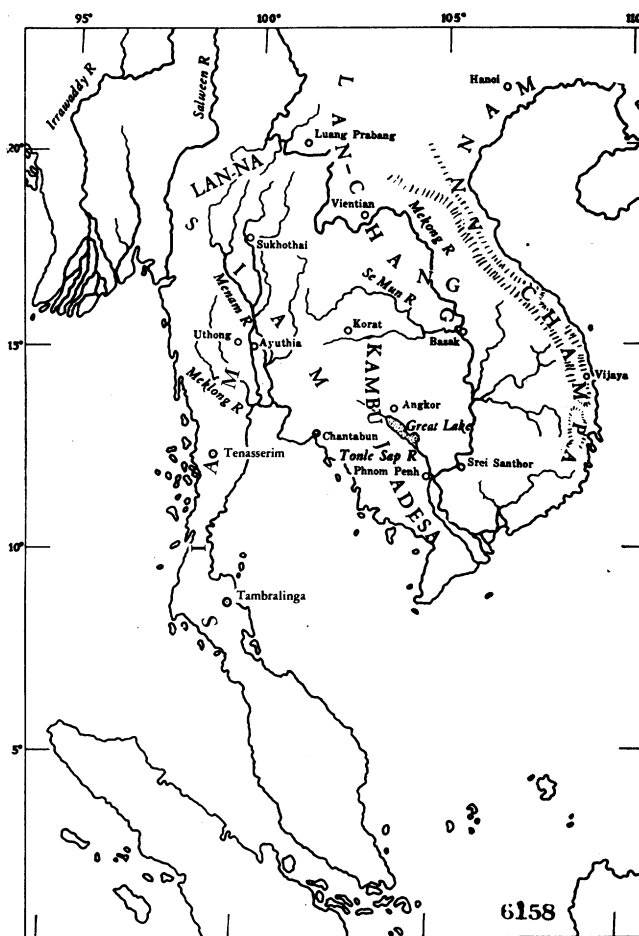
The suddenness of this catastrophe, at first surprising, is explained by the heterogeneous composition of the Cambodian state. There, a cultured aristocracy, of foreign origin, covered with a brilliant but very thin varnish the crude mass of the Khmer population. Now it is true that some invasions do not strike a people mortally; but they can very well annihilate an elite and consequently the civilization which is concentrated in it, especially when they are accompanied, as is the constant usage in the Far East, by immense raids of captives. It is without doubt to this disappearance of the thinking and industrious part of the society that must be attributed the brusque halt in construction, the interruption of the epigraphic documents, the forgetting of Sanskrit.

As to the people, nothing proves that they reacted strongly against aggression; perhaps, even, they saluted it as a deliverance. If one considers the fact that they were constrained not only to furnish the hand labor necessary to these gigantic constructions whose mass still astonishes today, but also to assure the service and provisioning of the innumerable sanctuaries sowed on the soil of this Empire, of which one could say, as of France in the eleventh

² The author would minimize the part played in the fall of Angkor by the Tai as a people—who were themselves recent converts to Hinayānism—and emphasize that of the Mons and even the Khmers of Ayuthia, who had long been Hinayānists and had recently adopted the Singhalese sect, which seems to have come into the Menam valley via Burma and Ayuthia.

century, that it was dressed in a robe of temples, one can scarcely doubt that, after some centuries of this regime, the working population would have been decimated and ruined. It doubtless put little ardor into the defense of the cause of these rapacious gods, proprietors of slaves and collectors of tithes; and it is not impossible that the systematic mutilations practised in their temples may have been the work of exasperated peasants.

The conqueror offered to the conquered a precious compensation; it brought him a *mild* religion, whose doctrines of resignation were marvellously adapted to a worn out and discouraged people; and *economic* religion, whose



MAP 17. Cambodia in 1430-1434.

ministers, devoted to poverty, contented themselves with a thatch of straw and a handful of rice; a *moral* religion, whose precepts assured peace of soul and social tranquility.³ The Khmer people accepted it, one may believe, without repugnance, and willingly laid down the crushing burden of their glory (365, 223-224).

THE ABANDONMENT OF ANGKOR

After the sack of Angkor Thom by the Siamese, the Cambodians hastily abandoned that city and established a new capital on the other side of the kingdom. One reason for this action was the accessibility of Angkor to the new Siamese capital at Ayuthia on the lower

³ The italics are the author's.

Menam. But this reason alone is not sufficient to account for the hasty and definite abandonment of a capital which—though finally captured for a fleeting period, through misfortune and treachery—had proven impregnable during nearly two centuries of almost incessant warfare and which was the center of the most magnificent group of temples ever erected by man. The principal reason must be sought in the nature of the temples themselves and what they had come to mean to the people.

Owing to the recent researches of Coedès (209; 152), we know now that most of these monuments were funerary temples, or mausoleums. Each great king erected one for himself (e.g., Baphuon, Angkor Wat, Bayon). Others were built for ancestors or relatives (Preah Khan, Ta Prohm, Banteay Chhmar). Other monuments were built by or for great ministers and heads of great religious families, until the region around Angkor was literally covered with these animated and burdensome gravestones. To secure the welfare in the next world of the person to whom the monument was dedicated, slaves by the thousands and many villages, according to the acts of foundation in the inscriptions, were granted to these monuments, for their maintenance. "It is not an exaggeration," says Finot, "to say that, at the end of the middle ages, all the Cambodian peasantry was in the service of the gods; and one can

think that this yoke appeared very heavy to it" (414, 77-78).

Most of the slaves and the people of the villages were probably now Hīnayānists; but they were bound by the grants of the temple-charters to support those sanctuaries. Buddhism and Hinduism are, after all, related religions and even the Hīnayānists venerate, and on some occasions use, the old Hindu deities. This is shown by inscriptions, in Pāli, carved in later years on the walls of the sanctuary of Angkor Wat, and by vestiges still found in royal ceremonies of Cambodia and Siam. The only escape for the masses was in flight. The sudden and permanent movement of this immense mass of people from one side of the kingdom to the other, shows the nature of this migration. Like a serpent shedding its skin, these descendants of the fabled *nāga* princess left their weary past behind them and moved on to a far region where they were no longer haunted by a nightmare of temples. In the long and brilliant Angkor period, no scene enacted on its battlefields or carved upon the walls of its galleries is more dramatic than its close. The story is related by no chronicle, recorded by no inscription, pictured by no bas-relief; but its implication is clear: First the king and the surviving notables, and then the people, fled from the "great and glorious capital" of Khmer civilization as if it were ridden with plague.

Note to p. 105: Parmentier gave the name Art of Indravarman to the art of the period beginning with the Rolous group and ending with Banteay Srei (619). This classification has been superseded, however, by that of Stern and Mme de Coral Rémusat (301; 737).

Note to p. 196: The tower of Preah Khan of Kompong Svai has been substituted for Thommanon in fig. 36.

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The Roman numerals numbering the inscriptions when there are more than one of the same name, are the author's. The numbers in Arabic in the first parentheses are those of the *Liste Generale des Inscriptions* of l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (280; 211, 272-302; 230, 207-212). The capital letters denote the language in which the inscription is written; (C = Cham, K = Khmer, M = Mon, OM = Old Malay, P = Pāli, S = Sanskrit, Si = Siamese, T = Tamil). The numbers in the second parentheses indicate the reference in the list of *Works Cited* and the page where information regarding the inscription may be found. The final numbers indicate the pages of the book where the inscription is mentioned, generally by name.

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